HISTORY

OF

SAINT LOUIS CITY

AND

COUNTY,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS TO THE PRESENT DAY:

INCLUDING

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF REPRESENTATIVE MEN.

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES, ILLUSTRATED.

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PREFACE.

It has been some time since the author and his publishers—whose enterprise and liberality have always kept pace with him in every new undertaking—agreed that St. Louis offered an inviting subject for an exhaustive local history. They knew that no such work had been produced; the general complaint on the spot proved that, and seemed to prove also that it would be welcomed if written.

When, however, the author, after completing his History of Baltimore City and County and the preparations for the History of Western Maryland, came to St. Louis to make inquiries and survey the field, he was disposed to shrink from the undertaking and withdraw from the engagement partly made. There was so much more to be done than he had anticipated that the magnitude of the task frightened him. Not only was the field unoccupied, it had never even been explored. The surface had not been broken. Virgin soil was sure to be rich and to yield great fruits to the cultivator, but it is hard work to plow the prairie for the first crop,—

> "Hæc loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem
> Invertêre,"—

and it was not necessarily a labor that would be rewarding.

The author does not wish to be understood to say that much has not been written about the history of St. Louis. It were very unlikely that a theme so rich, so various, and appealing so strongly to the imagination and the sympathies would be left untouched by the writers of a community as ardent, as proud of their home institutions, and as sanguine of the future as the inhabitants of St. Louis. Nor have they neglected it. Much has been done, and well done; but the history itself was not written, nor were the sources of it explored and its materials searched out. Although discouraged at first by the magnitude of the task, the author fully realized that the field was a promising and fruitful one, and his generous and thoroughgoing publishers held out to him every possible inducement, in the way of collaboration of manner with matter, of expenditure upon the form and make-up of the work to keep its appearance fully abreast with its contents, which the most exacting and fastidious writer could demand.

Under such circumstances the author finally consented to undertake the task, and he admits that by the time this determination was reached he had discovered that while the subject of the history of St. Louis had never been fully or adequately studied, so far as could be ascertained from outward and published manifestations, the materials of which it could be made were not only in existence, but were rich and comprehensive almost without parallel. Those materials, collected, arranged, and digested for the first time in these volumes, are of the purest ore the gold of history is produced from, and they exist, not simply in "outcrops" and "placers," but in true "lodes" and "mother-veins," abundant, and without a "fault" or a break in their absolute continuity.

These materials the author found were, to a large extent, in the possession of Frederic L. Billon, whose unwearying, indefatigable research had unearthed them, and his first step was of course to get access to Mr. Billon's treasures, and profit by all that he had discovered. Without

these invaluable stores, which fully justified the author's expenditures in securing them, and his patient toil in arranging and apportioning them, it would have been impossible to present the history of St. Louis in the satisfactory shape which it now assumes. But it is proper to forewarn the reader that the author has by no means contented himself with gleaning over the fields where Mr. Billon has been accustomed to search, nor with supplementing his investigations by others conducted inside the same limits.

He conceives, and his not limited nor unsatisfactory experience confirms the belief, that the history of municipalities cannot be adequately written in a corner, nor can it with faithfulness to the due proportions and coloring of the subject be confined strictly to local occurrences. A city, like a planet, has more motions and impulses than one. Such a sphere revolves on its own axis, to be sure, and this diurnal revolution must be fully considered, because the most frequent and the most important. But it has also its orbital and its cyclical motions; it is part of the solar system and of the great celestial sphere, and its true path can never be accurately traced unless all the various forces creating these complex motions are exactly determined and the resultant established between them. So with cities. They have their own centres and diameters, their own men and governments, and revolve in obedience to these with exactness and precision; but none the less do they occupy significant places in the State and in the Federal systems, of which they are components, and oftentimes the most influential members. The history of a city is thus much more than a local chronicle, a specific record of events, institutions, and men within a narrow and circumscribed area. The Roman satirist contended that his theme embraced

> "Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
> Gaudia, discursus."

Shall the history of a city of four hundred thousand people, the chief place in the greatest valley and on the noblest river the world ever saw, extend over a less wide and prolific range of discussion? The author did not think in the beginning that when he had marshaled in line the local institutions and the local events, had given the annals of the Spanish and American Governors and mayors, and told the current stories of De Soto and Coronado, Marquette and La Salle, Laclede and Chouteau, besides glorifying the local heroes in a perfunctory and provincial way, he would be doing justice to or indeed producing the history of St. Louis, and the reader will admit that no such limits have been set in the present work.

A city's history, if fully told, must be concerned with general history, with national history, and with State history. Try to eliminate Boston from American colonial annals, or Philadelphia from the chronicles of the struggle for American independence, and what a vacuum is produced, what confusion results. Try to abstract St. Louis from the history of the circumstances, events, and resources giving consequence to the Mississippi valley, and what remains? It is like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. A city influences all its surroundings, all the circumstances concurrent with its annals, and is equally influenced by them. To cast out of the consideration, therefore, these formative circumstances and influences is to submit effects without giving causes, and to present as an independent and fortuitous unit what is really an integral factor in the solution of a far-reaching problem.

In narrating the history of a city there is a regular order of succession which it is essential to preserve and to follow, descending from and through events to men and to the institutions framed by them, not neglecting the resources which these events imply, and which these men possess and develop, or comprehend and propose to utilize.

It is upon this liberal and conscientious plan that the present history of St. Louis was undertaken; nor does the author hesitate to declare that he looks upon the performance of his task with a satisfaction which approaches complacency. As a record of events, as an exhibition of men, as a chronicle and exposition of institutions and resources, the writer is confident that his work has no rivals on this particular field; and, with no little observation and

acquaintance with similar works upon the history of other cities, and no ordinary experience in the collecting and collating of materials for such works elsewhere, he is disposed to claim that the present History of St. Louis is the most complete and satisfactory record, in its every department, which has ever been prepared and published in the United States of the growth, development, and expansion of a municipality. He asserts this with a thorough knowledge of what has been done in New England and the East since the revival of public interest in and enthusiasm for local details, and with a consciousness also of the suspicion of arrogance and self-assumption naturally incidental to such pretensions.

But, before giving judgment, the reader must consider two or three important circumstances. *First*, that the *general*, the national, and, so to speak, international history of St. Louis is peculiarly rich, varied, and full of color, and this history has been almost entirely neglected by the local chroniclers; *second*, that the materials for the *local* history of St. Louis, here for the first time assembled, grouped, co-ordinated, and arranged, are more full and perfect than those for the history of any other city in the Union; and, *third*, that to all this is added a full and exhaustive account and description of every prominent institution, public or private, that has existed or now flourishes within the chartered limits of the municipality of St. Louis and the county circumjacent. Absolutely nothing of importance has been neglected and nothing overlooked.

To accomplish so much, and with such a degree of self-satisfaction, has been no holiday task. Of the labors, the expenses, the responsibility involved in such a work the author says nothing. The book is completed, and it will speak for itself far better than any one can speak for it. But it is proper to call attention to some of the particular features of so voluminous a production, in order to indicate the leading matters in which comprehensive and original research has enabled the present writer to supplement, correct, and revise, or entirely set aside the previous and existing accounts of numerous important occurrences in the annals of St. Louis, or connected more or less directly with its history.

I. *As regards general history*, the author claims that now, for the first time, St. Louis no longer makes its appearance as a sporadic, independent case of accidental and individual settlement upon an accidental place on the banks of the Mississippi River,—such a colonization as might have taken place at any point on the right or left bank within two hundred miles of the actual site of St. Louis,—but was in fact and effect "the survival of the fittest," not indeed in "a struggle for existence," for nearly all the competitors still live, but in a tournament for the best and most eligible situation for a capital city. To establish and emphasize this point history, geology, archæology, and physical geography have all been ransacked, and a great many facts of the class "not usually known" have been brought to bear to sustain the proposition.

The author claims that the question of the discovery of the Mississippi and the relative pretensions of the several discoverers are discussed by him in the only way through which a satisfactory conclusion can be reached on the subject. The great amount of controversy and argument about facts made it important to look into the facts themselves with careful scrutiny, and the author is not without hope that, as one result of his examination and comparison of such original records as are extant, with the additional light thrown upon the subject by the recent researches of Parkman, Shea, and Margry,—all of which, with all of the accessory evidence, have been patiently studied,—this *cause célèbre* will, by common consent, be docketed as "settled." The true history of the Mississippi valley, and the toils of the pioneers and explorers who opened the way to it along ocean tracks and by woodland paths, have been clouded and obscured by national pride and prejudice, and by sectarian disputes and dissensions. In these volumes the author has struggled to do justice to all, and to assign his exact part in the great and chivalrous work impartially to each, Spaniard, Frenchman, Englishman, and Dutch, Huguenot and Catholic, Protestant and Romanist, Canadian and Louisianian, Puritan and Cavalier, Jesuit and Recollêt, backwoodsman and voyageur, trapper and hunter. All had their share in the noble achievement,

and it is the judicial office of the historian not to advocate any class of pretensions, but to decide upon the respective claims and merits of all alike.

The circumstances in the general history of Upper and Lower Louisiana which preceded and led to the planting of St. Louis, the influence of the growth and spread of the English colonies on the Atlantic coast towards the West upon this event, have all been distinctly traced and stated, and a flood of new light has been thrown upon the dates, the history, and the manners and customs of the French settlements of the Illinois, from which St. Louis was originally peopled. The "relations" of the missionaries, the narratives of travelers, the official reports of government officers, the most obscure records of local and personal history have been diligently searched in order to make clear everything that was doubtful in this important section of this hitherto unwritten history of the country.

In respect to the planting of St. Louis, the topography of the place, the names, connections, business, daily life, manners and customs, laws and government of the early settlers, the author believes that his work is simply complete. Every possible line of inquiry has been followed up to the end; every record, and all tradition and reminiscence have been exhausted to perfect this chronicle of the cradle-days of St. Louis. The early history of the town under the French, Spanish, and American territorial dominations does not abound with incidents, but is still replete with interest in every part, and important new light has been thrown upon many of the accepted legends in regard to these events, light derived from the manuscript records and unpublished minutes of the archives, the land commissioners' inquiries, and the registered proceedings of courts, trustees' meetings, and all the dusty documents of private and public concern which the author has had access to. Often the private correspondence of individuals, furnished him for biographical purposes, has enabled the author to correct a date, verify a disputed tradition, or supply an important gap in general history, and it will be seen that the papers of Col. O'Fallon, for instance, have been of essential value in enabling the author to enrich the history of the war of 1812 with Great Britain, and the Gratiot papers have put it in the power of Professor Waterhouse and Mr. Billon practically to rewrite the history of the massacre by Indians threatened in 1780.

An entirely new chapter in the annals of St. Louis, and one of deep and abiding interest, will be found in the attempt to trace the various causes, and especially the Spanish and French intrigues in the West, which led to the Louisiana purchase, and the adoption of Missouri and St. Louis into the American Union. The pursuit of this subject required close study and much research in wide-spread fields, and this part of the history of St. Louis, never before presented in any shape, is believed to be the most complete investigation of it ever made in any connection.

In respect to the history of St. Louis from the time it ceased to be a Spanish and became an American town, the annals presented in these volumes will be satisfactory to the most exigent reader, whether business man, politician, or antiquarian. The territorial government, the municipality, the part taken by St. Louis in the various Indian wars, the war of 1812, the Mexican war, and especially the civil war, are all minutely traced, copiously illustrated, and exhaustively pursued from beginning to end. The intricate subject of land titles and claims, and the history of every piece of land within the limits of St. Louis, are given complete. Nothing which could possibly be of interest to the present or of value in the future has been omitted in the discussion of these wide-spreading branches of the general theme. The material was abundant, and, while it has been sedulously winnowed and carefully verified in every instance, it has been copiously used.

II. *As regards biography,* the author is convinced that no work of a similar character has ever been written which is so replenished with the lives of prominent persons in every walk as these volumes. The archives and records of every sort have been exhausted, and every page of the daily press from A.D. 1808 scrutinized in pursuit of biographical material, in addition to which

the author has had access to the private papers and correspondence of many leading families and to the rich collections of Mr. Billon, so that a most copious and precious store of personal history is here garnered, relating to the genealogies, the acts, and the family connections and alliances of every statesman, every member of the professions, and every business man who has been at all active or prominent in the affairs of St. Louis, from the days of St. Ange and Pierre Laclede to the immediate present. In many cases, even where the person was most distinguished and had been most frequently written about, the author has been enabled, from his innumerable sources of information, to supply dates, correct damaging inaccuracies, and supplement the chronicle or narrative with new, valuable, and interesting details and particulars. The history of each of the learned professions and all the leading trades and occupations has thus been enriched with sketches of the lives of the men who illustrated, adorned, promoted, and developed them, and this circumstance by itself cannot fail to give the work an enduring and ever-increasing value in the eyes of the community.

III. *As regards institutions*, finally, these volumes will be found to contain the history, the description, and the statistics entire of everything that can be classed under this line of inquiry. No matter from what point of view the reader may wish to study the institutions of St. Louis and the private and public work done by her citizens, acting individually or in association, here is wherewithal to satisfy his desires, anticipate his questions, and supply all the information he needs. The entire municipal establishment is traced out in every ramification, and presented with the fullest detail in its history and its statistics,—the city government and officers and every department, its finances, health, educational establishment, police and fire departments, public buildings, monuments, parks, and squares, with the correlated institutions and tenements of the State and Federal government on the spot. Commerce and industry, production and supply, finance, transportation, and transportation resources and facilities have all been presented with careful completeness and assiduous attention to every detail.

The statistics of trade and manufactures, and all that relates to or bears upon the physical, industrial, and financial resources and potentialities of St. Louis have been given so fully that they cannot fail to attract the particular attention and command the respect of business men. These things are treated so as not only to exemplify their present condition, but historically, in order to illustrate the rapidity and ratio of their growth and development. The volumes contain all that relates not merely to banks, insurance, railroads, steamboats, telegraphs, trade organizations, manufacturing and commercial establishments, their present state, their growth, and the men who have contributed to their development and prosperity, but everything likewise relating to the physical resources and possessions upon which these means of wealth have been built and are still building.

Those who are more directly interested in studying a city's resources from the point of view of associative effort and social growth and advancement, and who wish to learn of what St. Louis has done and is doing for religion, benevolence, and charity, for science, literature, and art, music and the drama, and who seek to know of her progress in education, in hygiene, in penatory and reformatory work, will find in these volumes complete information and valuable statistics in every branch and co-ordination of the various theme.

A glance at the table of contents will suffice to convince even the casual reader how effectively all this wide and comprehensive area has been worked over, and all these separate planes of human association and endeavor each in its turn brought into view with a photographic accuracy in minutiæ which yet has not prevented a steadfast attention to the preservation of the perspective of the whole. Churches, hospitals, charities, societies, companies, agencies have been separately treated, and their history, constitution, organization given in full. But it is useless to attempt to enumerate or select among institutions when we reflect that there are more than six hundred separate heads under which these are treated of in this book.

A work so comprehensive in its objects and scope, and embracing such an infinitude of details, must necessarily have its limitations and defects, and the author is quite aware of the impossibility of discussing so fully such a great variety of subjects without occasional errors. It would have been easy to escape from them by making the work less copious, by avoiding dangerous or controverted themes, and gliding swiftly over the thin ice, generalizing and summing up instead of displaying all the facts. But this did not comport with the author's sense of responsibility to his task, and he has not omitted anything which might help to make his work complete, because he was not fully assured that each detail was "letter perfect." It is proper to call attention to some sources of trifling error for which the author is not responsible, and which seem to be unavoidable in works of this sort.

The desire to leave nothing untold which could in any way throw light upon the history of events, men, and institutions in St. Louis has made it impossible now and then to escape repetition. Facts which fall within the proper cognizance of the narrative of general events will sometimes reappear in another shape in the records of institutions or in the personal memoirs. But the author is assured of the reader's indulgence for venial errors of this sort, for he knows that the intelligent reader prefers a twice-told tale to one neglected or half told.

In more than one instance the author has been constrained by his deference to local authority upon strictly local subjects, and by yielding to the testimony of experts in matters which experts alone are supposed to know thoroughly, to hold back his own judgment in regard to certain subjects, and permit the local authority and the expert to tell the whole story their own way. The result has sometimes been clash, confusion, and the appearance of contradiction, for there is nothing about which local authorities and experts differ so much among themselves as those particular events and things in regard to which they collectively consider it the height of presumption for "outsiders" to disagree with them. Where the subject happened to be one of moment and importance, the author has cut the Gordian knot and stated things to suit himself; but in indifferent or trivial concerns he has simply stood aside and let both parties give their own versions.

In the case of many biographies and memoirs of individuals, these discrepancies will be particularly observable, in conjunction sometimes with an obvious want of proportion between the length and pretensions of the sketch and the importance of the individual. For none of this can the author be held responsible, for the materials upon which these biographies are founded being furnished by the families, friends, or associates of their subjects, sometimes solicited from them, the author was constrained to accept them as they are, and did not feel at liberty to remould or materially modify them in accordance with his sense of proportion.

It will furthermore sometimes be noticed that there are variations in the spelling of names of places and particularly of persons. This is unpleasant to the eye and ear, but cannot be avoided without a serious danger of more material error, and a want of fidelity to the record. Spelling was not a particular accomplishment apparently of the early inhabitants of St. Louis, and French and Spanish names are difficult to adjust to any uniform standard, especially when the documents in which they appear have passed through many hands. There is in fact an utter absence of uniformity in the modes of spelling these old names, and often a single name will be found written in two or three different ways on the same page. It is a common thing for an individual to misspell his own name or to write it in more than one way without any particular reason being apparent for the variation. Under such circumstances, the only safe general rule is that which has been pursued, to follow the record.

But it will be recollected when we speak of errors that we are surveying the contents of two volumes of more than nine hundred pages each, containing over two million words, a work more bulky than the ten volumes of Bancroft's History of the United States, the errors of which, by the way, it has required Bancroft twenty years to correct. An occasional slip in such an extensive field may easily secure pardon.

In the preparation of this work more than twenty times its compass of material, expressly procured and arranged for it, in addition to the great collection of books read and examined for collateral information, was digested, condensed, and, in the pertinent newspaper phrase, "boiled down" to the present limits. In no sense of the word is this work founded upon, built up out of, or repeated from any previous one on the same subject, or any of its branches. It is a new book, treating its theme in a new, comprehensive, and original manner, after exhaustive research and thorough examination and comparison of the best authorities and the most authentic documents and authoritative records. The digesting and assimilating process has perhaps not been carried as far as exigent critics might demand, or as the author's taste made him desire, but in this busy and bustling world there is not time enough to polish the front of a large structure as nicely as one would a mantel ornament of Parian marble. The proprieties of style have, however, not been neglected, for carelessness in that respect would have been equally unworthy of a theme so dignified and of the liberality and beauty of form of the publisher's work.

The author would be unjust to himself and to the city whose history he has written if he did not acknowledge in this place, with feelings of profound gratitude, the cordial aid extended to him and his undertaking by the people of St. Louis. They have given him the fullest encouragement throughout, and have helped him materially in elaborating and perfecting the work. Important and valuable assistance and information have been received from the following persons, to whom also particular recognition is due:

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To the subscribers to the work, who by consenting to take it unseen on the author's own recommendation and the strength of his and the publisher's reputation, have secured its successful completion and publication, the author renders his most grateful thanks, with the earnest hope, as he bids them adieu, that nothing in the volumes and nothing omitted from them may cause them to regret their confidence and their liberality.

J. THOMAS SCHARF.

BALTIMORE, March, 1883.

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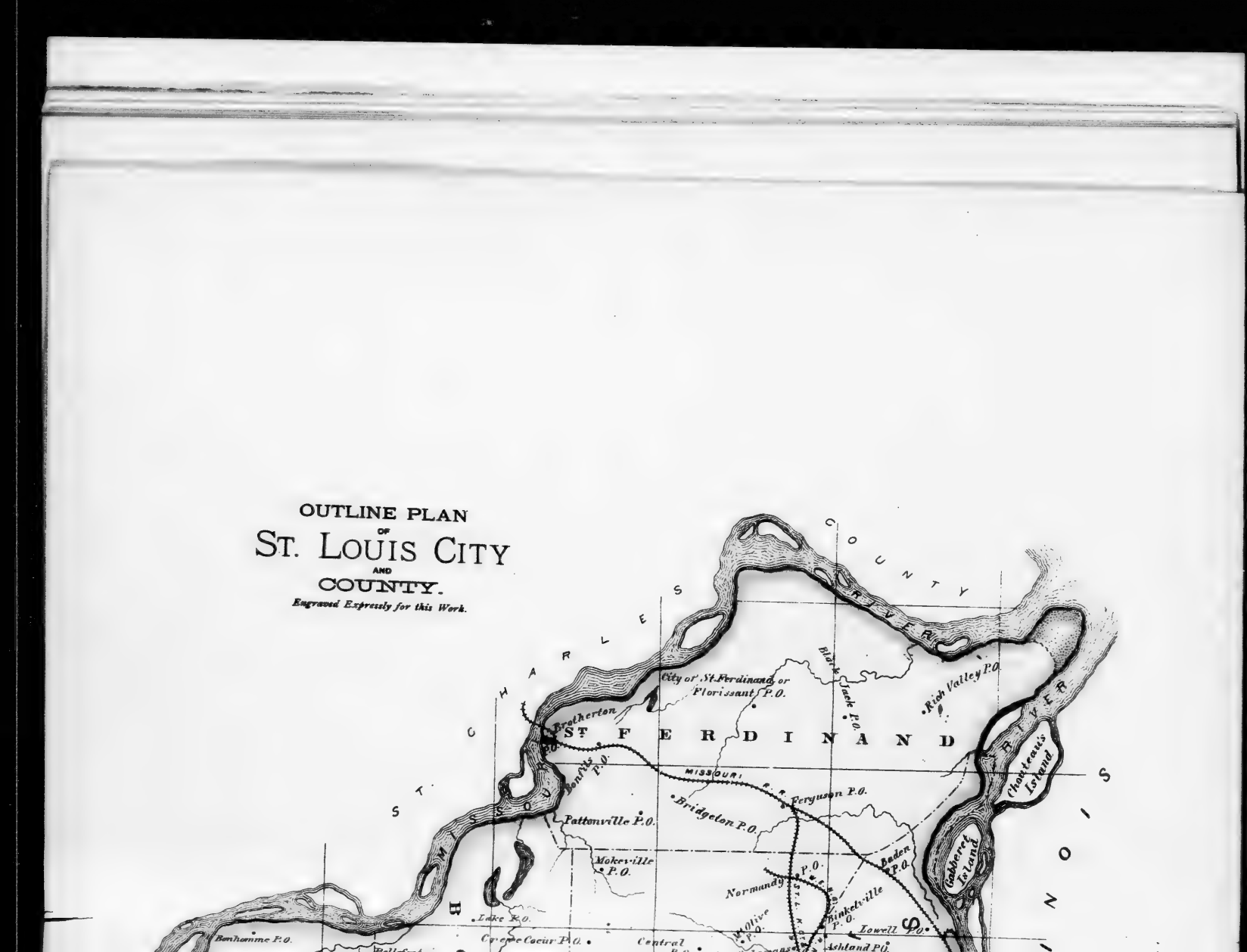
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OUTLINE PLAN
OF
ST. LOUIS CITY
AND
COUNTY.
Engraved Expressly for this Work.
ST. CHARLES COUNTY
ST. FERDINAND
MISSOURI
ILLINOIS
City or St. Ferdinand or Florissant P.O.
Rich Valley P.O.
Black Jack P.O.
Bridgeton P.O.
Ferguson P.O.
Pattonville P.O.
Makerville P.O.
Normandy P.O.
Baden P.O.
Binkelville P.O.
Lowell P.O.
Ashland P.O.
Olive P.O.
Lake P.O.
Benhamme P.O.
Creve Coeur P.O.
Central
Gabberet Island
Chouteaus Island


MISSOURI
Ferguson P.O.
Bridgeton P.O.
Pattonville P.O.
Makerville P.O.
Normandy P.O.
Baden P.O.
Pinkneyville P.O.
Lowell P.O.
Ashland P.O.
Ellcardsville P.O.
Cobblers Island
Benhamme P.O.
Lake P.O.
Creve Coeur P.O.
Central P.O.
Colemans P.O.
Bellefontaine P.O.
Chesterfield
Orrville P.O.
New Alsace P.O.
Price P.O.
Mill Spring P.O.
St Louis P.O.
Manchester P.O.
Des Peres P.O.
Rock Hill P.O.
Valley P.O.
Chellenham P.O.
Ellisville P.O.
Webster Grove P.O.
Fairview P.O.
MERAMEC
Pond P.O.
Melrose P.O.
Fox Creek P.O.
Ballwin P.O.
Kirkwood P.O.
Meramec P.O.
Carondelet or South St. Louis P.O.
Glencoe P.O.
Sherman P.O.
Affon P.O.
Stoppington P.O.
Luxemburg P.O.
Eureka P.O.
Fenton P.O.
Mehlville P.O.
Jefferson Barracks P.O.
Allenton P.O.
Oakville P.O.
ST. LOUIS
FRANKLIN
JEFFERSON
STATE OF ILLINOIS
MERAMEC RIVER

HISTORY

OF THE

CITY AND COUNTY OF SAINT LOUIS.

CHAPTER I.

THE OCEAN-PATHS OF DISCOVERY.

THE history of St. Louis presents some peculiarities such as do not seem to appear in connection with that of any other distinctively American city. St. Louis is intensely modern in its character and impulses, yet its foundation rests upon a substructure of very ancient associations, such as lead research and investigation into the affairs of the earliest white settlers of the North American continent. The first white man looked upon the site of St. Louis only nine years before the founding of Philadelphia, and Laclede's trading-post, where this city now stands, was not established until 1764, no more than eleven years previous to the American Revolution. St. Louis was not brought into the Union until 1803; it did not fairly commence to grow until 1818; it was no more than a frontier trading-post and garrison town when it was incorporated as a city in 1822. Yet we must seek its beginning in ethnic influences and race movements and colonies which are antecedent to the planting of St. Augustine and Quebec. The Spaniards who governed St. Louis at the opening of the nineteenth century had already discovered the Mississippi River in the third decade of the fifteenth century, and the French forts and towns in Illinois which eventually contributed their population to augment the growth of St. Louis were all of them planted and thriving before the Peace of Ryswick, and before New England had entirely recovered from the desperate struggle with the Wampanoags.

St. Louis and New Orleans are the only American cities which have owned both the French and Spanish sway before yielding allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. New Orleans continues French to the core. St. Louis is thoroughly Americanized; but in the process of transformation the city has become cosmopolitan in a remarkable degree. In this respect likewise St. Louis is markedly distinct from other American cities. None is less provincial, none so thoroughly metropolitan in the composition of its population, which is yet blended together in one homogeneous whole that makes it an effective unit in every article of action and enterprise. Quebec, like New Orleans, has never been completely naturalized in the Anglo-American family; Boston, like Baltimore, is provincial; New York is still Dutch in warp, and Philadelphia has not outgrown the peculiarities of the formal sect which founded it; Chicago is a camping-place of the nations, with Yankee machinery to give it electrical swiftness of motion; but in St. Louis nationalities are fused and welded together, so that every inhabitant feels the local spirit and patriotic impulse of the Latin, who knew no higher boast than "*Civis Romanus sum.*"

It is part of the object and plan of the present History of St. Louis to trace minutely the currents of race and opinion which have affected and influenced the quality and character of the city's growth, while describing every incident of that growth and development with fidelity and completeness.

Such a history is naturally attractive and picturesque. It is tinctured with romance, it is pervaded with adventure. There is something about it which resembles the sweeping and various contours of the circumjacent prairies, forests, and rivers, and withal there is a smack of local flavor and individuality in it which recalls the *bonhomie* and careless, easy grace of its earliest inhabitants. To catch such vivid traits and reproduce such changing and various tints is a work of art at which the most skillful need not blush to fail, but it is a labor also of love at which the artist will toil with ardor.

The pleasing hypothesis that St. Louis is naturally

the geographical, commercial, and political centre of the North American continent may be entertained or dismissed as one chooses, without injury to the present hopes or future prospects of the great city. But if it were important to the city's interests to maintain and establish the opinion, some curiously apposite arguments in favor of it might be derived from the convergence of the lines of exploration and discovery, of travel and immigration upon St. Louis as a common focal point. This is not peculiar to one epoch, but common to all. It is the tradition of nearly every Indian tribe and nation, and notably of the Natchez, and the Algonkin and the Iroquois who dispersed them and drove them south, that they originally came —in the dim legendary past—from the northwest, upon such a diagonal line of migration as would bring them to the Mississippi at or about the latitude of St. Louis. When Ferdinand de Soto and his followers, bitten with all the Spaniard's insatiate *auri sacra fames*, sought between A.D. 1539 and 1543 to discover another Mexico in the heart of our continent, the path of their arduous wanderings from the southeast brought them ever nearer to this same centre. In 1540, when the Governor of New Galicia, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, set forth upon his memorable march from Compostella and Culiacan, upon the Gulf of California, to discover and conquer the apocryphally rich "seven cities of Cibola," he did not stay his footsteps in the strange wilderness until he had reached the fortieth parallel at a point half-way between Leavenworth and Omaha. The French who went west from Quebec to Lake Superior, those who descended the Wabash, the Illinois, the Kaskaskia, and the Mississippi, and those who ascended the latter stream from the Belize, all met and settled within forty or fifty miles of the city whose history we are writing, and the oldest settlement, Cahokia, is within sight of its taller spires. So likewise the three chief lines of English settlement from New England across Western New York to the lakes, from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia westward to the Ohio, and from Virginia and the Carolinas to Tennessee and Kentucky, all converged at St. Louis. It is rather more than a coincidence that Coronado and De Soto, the one starting on the Pacific coast and the other on the Atlantic, would actually have crossed paths if they had projected their outward marches two hundred miles farther, and their meeting point would have been very near the site of St. Louis. It is rather more than a coincidence likewise that the road of the trading-pack and wagon of the New England emigrant, the path of the Virginia ranger and Kentucky hunter, the devious way of the Canadian *coureur des bois* and *voyageur* and route of the trapper, should all of them have led to St. Louis. In the ante-chamber of the representative of the French *ancien régime* or the Spanish hidalgo who might chance to be "commandant" at old St. Louis, but in no other place on this continent, it would have been natural for Daniel Boone, "backwoodsman of Kentucky," to meet and exchange adventures with the Yankee peddler from Connecticut, the Jesuit priest from Minnesota, the Canadian half-breed trapper from the headwaters of the Missouri, and the sugar-planter of Opelousas and Terrebonne.

So races and nationalities confront one another today in St. Louis, and so likewise, in the remotest past of America's connection with historic periods, we find that convergence of races and nationalities towards the central point of the great Mississippi basin, which was to eventuate in the founding of St. Louis and its establishment as the key-city of the mightiest river-system upon the globe.

The causes of the discovery and settlement of the valley of the Mississippi were identical with those which led to the discovery and settlement of America. The lust for gold, made keener by the currency requirements of a period of restless expansion of trade, the desire to plant proud royal banners and the humble cross of Christ upon new lands and to subordinate new realms to European monarchies and Catholic orthodoxy, and the eager jealousy with which the Western nations of Europe, just newly born to commerce and the possibilities of the unlimited expansion of trade over the ocean spaces, beheld the relations of Venice with the wealthy East,—these are the causes which led Prince Henry of Portugal to push south and Christopher Columbus to press westward in quest of that Far Cathay the unexampled riches of which had been exhibited in glowing colors by the fertile pen of Marco Polo. Father Marquette, when he sought the Mississippi, hoped to find that it emptied into the Gulf of California, and thus would afford to France an easy route to China by way of the St. Lawrence and the lakes. La Salle named his fort and village near Montreal "La Chine," in token of the intentness with which he pursued his original object of seeking a navigable route across the continent to India.[1] Both Columbus and the early explorers of the continent by land were deceived in regard to the size of the globe and the proximity of Europe to Asia. Columbus fancied that China lay just across the "ocean stream," not more than fifteen hundred or

[1] Kalm, the Swedish traveler, says the name was satirical, given by La Salle's followers in derision of his incessant talk about China and the repeated delays which kept him from making any further progress in that direction.

two thousand miles from Palos. De Soto, Hudson, Raleigh, and the French explorers all seem to have supposed that the girth of North America on the line of the fortieth parallel was not much greater than on the parallel of the city of Mexico.[1]

This was a fortunate error on the part of Columbus, for his great voyage never would have been undertaken if he had been aware of the breadth of the great Atlantic, and that another continent and a second and mightier ocean still interposed between him and the goal of his hopes and vigils. Columbus had the same religious reverence for the opinions of Ptolemy and the elder geographers that the philosophers and theologians of his day had for Aristotle. He accepted the view put forth by them that the sea covered only one-seventh of the extent of the globe, instead of three-fourths, and he did not think the globe was near so big as it proved to be in the sequel of his discoveries. "*El mundo es poco*," he wrote to Queen Isabella, "*digo que el mundo no es tan grande como dice el vulgo.*" ("I tell you the world is not so great as the vulgar call it.") He felt assured that the distance from the Azores to the known parts of Eastern Asia could not be greater than a third of the earth's circumference, and that much of the intervening space was taken up with islands and the unknown parts of Asia. The geographers upon whom he relied had projected the Caspian Sea very far eastward, advanced the coast-line of China to the meridian of the Hawaiian Islands, and taken away eighty-six degrees of longitude from the actual distance between the Canary Islands and Cathay. If Columbus had not accepted these opinions, he might well have shrunk from an undertaking so vast as that of traversing the immense breadth of unknown space between Spain and Japan.

But the failure of Columbus, while it might have delayed, would not have prevented, the discovery and settlement of America within a short period of time. The thirst for adventure was abroad, the compass and the quadrant gave to the seaman the means of navigating the ocean on certain paths without needing to keep the land in sight. The last half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries was the peculiar epoch of human energy and enterprise directed to and concentrated upon the field of maritime discovery, just as the next hundred years was peculiarly the period of colonization and settlement in the new lands. A sudden "new sense," in the happy phrase of Humboldt, was developed in that interval for the appreciation of the grand and the boundless. Even if "*Christophorus quidam, vir Ligur*," as the great explorer is termed in Peter Martyr's correspondence, had not attained to our shores, there was "a track of fruitful germs" of discovery and anticipations of America which would not have been neglected under any circumstances. "The dreamy land of physical myths" had showed the receding of shores of unknown continents to the eyes of many successive generations, hungry for new sources of wealth and luxury and filled with yearnings for new and untrodden lands, new paths of adventure and romance. The bosom of the unknown ocean teemed with the most desirable images that come in dreams. It contained the philosopher's paradise of Atlantis, the blissful havens of St. Brandon, the realm of gold and pearls and diamonds, where the fountains bubbled with the sparkling waters of perpetual youth. Here were the Hesperides, the isles of the blessed, where golden apples grew on rippling trees. In these regions the dim light of the traditionary memory just caught gleams of the shrine of St. Thomas the apostle, or saw the marble palaces and great bronze gates of Prester John's city and kingdom in the wilderness.

There was a spirit ripening in these times which would have led men abroad to search for the improbable and the impossible, if nothing more substantial had offered. But there was evidence of land beyond the seas which did not need to be corroborated by the dreams of poets and the speculations of philosophers. Discovery had outrun imagination already. The narrative of Marco Polo far exceeded in splendor the most exaggerated accounts by the ancients of the wealth and wonders of India. The Azores, the Canary Islands, and Madeira were fitting outposts of an American paradise, so bright were their skies, so soft and balmy their airs of perpetual spring. The ardent imagination and keen, instructed intellect of Prince Henry of Portugal[2] never formed such a warm dream of India

[1] The first accurate guess at the true proportions and extent of the North American continental mass is found in Castañeda's "Relations," one of the narratives of Coronado's march. Speaking of the Indian tribes north of the Rio Grande, and whom he thinks to have come from "East India," he says, "According to the route they followed they must have come from the extremity of the Eastern India, and from a very unknown region, which, according to the conformation of the coast, would be situated far in the interior of the land betwixt China and Norway. *There must, in fact, be an immense distance from one sea to the other*, according to the form of the coast as it has been discovered by Capt. Villalobos, who took that direction in seeking for China. The same occurs when we follow the coast of Florida; it always approaches Norway up to the point where '*des boccalaos*' (or codfish) is obtained."—*Smithsonian Report*, 1869: *Paper of Gen. J. H. Simpson on Coronado's March.*

[2] He inherited his brains and his tendency to ocean-paths from his mother, Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV. of England. He was "a prince devoted to lofty enterprise and

as is presented in the glowing stanzas of Camoens' "Os Lusiados," and wherever discovery was pushed the real exceeded the ideal. For that matter, Mexico and Peru were more magnificent than the Cathay which Columbus sought, and the gold-bearing kingdoms of Theguaio and Quivira which Marquette, Joliet, Hennepin, and La Salle aimed at, the seven cities of Cibola which Coronado strove to attain, could never have proved half so rich in mineral wealth as California and Nevada turn out to be. The Northmen had discovered Greenland, Labrador, and Maine and Massachusetts, as Columbus learned when he made his voyage to Thule. The actual Sargasso Sea in the angle of the Cape Verde, Azores, and Canary Islands may have easily led to the belief in St. Brandon and the island of the Seven Cities, and the bard Meredith ap Griffith, who died in 1477, certainly reported the voyages to a new land of the Welsh prince, Madoc, whether those voyages were ever made or not. It is even claimed by French writers that in 1488, four years before Columbus undertook his voyage from Palos, Cousin, a seaman of Dieppe, was blown westward from the coast of Africa to the shores of a new, unknown continent, in which he saw the mouth of a great river. One of his seamen was a Pinzon, who mutinied, was dismissed from the maritime service of Dieppe, and went to Spain, where he met Columbus, and accompanied him on his first voyage.[1]

Be this as it may, we know that Christopher Columbus reached the Western Continent in 1492, and that John and Sebastian Cabot, sailing under the flag of King Henry VII. of England, first discovered Newfoundland, Labrador, and the main-land in 1497. Parkman is inclined to believe that the French fishermen of Dieppe, Malines, Harfleur, St. Jean de Luz, and other places along the coast of France—Normans, Bretons, and Basques—had a cod-fishery on the banks of Newfoundland anterior to Cabot's voyage, but no accounts of them are known of an earlier date than that given by Jean Parmentier, of Dieppe.[2] Parmentier states that the French fishermen were at the Banks in 1504. It is a curious fact, in reviewing the scene of the discoveries and the ocean adventures which distinguish the latter part of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, that the French, the most chivalrous people of Europe, and at that period scarcely yet emancipated from the sort of religious enthusiasm which led to the crusades, should have been the first of the European nations to utilize the newly acquired acquaintance with the Western Continent for the comparatively humble purposes of the fisheries, colonization, and legitimate trade. They were not dazzled with the splendor of imperial conquest such as sent hosts of Spanish adventurers abroad in the train of the successors of Columbus, Cortez, Pizarro, Ponce de Leon, Pamfilo Narvaez, De Soto, and others. On the contrary, it was the Norman fishers, the descendants of the followers of Rollo the sea-rover, the hardy Biscayan coastmen of Breton and Basque blood, who first planted the white standard of France and erected the symbol of the cross above their fish-drying sheds on the coasts of Newfoundland, Labrador, Nova Scotia, and the desolate islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. France has lost all her other possessions in North America, but the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the coast of Newfoundland, where probably the French fishermen landed very early in the sixteenth century, are still retained by that country for the fishery uses to which their convenient shores were originally set apart. It was these fishers from the debouches of the Adour, the Garonne, the Loire, the Seine, and the Somme, these hardy navigators who had been taught to despise the perils and discount the mysteries of the ocean by the rude buffets of the waves of the British Channel and the uncertain tides and currents of all the French coast, from the Bassin d'Archarchon and the Pertuis of La Rochelle to the chalk bluffs of Boulogne, who were the predecessors of Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain. The bold promontory of Finisterre points westward with singular emphasis, and the experienced sailors of Dieppe, St. Malo, Morlaix, and Brest would not dread to encounter the difficult navigation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Cape Breton was named by these sailors at least as early as any part of our continent has been named by Europeans, and the French were the originators of the American fur trade as well as its most successful prosecutors. Wherever the French landed in America it was to settle and improve, not conquer and despoil, and they

acts of generous spirit," whose motto was "The talent to do good." He established a naval college, founded an observatory at Sagres, improved maps and charts, educated navigators, and prepared the way for the prosecution of the route to India *via* Cape of Good Hope.

[1] Parkman, "Pioneers of France in America," where the subject is discussed with much reading. Estancelin, says Parkman, has been unable to verify the Dieppe legend, but there is nothing improbable in a vessel being blown from the coast of Africa across to the coast of Brazil. The trouble is that one navigator's success leads to the springing up of a thousand counter-claims of discovery, and the knowledge of this propensity will always throw a shadow of suspicion upon any *ex post facto* pretension to priority.

[2] The claim rests upon the fact that Cabot gave the name of Baccalaos, as the Indian word for cod-fish, to the coast of Labrador, stating that it was the native name, and that *baccalaos* is Basque for cod fish.

were the only foreign dwellers upon American soil who won the esteem, the confidence, and the affection of the native tribes, who coalesced with them and did not poison and destroy them by their contact.

If the Cabots undoubtedly discovered the shores of our continent and main-land to the advantage of England, it is certain that the French began their settlements upon our coasts much earlier than the English, and it is probable that there were many informal settlements, landings made, and fish-houses planted by seamen and individuals, without government support or sanction, long anterior to the embarkation of Cartier. The language of Postel, as quoted by Lescarbot,[1] would seem to be conclusive upon this point: "*Terra hæc ob lucrosissimam piscationis utilitatem summa litterarum memoria a Gallis adiri solita, et ante mille sexcentos annos frequentari solita est.*" This would not imply voyages of discovery or search, but the frequent passages of vessels in an established traffic. We know, from the contemporary chronicles, that in 1517 fifty vessels, under the French, Spanish, and Portuguese flags, were at one and the same time engaged in the fisheries upon the cod-banks of Newfoundland, and it is recorded that on Aug. 3, 1527, more than a hundred years before Lord Baltimore attempted to plant his colony of Avalon in Newfoundland, there were in the Bay of St. John eleven sail of Norman vessels, one Breton, and two Portuguese. A business of this magnitude is not built up in a day. Cartier, when he first came out in 1534, found that the bays and capes of Newfoundland had already been named by the French voyagers who preceded him. Nearly all these names are still retained, to bear witness in favor of the French claims to priority in navigating along that part of the continent, and they prove, moreover, that the French did not simply touch at, but circumnavigated, the island. If some one familiar with the family histories of the French fishermen of Normandy, Brittany, and Gascony were carefully to spell out the names upon the map of Newfoundland, he would perhaps establish many dates which are now uncertain. The bays of Pistolet, Griquet, Lemaire, La Poile, and Ingrenechoix, and such names as Broyle, Renowes, Croc, Tolinquet, La Hune, Barachais, Fogo, Trepassey, Cannaigre, etc., must reflect the names, in some measure, of the fishermen who discovered them. In the voyages compiled by Ramusio, we find that these hardy sailors, in exploring these perilous and sequestered seas, discovered a group of islands to the north of Newfoundland, which they fancied were the abodes of fiends, and which they called *les îles des demons*, "*pour autant que les Demons y font terrible tintamarre*," frightful with the inarticulate clâmor of strange human voices, shrieks, yells, and cries such as might burst forth in the orgies of the imps of Satan or from the damned in the extremity of torture. The ignorant fishermen, unblenching in presence of natural dangers, shrunk appalled from these supernatural regions, nor did they venture into the mountains of Labrador, which were fabled to be the habitation of dragons and griffins, and to harbor all the strange creations of faery myth in the depths of their antres vast and cavcrns horrible. But, for the rest, wherever a ship could go they pushed their little barks. Denis, of Harfleur, explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence as early as 1506, and two years later Aubert, a navigator of Dieppe, completed his work. Baron de Lery, in 1518, made an unsuccessful attempt to settle on the bleak and perilous Sable Island, and the cattle which he landed, the descendants of which are still to be found there in great numbers, proved that he intended his settlement to be a permanent one and the nucleus of a colony.

The claim of England to all the territory of North America north of Cape Hatteras rested upon the voyages of discovery made by John Cabot and his son Sebastian in 1497 and 1498. This claim covered, and eventually was enforced against, the territories of New France and New Netherland, though the energies of England in that direction did not begin to be put forth until the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and her successor, when English ships swarmed every sea in pursuit of the wealth-bearing galleons of Spain. Cabot had a commission under the great seal of England, empowering him and his three sons, their heirs, and their deputies to sail into the eastern, western, or northern sea in search of islands, provinces, or regions hitherto unseen by Christian people; "to affix the banners of England on city, island, or continent, and, as vassals of the English crown, to possess and occupy the territories that might be found."[2] Under this patent John Cabot erected a cross, with the flags of England and the republic of Venice, upon the peninsula of Cape Cod in 1497, and in 1498, the same year that Vasco de Gama reached Hindostan by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and Columbus touched the shores of South America and found the mouth of the Orinoco, Cabot's son Sebastian sailed into the Arctic seas as far as the icebergs would permit him to go, coasted Newfoundland, and continued his voyage along the American coast as far as the

[1] Parkman, Early French Adventure.

[2] Bancroft, vol. i. chap. i.

latitude of Gibraltar. This voyage is described by the eager chronicler Peter Martyr, who, from his vantage ground in Spain, sent to the Pope and the other sovereigns of Europe a series of regular bulletins, reporting the daily progress of adventure and discovery. The spirit of the age and its fructifying curiosity inspired Peter Martyr in an intense degree. "Each day," he wrote, "brings us new wonders from a new world, from the Western antipodes which a certain Genoese traveler has discovered. Our friend Pomponius Lætus could scarcely restrain his tears of joy when I communicated to him the first accounts of so unexpected an event. What aliment more delicious than such tidings can be set before an ingenious mind? It is like an accession of wealth to a miser. Our minds, soiled with vices, become meliorated by contemplating such glorious events." It was the news of the success of Columbus which impelled the Cabots to make their voyages; and their discoveries in turn, with the hope of shortening the distance to China by following routes lying in high latitudes, attracted many navigators to the northern seas.

In 1501 Manuel, King of Portugal, dispatched Gaspar Cortereal to these waters in search of a northwest passage to India. His two caravels explored seven or eight hundred miles of coast-line, as far north as the fiftieth parallel, when their progress was obstructed by the ice. He gave the name of Labrador to the black shores which still bear it,—a name of sombre omen, for it emphasizes the fact that this navigator kidnapped fifty of the natives, to sell them for slaves on his return.[1] Cortereal discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and so thoroughly identified himself with the country that in old Portuguese maps the coast of the main-land opposite Newfoundland is named *Terra Cortereälis*. He undertook a second voyage, from which he never returned, and, though search was made for him, no vestige of vessels or crew was ever found. The Portuguese did not press their explorations farther in this direction. The treasures and spices of the tropics had much more attraction for them and the Spaniards than they found in furs, codfish, and whale oil. In fact, none but the French fishermen thought it worth their while to loiter about these uninviting, iron-bound coasts.[2]

The bull of Pope Alexander the Sixth, which gave to Spain all the new territory discovered west of a meridian drawn through a point one hundred leagues west of the Azores, and confirmed to Portugal all the new territory found east of it, was ignored by the English and resented by the French. Francis I., the chevalier monarch of that country, retorted with animation, "What, shall the kings of Spain and Portugal divide all America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article in Adam's will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them." Francis, more of a knight-errant than a king, and more of an adventurer than a true paladin, was emulous of every sort of glory which his brother-monarchs achieved. He patronized art and literature, just as he made war, to increase his *éclat*, and he equipped the Florentine navigator, Giovanni de Verrazzano, for a voyage of discovery and exploration and to search for the northern passage to India, because he coveted the wealth and the fame that Charles V., his hated rival, was earning in the New World. Repeated efforts have been made to disprove the genuineness of Verrazzano's discoveries, or rather the account of them, as contained in his letter to King Francis, of which Ramusio's collection of voyages contains an abridgment. These efforts have created a doubt, but have not discredited Verrazzano, it would seem, among those who have examined into the facts and are acquainted with all the circumstances.[3] Verrazzano sailed from Dieppe towards the

[1] "It has been conjectured that the name *Terra de Laborador* was given to this coast by the Portuguese slave merchants on account of the admirable qualities of the natives as laborers."—*Picture of Quebec.*

[2] "Les demandes ordinaires qu'on fait sont, 'Y a-t-il des trésors? Y a-t-il de l'or et de l'argent?' Et personne ne demande, 'Ces peuples là sont ils disposés à entendre la doctrine Chretienne?' Et quant aux mines, il y en a vraiment, mais il les faut fouiller avec industrie, labeur, et patience. La plus belle mine que je sache, c'est du bled et du vin, avec la nourriture du bestial; qui a de ceci, il a de l'argent, et des mines, nous n'en vivons point."—*Marc L'Escarbot*, quoted from "The Conquest of Canada, by the author of Hochelaga," a work of much research and a mine of collateral learning.

[3] Judge Henry C. Murphy, of Brooklyn (dead since this text was written), heads the list of the skeptics, and has published a monograph on the subject. But Parkman has a copy of the MS. (the original is in the Magliabecchian library, at Florence) of Verrazzano's letter, from which Ramusio prepared the abridgment which he published, and Mr. George W. Greene has unearthed in Florence another letter giving an independent corroborating account of the voyage—"*Fernando Carli a suo Padre a Firenze.*" Besides this, according to Parkman, there is in the Roman Propaganda a map made in 1529, by Hieronymus de Verrazzano, brother of the navigator, on which Canada and this country are designated as "*Verrazzana, sive Nova Gallia, quale discopri, 5 anni fa Giovanni da Verazzano Fiorentino.*" ("Verrazzana, or New France, which was discovered 5 years since by John da Verrazzano, of Florence.") The navigator was a native of Florence, and one of an ancient family eminent in the annals of that nursery of great men. What became of the navigator after his return to Dieppe, where he wrote his narrative, is not ascertained. He was earnestly desirous to return to the new land he had discovered, found a colony, and convert the natives to Christianity, but the wars and disasters of France at that time prevented the king from giving him further encouragement. Shea, following Barcia, says that

end of 1523, with four ships, but a storm drove them back, and when he finally started on the voyage across the ocean from Madeira, in January, 1524, he had but a single caravel, the "Dolphin." In this vessel he crossed the Atlantic in forty-nine days, first nearing the shore not far from the mouth of Cape Fear River, North Carolina, "a newe land, never before seen of any man, either ancient or modern." The inhabitants crowded to the shore to welcome the strangers and treated them with hospitality and friendship, which they requited by kidnapping a terrified infant to carry back with them, we suppose as a curiosity to present to the king. The vessel followed the line of the coast north and eastward, putting into New York Bay and the Harbor of Newport, both of which can be identified from the navigator's description. Thence they proceeded eastward along the New England coast, finding the nations hostile and mistrustful, though anxious to trade,—evidence enough that they had encountered white men before. When he had sailed as far to the north as Newfoundland, Verrazzano's provisions gave out, and he steered eastward for France. His narrative is the earliest description extant of the shores of the United States.

The next voyager to this coast of whom we have any account was a Spaniard, Stefano Gomez, who, after sailing to Cuba and Florida in 1525, steered northward in quest of the passage to India. He reached Cape Race, in Newfoundland, and is supposed to have entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and given its name to Canada.[1]

France did not at once follow up the explorations of Verrazzano, but they were not forgotten. The kingdom was in a wretched condition at the time of the navigator's return. It was at war with Spain and Germany; it was invaded by the army of condottieri under the traitor Constable de Bourbon, and Francis was preparing for the fatal expedition to Italy which was to result in the battle of Pavia, the rout of the French chivalry, and the captivity of the king. As Raynal observed, "Intestine troubles discouraged the people from prosecuting extensive foreign commerce, and checked all aspiration for founding kingdoms in the two Indies. . . . The nation, moreover, was always negotiating, as it were, with its sovereign. The royal authority was really unlimited, though not recognized as such by the laws; the nation, though often too independent in act, yet had no legal guarantees for its liberties. The government, occupied alone with the task of subjugating the people, took no care of the interests of the commonwealth." But in 1530 France had a breathing spell; the Treaty of Cambrai gave it a truce of three years, commonly called the *Paix des Dames*, the treaty having been signed in 1529. The grand admiral of the kingdom, the monarch's companion in arms, Philippe de Brion-Chabot, took advantage of it to remind Francis of the

it is almost certain that he was hanged by the Spaniards at Puerto del Pico as a pirate, in the course of a subsequent voyage, which he probably made in the service of Henry VIII. of England. Ramusio affirms that, on a second voyage, he was killed and eaten by savages. Parkman is inclined to believe, from contemporary allusions, that he was living in Rome in 1537, but Le Clerc, in his "Etablissement de la Foy," says, "He had nearly the same fate as Moses; he merely saw that vast country promising him immense wealth; he proposed to enter it, to make a second voyage and considerable establishments, but death, which surprised him on the way, gave him no time to accomplish his designs." In the Chronological Memoirs of Dieppe, Verrazzano is put down as one of the companions of Aubert in his voyage to Newfoundland in 1512.

[1] "An ancient Castilian tradition existed that the Spaniards visited these coasts before the French, and having perceived no appearance of mines or riches, they exclaimed frequently, '*Aca nada*,' ('Here is nothing.') The natives caught up the sound, and, when other Europeans arrived, repeated it to them. The strangers concluded that these words were a designation, and from that time this magnificent country bore the name of CANADA."—*The Conquest of Canada*, vol. i. p. 39. Hennepin, in his *Nouvelle Description*, declares that the Spaniards, finding nothing to gratify their thirst for gold, called the land they touched at "*El Capo di Nada*" ("Cape Nothing"), of which the present name is a corruption. Charlevoix, however, derives the name from the Iroquois word *Kanata*, "*qui se prononce Canada, et signifie un amas de cabanes*,"—a collection of cabins. If this be so—and it is very probable—Canada and Andastes and Conestoga, the aboriginal name of the Susquehanna Indians, have the same root. Duponceau, in a paper published in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, notes the fact that Brandt, the well-known Indian chief, in his translation of the Gospel of St. Mark into the Mohawk tongue, always gives the word Canada as the equivalent for village: so that each tribe of Indians in the vicinity of the St. Lawrence may have had its own particular Canada. Cartier called his first settlement "New France," imitating Verrazzano; the St. Lawrence he calls "the river of Hochelaga," or "the great river of Canada," and the name *Canada* he confines to a district extending from the Isle des Coudres to Quebec. The country below he names *Saguenay*; that above, *Hochelaga*. Lescarbot gives the name of Canada to the borders of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to the Gulf. In the map of Ortelius, 1572, *Canada* lies above the river Saguenay; in this map Labrador is still called *Terra Corterealis*, and Florida extends to the Mississippi River, while New France includes both North and South America. Parkman, from whom these particulars are derived, thinks that the derivation of Canada is undoubtedly Indian, not Spanish. "In the vocabulary of the language of Hochelaga, appended to the journal of Cartier's second voyage, *Canada* is set down as the word for a town or village: '*Ils appellent une ville, Canada.*' It bears the same meaning in the Mohawk tongue. Both languages are dialects of the Iroquois. Lescarbot affirms that Canada is simply an Indian proper name, of which it is vain to seek a meaning. Belleforest also calls it an Indian word, but translates it '*Terre*,' as does also Thevet."—*Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World.*

immense territorial acquisitions of Spain and Portugal in the New World, and the necessity to imitate these easy and productive conquests. Chabot was one of the king's chief favorites,—a hero who shines in the chevaleresque pages of the Bon Sieur de Brantôme, a noble jouster and tennis-player, but not merely a carpet-knight. He was Governor of Normandy and Brittany, and knew perhaps as much about the hardy mariners and fishermen of France's iron-bound coast as he did of the belles-dames of the court and the mistresses of the king. Chabot inspired the king to begin an establishment in the regions discovered by Verrazzano, and found him a fit expert to carry out the plan.

This agent was Jacques Cartier, a mariner of the old Breton town of St. Malo. Cartier's portrait is preserved; it is the face of a man of acute intelligence, indomitable will, and the most intense earnestness of purpose; keen as a falcon, and brave as only a Breton can be. Cartier was born in 1494; he was forty years old,—just the age to plan and to carry out a great design; and he lived in a town filled with people who were familiar with sea-adventure and ready to undertake any sort of enterprise. Little is known about his personal history. He was born, lived, and died in St. Malo. He married there, and both he and his wife were devout Catholics, attendants upon the services in the cathedral. In this venerable edifice Cartier always confessed and attended mass when he set out upon a voyage, and had a special service of thanksgiving when he returned. Before he died he founded an "obit" service there to promote the repose of his soul. Under the directions of Chabot, Cartier was furnished with two vessels of not over sixty tons each, and crews numbering one hundred and twenty-two men all told. When the preparations for the expedition were making, it is said that the kings of Spain and Portugal both protested against it as an invasion of their territorial rights,[1] but this is by no means probable. Cartier sailed from St. Malo, April 26, 1534,[2] armed with a commission from the French king which gave him very full authority. Twenty days afterwards he reached the coast of Newfoundland; thence, by the Straits of Belle Isle, he crossed to the mainland, entered the Gulf of Chaleurs, erected a cross at Gaspé, and, hot in pursuit of the direct route to China, ascended the St. Lawrence to Anticosti. Everywhere he found capes, islands, and rivers named by his French predecessors. This first voyage of Cartier's was only preliminary. He coasted the sea-margin of Newfoundland and Labrador, gave its name to the Bay des Chaleurs, and had much intercourse with the natives, two of whom he took home with him when he returned to France. He describes the Indians as being well-built ("*uomini d'assai bella vita e grandezza*"), and wearing their hair tied up over their heads, like bundles of hay, quaintly interlaced with feathers.[3] He took possession of the country for the French king when he erected his cross in Gaspé Bay, persuading the Indians that the formality was a religious ceremony,—a fiction which it seems did not impose upon their chief.

Cartier, after reaching the mouth of the St. Lawrence on the 15th of August, set sail for France again, the weather beginning to be stormy. He arrived in St. Malo on September 5th, and his report of the voyage and its results was very well received. The navigator had a friend and active patron in the Vice-Admiral of France, Charles de Moncy, Sieur de Maillerie. Moncy had the ear of Chabot, and is supposed to have introduced Cartier to him. Through Maillerie's influence, Cartier's commission was renewed, and a much larger equipment given him for the next voyage. He had three vessels assigned him, with one hundred and ten men; and several gentlemen of birth volunteered to accompany him, including Claude de Pontbriand and Charles de la Pommeraye. Cartier's vessel, "La Grande Hermine," the largest in the fleet, did not exceed one hundred and ten tons burthen; the other vessels were commanded by Captain Gillaume le Breton and Marc Jalobert. When the expedition was ready to sail, the men all marched in procession, with Cartier at their head, to the cathedral, confessed, heard mass, and invoked the blessing of Heaven on their undertaking, after which, on Whitsunday, May 19, 1535, they went to sea. The voyage was tedious; July had come before Cartier reached Newfoundland, but thence it was an easy stretch to the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Up the latter Cartier sailed two hundred leagues, to the Isle d'Orléans. The Indians whom he had taken to France on the previous voyage returned with him, and were of great service as guides, pilots, and interpreters. They procured supplies and promoted intercourse between the French and the savages. Cartier through them made the acquaintance and secured the friendship of Dannacona, the chief of Stadaconé, the basin of Quebec; and here it was that, the season being far advanced, the bold navigator determined to winter. Stadaconé,

[1] F. X. Garneau, L'Histoire du Canada.

[2] Parkman, Ramusio, Charlevoix, L'Escarbot.

[3] The first two voyages of Cartier are translated in the third volume of Ramusio; L'Escarbot also publishes them in his History. They are written in the third person, and do not seem to be the navigator's own production.

however, important as it was, was not the chief town of the country. That was called Hochelaga, sixty leagues farther up the river, and Cartier determined to visit the King of Hochelaga, in spite of the opposition of Dannacona and the many great bugbears he contrived to prevent the voyage. The expedition was successfully carried out, and thus Cartier was the earliest white man on the site of Montreal. A thousand Indians thronged the shore, dancing, shouting, and singing songs of welcome, and the visitors were escorted in great state to the Indian village of fifty wooden houses, where the decrepit chief of Hochelaga received and entertained them. Returning to Quebec, Cartier completed a fort or stockade which his crews had built in his absence, and the ships were moored alongside of it. The winter came in with severity, but, as the Indians did not seem to mind it, it was probably not an unusually bitter winter; but the French fared very badly. The scurvy broke out among them in a malignant form in December, and soon there were not enough sound persons left to wait on those who were ill. Twenty-six men—twenty-three and one-half per cent.—died before April. An Indian showed Cartier a species of evergreen, the leaves of which were a specific against scurvy, and the survivors of the crew were brought around and restored to health by copious draughts of a decoction made of the leaves of this fir or spruce.

As soon as navigation permitted, Cartier set sail for France, and once more cast anchor in the harbor of St. Malo, on July 8, 1536. He had made great discoveries, but not of the sort that are attractive to kings. He had found a rigorous climate, a savage people, but no gold, spices, nor precious stones. But, on the other hand, the Indians were full of tales of wonder, such as suited the appetite of adventurers: they spoke of a land of gold and rubies, of a nation of whites, of people who lived without food, and others who went through life upon one leg. Cartier did not discredit these stories; but he thought it would be better for the king and court to learn them from the fountain-head, and consequently, when he was ready to sail home, he had carried off Dannacona and his chiefs and interpreters, kidnapping them in return for the many services they had done him and his crew. The savages were treated very kindly, however, and soon became reconciled to the outrageous captivity. The returned voyagers had not very pleasing tales to tell of "New France," nor were the king and his ministers in a mood or situation to encourage further adventures in that direction. Chabot was in disgrace and the poison which the King had sipped at the well of his pleasures was already taking hold of his system. Cartier, however, still found friends and supporters such as generally rally to the aid of men so earnest and sincere. Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval in Picardy, determined to employ him further, and aid him in occupying and colonizing the new countries. Roberval, a man of rank and position, and distinguished as a soldier, procured a patent from the king, creating him lieutenant-general and viceroy in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Carpunt, Labrador, the Great Bay, and Baccalaos and Lord of Norembega, and giving him authority to discover and settle in New France and convert the Indians. Cartier was made captain-general of the expedition, and a grant from the royal treasury enabled him to fit out five vessels. The profits of the voyage were to be divided, one-third for expenses, and the same to the king and the adventurers. To make up his crews and secure his quota of colonists, Cartier was empowered to rake the prisons and recruit among the malefactors of every grade.[1] The Spanish king watched the preparations for the expedition with great jealousy. Its destination was uncertain, and reinforcements were dispatched to Cuba, Hispaniola, and the other colonies of Spain, while the King of Portugal was invited to join with Charles in taking possession of Newfoundland.

Cartier sailed for New France on May 23, 1541, and reached Quebec safely on August 23d. He selected a site for settlement three leagues farther up the river than Quebec, and built a fort on the crest of Cape Rouge, calling the station Charlesbourg Royal. Roberval did not come out with his vessels until 1542, and while he was lying in the roads of St. John's, Newfoundland, resting after a tedious voyage across the ocean, Cartier and his ships entered the harbor.

[1] Cartier's commission from the king, dated 17th October, 1540, speaks of the Indians as "*gens sauvages, vivant sans connoissance de Dieu et sans usage de raison,*" and directs that they shall be "instructed in the love and fear of God, and of his holy law and the Christian doctrine." It describes Canada and Hochelaga as "*faisant un bout de l'Asie du côté de l'Occident.*" Cartier is to be sent into this attractive land and among its well-shaped people, to make their acquaintance and dwell among them if necessary, in order to "*faire chose agréable à Dieu, vôtre Créateur et Rédempteur, et que soit à l'augmentation de son saint et sacré nom, et de Nôtre Mère Sainte Eglise Catholique, de laquelle nous sommes dits et nommés premier fils.*" The provosts, bailiffs, seneschals, and other officers of cities are directed to deliver to Cartier or his deputies, all prisoners, no matter what crimes they may be accused of, except treason and coining false money, and the captain-general is empowered to select from these prisoners as many as will suit his purposes for the expedition. The commission shows great confidence in Cartier and his "*sens, suffisance, loyauté, prud'hommie, hardiesse, grande diligence et bonne expérience,*" and gives him a liberal discretion.

Cartier had broken up the colony and abandoned New France. The kidnapping of Dannacona and his chiefs, and their subsequent deaths, had had its natural result, and the natives were suspicious or hostile from Hochelaga all the way down the river. This fact, the hardships of winter, discontent and disappointment, and probably failing health also, had utterly discouraged Cartier and his men. Roberval, amazed and indignant, ordered the party to return to Quebec, but the navigator with his vessels silently weighed anchor in the night and made all sail for France. This desertion broke up all Roberval's arrangements, but he still determined to proceed on his expedition, sailed to Cape Rouge, fortified himself strongly, and wintered there miserably, losing fifty men by the scurvy, and having his whole force disorganized by disease, idleness, and lax discipline. Roberval, after conducting some explorations, finally withdrew his colony and returned to France in 1543, and then for a time all idea of founding settlements in New France was abandoned. After the death of Francis, Roberval, in 1549, sailed again for the St. Lawrence, accompanied by his brother and a band of adventurers; but they were never heard of again.[1] With Roberval, to use Parkman's phrase, "closes the prelude of the French-American drama." The curtain did not rise again until 1604–7, and then on a very different scene.

Meanwhile, a strange series of events, not without their influence upon the destinies of the yet unborn city of St. Louis, were being acted out in Florida by the Spaniards and the French. The Spaniards were a very different class of adventurers from the French. Their long wars with the infidels of Granada had filled them with romantic daring and an exalted religious zeal. These wars had set free great numbers of men-at-arms equally athirst for glory and for gold. But it is no more than justice to the *Conquistadores* to say of them, likewise, that they esteemed great undertakings because they *were* great. The age, as Humboldt has remarked, with its overwrought excitements and passions and violence, had a tendency to promote individuality of character, always a prominent trait in the Spaniard, who was then "the freest man in Europe," free in person and free in institutions likewise.[2] It was an age of cruelty, and the Spaniard was "a man of blood," and used to reprisals and barbarous punishments. But Humboldt defends the Conquistadores from the reproach of brutal and sordid instincts repeatedly cast upon them.[3] Balboa, Cortez, Davila, Ponce de Leon, were full of the spirit of romantic adventure and that heroic daring which essays all the perils of the unknown for the sake of glory singly.

Ponce de Leon and Ferdinando de Soto were types of this class of lofty aspirants. The former discovered Florida, the latter the Mississippi, each sacrificing ease, comfort, wealth, and luxury in the pursuit of harassing adventures. They were pirates and scarovers with the valor of chevaliers and the enthusiasm of crusaders. Juan Ponce de Leon was a veteran whom the laurels of other discoverers would not suffer to rest, even when the infirmities of age pressed heavily upon him. His youth had been schooled in war; in manhood he had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, and was given command of a province in Hispaniola, from whence he cast wistful glances across to still unconquered Porto Rico. Finally he passed over to that island, occupied it, and, after an interval of quiet, was forced to desolate it with fire and sword in order to subdue the Indians in arms against his strong hand and stern rule. De Leon now heard of a land far to the north abounding in gold, gems, and flowers, possessing, moreover, a river or a fountain which had the extraordinary quality of restoring to youth whosoever should bathe in it. It was the vision of alchemy brought within reach and touch. Ponce de Leon believed the fables told him,—he was not singular in that, for Peter Martyr had faith in this fountain too,—and got up an expedition for the conquest of this new and wonderful country. He sailed from Porto Rico in March, 1512, and on Palm Sunday landed on a soil which the natives called Cautio, but which he named Florida, in commemoration of the day. Juan Ponce took possession of the country in the name of Spain, and explored it in various directions, but without suspecting that it was a part of the main-land. He did not find either gold or the Fountain of Youth, but he encountered a most determined hostility on the part of the savages, and was much vexed and baffled by contrary winds and currents. At last he returned to Spain, and was killed not long afterwards in a raid against the fierce Carib Indians.

[1] This is the story of Le Clerc; but Thevet, who, as Parkman says, ought to know, relates that Roberval was assassinated at night in the heart of Paris.

[2] "The Spaniard was the freest man in Europe: the various powers of the state, still unbroken, maintained on each other that salutary check which prevents all tyranny. The time was yet when the tutor of the heir-apparent of the Spanish crown could inculcate on his pupil the doctrine that a tyrant might be put to death; while, at the same time, the people were taught that religion required their obedience to the ruling powers, with submission and support from which only extreme cases could absolve them."—*J. G. Shea: History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River.*

[3] Cosmos, ii. 648.

The success of Cortez in conquering Mexico directed enterprise and adventure still more eagerly to the mainland. Florida, it was commonly thought, abounded in treasures equally with the country of the Aztecs. Pamphilo de Narvaez undertook in 1528 to conquer and colonize the peninsula, the external contour of which had been determined by the explorations of De Leon, Garay, and Vasquez de Ayllon. He landed on the Gulf coast, near Tampa Bay, and with three hundred men marched into the forest in search of the gold and booty which he had seen the followers of Cortez secure. Narvaez was as imprudent as he was greedy and avaricious, and disregarded the counsels of his experienced pilot, Miruelo, and his second in command, Alvar Nunez Cabeça de Vaca. The result was disaster. The Indians were deeply hostile in consequence of the slave-hunting atrocities of Ayllon and others, and they harassed Narvaez's line of march with incessant assault. His men sickened and perished; the horses gave out and were eaten; famine, storm, climate conspired against them; a wretched remnant reached the coast at last, and, embarking in crazy boats, tried to make their way around the curve of the Gulf to Tampico. Only four escaped the hazards of such a route, and these—Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo, and Estavanico (a negro slave from Barbary)—were made prisoners by the Indians. In passing around the Gulf from St. Mark's to Galveston, Cabeza had crossed the Mississippi River and tarried for an interval on an island in its mouth. He had no idea of the river's greatness, however, and his own woes would anyhow have prevented him from paying attention to geographical discoveries. He and his companions were six years in captivity to the Indians, during which time they acquired the language and studied the habits of the tribe. Then, escaping, Cabeza led his companions through Texas and New Mexico to the Pacific coast at the town of San Miguel. This wondrous journey took eighteen months to perform it, and the way-worn travelers secured immunity and consideration from the savages along the route by acting the part of "medicine men." They were received in Mexico like men raised up from the dead, and the strange countries and cities of which Cabeza had heard during the journey, and gave accounts in his simple narrative, led to two more romantic expeditions,—the march of Coronado in search of Cibola, and of Hernando de Soto in quest of the northern Peru, supposed to lie somewhere in the continent between the river Palmas and the Atlantic Ocean, and which Cabeza declared to be the richest country on the globe.

The march of Coronado to Cibola is one of the most daring and successful feats of exploration and adventure upon record. It is an anticipation of the toils and marches of Lewis and Clark, of Capt. Bonneville and Gen. Fremont in the heart of the unexplored American wilderness. Cabeza had brought home accounts, much exaggerated, of the adobe cities of the Zuni and Pueblo Indians, some of which he had seen in the course of his wanderings through New Mexico; and before Cabeza's return, an Indian slave in 1530 had excited the cupidity and curiosity of Nuño de Guzman, President of New Spain, by relating that, in his travels north of Mexico, he had seen cities as large as the Aztec capital; that there were seven of them, and they had streets which were occupied exclusively by workers in gold and silver. These cities, the Indian further related, were forty days distant, and the route to them lay through the desert.[1] Guzman planned an expedition, and started for Cibola at the head of four hundred Spaniards and twenty thousand Indians, but he was not able to proceed any farther than the province of Culiacan, which, however, he occupied and settled. Shortly afterwards his Taos Indians died, and Guzman was removed. His successor, however, the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoça, heard of the seven cities from Cabeza and his companions, all of their accounts being full of what seems to be studied exaggeration of the riches of the cities, their piles of lofty houses, and other strange features. Vasquez de Coronado was Governor of New Galicia at the time. The viceroy communicated to him what he had learned from Cabeza, and Coronado proceeded to Culiacan, accompanied by some Franciscan friars and the negro man Stephen, the companion of Cabeza, who volunteered to act as guide to the seven cities. Coronado sent him with the three Franciscan friars to Cibola, to bring him an account of the place. One of the friars was Marcos de Nica, whom Castañeda calls "theologian and priest." The negro, Stephen, was killed by the Indians of Cibola, but Father Mark came back with such a glowing account of the country —which, in fact, he and his companions had scarcely seen, much less examined—that the viceroy was induced to undertake an immediate expedition for its conquest, giving the command to Coronado, with the

[1] The story of Coronado's march has been told by Castañeda. The subject has been discussed at various times by Gallatin, Buckingham Smith, Shea, and others. The documents relating to it have been collected by Hakluyt and Ternaux-Compans, and the best paper on the history and route of the march is that by Brig.-Gen. J. H. Simpson, colonel of engineers, United States army, published in the Smithsonian Report for 1869. Gen. Simpson wrote the paper in Baltimore, having access to the libraries of the Peabody Institute and the Maryland Historical Society, as well as the papers and MSS. of the late Brantz Mayer.

rank of captain-general. The expedition, three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians, started from Compostella, in New Galicia, on Easter-Monday, 1540, passing north through the desert of Sonora, Cuizona, and New Mexico, along the course of the Gila, and through the Pima Mountains, to the Zuni country. Cibola was found to be a poor communal fort built of adobe, and having no more than six hundred warriors, who bravely resisted, but in vain, the invasion of the Spaniards. They had no gold; their sole wealth consisted of corn, cotton stuff made by them, fowls, tanned leather, and dressed robes and furs. From this region Coronado passed on to the great canyon of the Colorado River, and met Comanche Indians, who told him of the bisons on the plains. Later, when they had crossed the Rio Grande, Coronado and his men encountered multitudinous droves of these animals, and killed great numbers of them. It was the opinion of Coronado and his chronicler, Castañeda, that the Rio Grande made such a wide detour to the eastward that it united its waters with the Mississippi (of which they had heard) before emptying into the Gulf of Mexico. The march of the expedition was extended northeastward across the headwaters of the Canadian River, across the Arkansas River to the neighborhood of what the Spaniards thought was a great city, Quivira, terminating just west of the Missouri River, midway between the Kansas and the Platte Rivers, near what is now Pawnee City, Neb. The return route was down the Colorado River and round the head of the Gulf of California. "Thus ended this great expedition, which," says Gen. Simpson, "for extent in distance traveled, duration in time, extending from the spring of 1540 to the summer of 1542, or more than two years, and the multiplicity of its co-operating branch explorations, equaled, if it did not exceed, any land expedition that has been undertaken in modern times."

Cabeza de Vaca appeared in Spain just about the time that Hernando de Soto was preparing an expedition for the conquest of Florida, leave to undertake which he had obtained from Charles V. De Soto had come to America with nothing but his sword, a penniless adventurer, but with a great reputation as a warrior. "When he led in the van of battle," says one of his biographers, "his charge was so powerful, so broad was the bloody passage which he carved out in the ranks of the enemy, that ten of his men-at-arms could with ease follow him abreast." He had joined Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, acquiring immense riches, which he spent lavishly in maintaining distinguished state at the court of Madrid. He was now Governor of the rich province of San Jago de Cuba, and married to a woman of great beauty, Isabella de Bobadilla, the daughter of De Soto's first commander, when he was serving in the ranks. But repose was not in the nature of such men; ambition and the greed for glory haunted him all his life, and he was now willing to expend all his wealth in the uncertain effort to carve out a contingent marquisate in Florida. The stories told by Cabeza de Vaca gave body to De Soto's unshaped plans, and created an enthusiasm in regard to Florida that brought great numbers of nobles, gentlemen, and soldiers to De Soto's banner.[1] In his train

[1] The "Gentleman of Elvas," who, with Louis Hernandez de Biedma, is recognized as the authentic historian of De Soto's expedition, relates that "Captain de Soto was the son of a squire of Xeres of Badajoz. He went into the Spanish Indies when Peter Arias of Avila was Governor of the West Indies, and there he was without anything else of his own, save his sword and target; and for his good qualities and valor, Peter Arias made him captain of a troop of horsemen, and by his commandment he went with Fernando Pizarro to the conquest of Peru, where (as many persons of credit reported, which were there present), as well at the taking of Atabalipa, Lord of Peru, as at the assault of the city of Cusco, and in all other places where they found resistance, wheresoever he was present, he passed all other captains and principal persons. For which cause, besides his part of the treasure of Atabalipa, he had a good share; whereby in time he gathered a hundred and four score thousand ducats together, with that which fell to his part; which he brought into Spain; whereof the Emperor borrowed a certain part, which he repaid again with sixty thousand reals of plate in the rents of the silks of Granada, and all the rest was delivered to him in the contractation house of Seville. He took servants, to wit, a gentleman usher, pages, a gentleman of the horse, a chamberlain, lackeys, and all other officers that the house of a noble may require. From Seville he went to the court, and in the court there accompanied him John Danusco of Seville and Lewis Moscoso d'Alvarado, Nuño de Touar, and John Rodriguez Lobillo. Except John Danusco, all the rest came with him from Peru; and every one of them brought fourteen or fifteen thousand ducats; all of them went well and costly appareled. And although Soto of his own nature was not liberal, yet because that was the first time that he was to show himself in the court, he spent frankly, and went accompanied with those which I have named, and with his servants, and many others which resorted unto him. He married with Donna Isabella de Bobadilla, daughter of Peter Arias of Avila, Earl of Punno in Rostro. The Emperor made him Governor of the Isle of Cuba, and Adelantado or President of Florida, with a title of marquis of certain part of the lands that he should conquer." This sketch of De Soto is curious, as illustrative of the Spanish character. The parvenu at court could only outshine the old hereditary nobles by lavish display and expenditure, and it was this which contributed as much as anything to foster the greed for gold which led the generation of Conquistadores into so many wild lands and desperate adventures and made them such severe taskmasters of the unfortunate Indians whom they had conquered. It was this delight in display and extravagant expenditure, moreover, which attracted to the new continent so many scions of the impoverished and decayed aristocracy both of France and Spain—a class represented by such men as Frontenac in Canada, De Vaudreuil and Kerlerec in Louisiana, and Ulloa and Casa Calvo in that province, and in St. Louis, its frontier town.

when he landed in the bay which he named Espiritu Santo, Florida, after a safe and pleasant passage from the place of rendezvous (the port of San Lucas de Barrameda), were twenty-two ecclesiastics and some gentlemen of the best blood in Spain,—Don Juan de Guzman, Pedro Calderon, a favorite soldier of Gonsalvo de Cordova, the "Great Captain" and the best judge of martial qualities that his country has ever produced, Vasconcellos de Silva, a Portuguese noble of distinguished family and bright personal fame, Nuno Touar, the Chevalier Bayard of his nation, and Moscoso de Alvarado, second only to De Soto himself. So many people of noble birth mustered for this expedition, says one of its historians (many of them having sold or mortgaged their estates in order to pay the cost of their equipments[1]), "that in St. Lucar many men of good account, which had sold their goods, remained behind for want of shipping, whereas for other known and rich countries they are wont to want men."

It was on Sunday, May 18, 1539, the day *De Pasca de Spiritu Santo* (Whitsunday), that the expedition reached the coast of Florida and the place of their landing, the port of Baya Honda, as Biedma calls Tampa Bay. Here six hundred and twenty men and two hundred and twenty-three horses were landed, as brilliant and gallant a body of soldiers as ever marched into the bosom of the repulsive wilderness. Juan Ortiz, a survivor of the party of Pamphilo de Narvaez, was found among the Indians, who had taken care of him for twelve years, teaching him their language and habits. He protested, however, that he knew nothing of the country, and was sent on to Cuba in the returning ships. De Soto now began his memorable march, which led him from Indian town to town, from tribe to tribe, from morass to river, and from canebrake to mountain forest, in pursuit of that illusory empire which he sought, until he had traversed the greater part of West Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. It is the practice of historians to emphasize the fact that Cabeza de Vaca crossed the Mississippi River without showing any consciousness, so far as his narrative is concerned, of having passed an unusually large stream. But it is probable that Cabeza was less reserved in his communications to De Soto, whom at one time he seems to have intended to accompany, declining in the end because not offered a position in the expedition proportionate to his conception of what he deserved. Anyhow, De Soto, in parting with his squadron when he finally left the coast after the capture of the town of the Apalaches, directed his fleet captain, Francisco Maldonado, to return to Havana, procure provisions, and meet him in six months from that date at the mouth of the great river Espiritu Santo.[2]

[1] Don Antono Osorio "dispossessed himself of sixty thousand reals of rent which he held of the church, and Francis Osorio of a town of vassals, which he had in the country of Campos," says the Portuguese chronicler. "Balthasar de Gallegos sold houses and vineyards, and rent corn, and ninety ranks of olive trees in the Xarafe of Seville." This unfortunate also took his wife with him.

[2] This seems to furnish indubitable evidence in favor of the conclusion that the mouth at least of the Mississippi was known at that time, and probably long before, to the Spanish navigators. It is not known precisely when the northern line of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico was explored; but the southern line had been pretty well determined before 1509, and it is not likely that the rest of the circuit would be long neglected by seamen who almost monthly made the traverse from Hayti and Cuba to Maricaibo. Tampico was a known port in 1520, and it was impossible for seamen to cross the discolored waters which the Mississippi pours into the Gulf many miles beyond its mouth without suspecting the existence of a great stream of fresh water similar to the Orinoco and the Amazon. John Gilmary Shea, in his admirable History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River, notes the fact that in an edition of Ptolemy printed at Venice (or Strasburg) in 1513, "the delta of a river corresponding to the Mississippi is traced upon it more distinctly than in the maps of the next century." The Gulf coast of Florida was thoroughly examined in 1518 by Garay, and in 1521, in a map drawn by an arbitrator to determine the pretensions of rival discoverers, the Mississippi was again indicated as having been discovered or mapped by Garay, and as bearing the name *Rio del Espiritu Santo* (River of the Holy Ghost), assigned to it by De Soto in his significant appointment with Maldonado. Brantz Mayer, in a manuscript note on the margin of this page of Shea's History, notes the fact that the Ptolemy map referred to is in the Peter Force Library, and he further suggests that the mouth of the river may have been interpolated subsequent to the date of the map, "as was the case with Ptolemy's, in which new maps were inserted as they came out from time to time." Mr. Mayer afterwards addressed a note to the *Historical Magazine* in which, without specifying his authorities, he says that "the Veruci Ptolemy of 1513 lays it down, or, at least, marks a river without a name, at the site of its embouchure. Orbus Typis, 1515; Piñeda's map, 1519; other Ptolemies, 1525; Cabeça de Vaca saw it in 1528. De Soto crossed it in 1541," etc. In regard to the various *names* of the Mississippi River, Mr. Mayer says in this memorandum (which bears date Oct. 15, 1857), "I remember to have seen in the course of my reading the following Indian, Spanish, and French names applied to the river Mississippi: and it may be well to record them in your magazine for preservation, and probably to be augmented in number by other students of American history:

"*Indian names.*—Mico, king of rivers; Mescha-Sibi-Mescha, great and Sibi river; Namasi-Sipou, fish river; Okimo-Chitto, great water-path—a Choctaw name; Misseessepe; Meactchassipi, old father of rivers (according to Du Pratz); Malbouchia, according to Iberville.

"*French.*—Rivière de St. Louis; Rivière de Colbert-Mississippi.

"*Spanish.*—Rio Grande; Rio Grande del Espiritu Santo; Rio de la Palisada; Rio de Chuchaqua."

To complete the list of Mr. Mayer, and make it more me

Coronado had reached the valley of the Mississippi on the western side, and crossed at least one of its great tributaries. De Soto, after several attempts to discover a great and rich country north of Florida, turned his course westward and distinctly aimed to reach the great river. He crossed the Altamaha; he mistook the Coosa for the Father of Waters; he fought the Chickasaws and ranged northward to the table-land which looks down upon the eastward elbows of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, and at last his men, weary, worn, and travel-stained, came upon the banks of a mighty current "almost half a league broad; if a man stood still on the other side, it could not be discerned whether he was a man or no. The river was of great depth, and of a strong current; the water was always muddy; there came down the river continually many trees and timber, which the force of the water and stream brought down." This was the Mississippi, the Espiritu Santo of which De Soto had heard so much. The inhabitants were worthy of such a stream. They issued forth to resist the passage of De Soto in a fleet of two hundred and fifty canoes, dressed with flags, all under the command of one cacique, who sat beneath an awning in the stern of his royal barge. Biedma suggests that these Indians were of the race of the Mound-builders, for he says, "The caciques of this country make a custom of raising, near their dwellings, very high hills, on which they sometimes built their huts." Some such cacique must have lived, in pre-historic times, upon the site of St. Louis.

The expedition, begun under such splendid auspices and with such a pompous array, ended in cruel suffering and complete disaster. The guides led the party astray in spite of the scourge and the fangs of De Soto's bloodhounds, and their route lay through canebrake, swamp, and morass, and the pathless wilds where the gaunt cypress-tree, hung with gray Spanish moss, protects the lurking-place of the moccasin-snake and the shaded lagoons frequented by the hideous alligator. The men, dispirited and disappointed, convinced of the poverty of the land and the utter failure of their hopes, would have given up the march and made the best of their way to the coast, but De Soto, stern and sombre, refused to turn back. He listened to counsel and complaint with patience, but followed the directions of his own inflexible will, and all the rest obeyed him, for he was terrible and cruel in his wrath. An Indian captive who refused to serve as guide was burnt at the stake, and every Indian village which offered the least resistance was destroyed with fire and sword. There were some terrible battles, for the Indians fought the invaders with desperate courage, but the superior arms and discipline of the Spaniards always secured them the victory. But they paid dear for it: at Movilla, in Alabama, they lost eighteen killed and one hundred and fifty wounded, besides eighty-two horses slain or crippled and all their baggage consumed in the flames of the town, which the Indians themselves set on fire. In the Chickasaw town eleven of De Soto's people were burned to death, and the rest barely escaped, unclad and without arms, from the desperate onset of the savages, who fought

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thodical, it may be added that the Spanish name, Rio del Espiritu Santo, is found on Garay's map, in the De Soto chronicles, and in Tristan de Luna, who also applies the name of Rio Grande del Espiritu Santo; the "Gentleman of Elvas," one of the reporters of De Soto's adventures, calls it simply Rio Grande; Garcillasso de Vega, the romancer of De Soto's expedition, denominates it Chucaqua, on the authority of Juan Coles, who accompanied the expedition. A variation of this undoubtedly Indian name is Cucaqua. Allouez, the Jesuit explorer, 1666–67, gives the names Messipi, and Messi-sipi; on Marquette's map it is called Mitchisipi, and also Rivière de la Conception, the latter bestowed by the explorer himself; the Natchez Indians called it Ochechiton, Great Water. In Dablon's narrative, 1670–71, it is spoken of as Mississippi; La Salle, with a purpose, when he reached its banks in 1682, baptized it Rivière de Colbert; the Algonkin name had two forms, Missi, great, Seepee, river (*Missi* is equivalent to *Misi-sil, Michil,* as in Michigan, Michil-imacinac, etc., *Missu,* as in *Misson-ri,* etc. *Seepee* is simply the French *sipi* Anglicized). The other Algonkin name was Namasi-sipou, or Nemose-sipou, the river of fishes. This is the name, according to Heckewelder, under which the Mississippi was known to the Delaware Indians in their ancient traditions concerning their migration from the far West. Hennepin, writing in 1684, spells the name Mechasipi; according to Iberville, the Southern Indians denominated the river Malabouchia, and called its mouth Ri; Penicaut's narrative, in Coxe's collection of Louisiana State papers, has the form Meschacebe; in some places the Indian name for the river was Tapata, in others Tamalisen, and the Spaniards sometimes termed it Rio Escondido ("lost river"), and the French occasionally Rivière des Palisades, or La Palisade. Rivière de St. Louis was its name when the French regarded it as the extension of the Ohio River. In a note on Marquette's voyage, in one of the volumes of the Louisiana Historical Collection, it is said that Sassa-goola was one of the Indian names for the Mississippi; the form given in Lanman's History of Michigan is Michi-sépée, and, as Mr. Mayer has noted, that adopted by Du Pratz was Meat-chase-sipi, *sepe* being a corruption of the Algonkin *sepein,* stream. Still another form was Michasippa. According to Dollier de Casson, the Iroquois Indians, in their haughty way, declared that the Mississippi was the same river and had the same name as the Ohio, because one of the forks of the latter, the Alleghany, rose in a section of country through which they hunted. Practically, Great River was the authentic and the proper name of this great confluence of unlimited waters, and the Indian tradition of the *Namisi-sipi* migration is probably a myth of late invention, contrived to explain the name of the river, its original prefix of *Michi* having lost its meaning through the greater potentiality of the antecedent article *na,* by which *Na-michi* (= the great) became converted insensibly into *Namesi* (= fishes, in the genitive case, plural).

as only brave men can do in defense of their homes.

The point at which De Soto reached the Mississippi River, it is supposed, was the lowest Chickasaw Bluff, about the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. The Spaniards tarried on the banks until they could build barges sufficiently stout to carry over their horses. Then, in May, 1541, they crossed to the western side of the river. The Indians were numerous in this section, dwelling in palisaded towns, but they had no gold and no knowledge of metals. De Soto made a toilsome march northward on the line of the river to about the neighborhood of where New Madrid stands. The Indians here were all hunters, and poor; the bison were so numerous that they prevented the cultivation of maize. The route of the expedition was now directed westward, and it is supposed the adventurers penetrated as far as the highlands of White River. They went into winter quarters on the Washita River, and when spring came descended along the line of that river, in the hope to reach the sea. The marshes and the bayous of the Red River baffled and disheartened the weary explorers, and when, approaching the Mississippi again on the southern bank of the Red River, De Soto found that the Indians had never even heard of the ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, even his resolute spirit and stern will yielded to depression and despair. He was seized with an attack of malarial fever, and appears to have utterly broken down all at once. His men and horses were dying around him, and he could get no information such as would enable him to select a safe and easy route by which to escape out of this toilsome wilderness. He sent word to the cacique of a tribe near by to come visit him; that he and his people were the children of the Sun and accustomed to receive the courteous attention, the love and obedience, of the hunters and dwellers in the forest. The haughty chief sent back word that it was not his habit to pay visits; that if De Soto was a child of the Sun, let him dry up the river on the banks of which he was encamped; and if the strangers wished to see him, they might come to him: he would cordially welcome them, coming in peace, and not give back a single step if they came in war. The Governor was already in bed, stricken with fever and "in great dumps" on account of his chagrins, disappointments, and losses, and this message and defiance seems to have wounded him to the core because he was helpless to resent it. His illness rapidly increased, and it was evident that a fatal termination could not be avoided. De Soto called his officers about him, designated his successor, took leave of his followers, commended his soul to God, and "the next day, being the 21st of May, 1542, departed out of this life the valorous, virtuous, and valiant captain, Don Fernando de Soto, Governor of Cuba and Adelantado of Florida; whom fortune advanced, as it useth to do with others, that he might have the higher fall. He departed in such a place, and at such a time, as in his sickness he had but little comfort."[1] De Soto's body, after burial, was taken up by order of his successors, wrapped in a mantle made heavy with sand, and, enclosed in a tree-trunk that had been hollowed out for a canoe, was sunk in the bed of the Mississippi River. This was done in order to prevent the Indians from denying the claim of the Spaniards that they did not die, but were simply recalled to the celestial sphere from which they had descended. A commander of such great purposes and such an indomitable will as De Soto deserved to have for a sepulchre the mighty river he had discovered and traversed.

Luis de Moscoso, the successor of De Soto, devoted all his energies to the one object of extricating the command from its dreadful environments and the fatal country in which it had suffered so many ills. Despairing of reaching the Gulf by the Mississippi, he struck westward, hoping, as Cabeza de Vaca had done, to reach Mexico overland. Thus he followed the valley of the Red River for over seven hundred miles, and got as far as the Pecos River, among the Comanche Indians. Then, finding no encouragement to pursue this interminable route farther, the wanderers retraced their steps to the Mississippi, erected rude forges, beat their chains, armor, and all their old iron into nails, and began to build vessels to carry them down the river. They constructed "seven brigantines," deckless barges calked with the wild hemp and flax of the country. Their provisions were maize taken from the Indians and the dried flesh of their horses, killed because only a few of them could be taken in the boats. Thus equipped, the survivors of De Soto's great expedition (three hundred and twenty-two men) embarked on the Mississippi on July 2, 1543, rapidly descending, as their oars had the aid of the current. On the way down the river they were attacked and pursued by the Indians, but were not prevented from proceeding, and reached the Gulf of Mexico on July 20th, having sailed, as they computed, two hundred and fifty leagues in eighteen days. Thence, after many perils and hardships, they suc-

[1] The Portuguese Relation. The "Gentleman of Elvas" was certainly an eye-witness of all the expedition did, and, though his account is florid, and he puts speeches in the mouths of all his characters, in imitation of more famous historians, he writes with a winning sort of ingenuousness which would seem at least to entitle him to confidence.

ceeded in following the coast line around to Tampico, where the Governor and people greatly wondered to behold this troop of haggard savages leap from their brigantines and hurry, first of all, to the church to offer thanksgiving for their great deliverance. They had but little of the appearance of white men, none of the look of cavaliers: they were tanned black, gaunt, shriveled, and wild from the assaults, perils, and privations of the wilderness, half-naked, and clad only in the skins of the wild animals they had taken in the chase.

But they had accomplished a great work, for they were the first who sailed down the Mississippi River to the Gulf, and it was this expedition which put beyond all doubt the claim of Spain to the first discovery of the Mississippi. It will be shown in another chapter that the claim of France to the first settlement and exploration of the great river is fully as distinct and indisputable. In the maps, however, of the sixteenth and seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the country traversed by Ayllon, Narvaez, and De Soto is given a very divided allegiance. In the Spanish maps Florida extends north and east to Virginia, and west and southwest to Mexico. In the earliest French maps New France extends from the Gulf to Hudson's Bay, and in the later ones Upper and Lower Louisiana reached half-way across Texas on the west and to Georgia on the east, not contenting itself on the northeast with any line but that of the Allegheny Mountains. On the English maps, on the other hand, Louisiana, west of Florida and the Carolinas, is put down as the English colony and province of *Carolana*, which, it was claimed, was granted by a patent of King Charles I. to Sir Robert Heath, then attorney-general. Sir Robert conveyed the patent to the Earl of Arundel, who was the father-in-law of Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore and founder of Maryland.[1] Of the three claimants, Spain had all the rights which priority of actual discovery secures through the journey of Cabeza de Vaca and the expedition of De Soto. But England claimed prior rights as regarded the whole continent in consequence of Cabot's voyages, and France also in consequence of the voyage of Verrazzano. Spain looked upon Canada as being the upper part of Florida, and watched with incessant jealousy every attempt of France and England to make plantations upon the shores of North America. In the end this jealousy led to collisions and reprisals, one result of which was an undoubted stimulus given to the settlement of Florida, Texas, and New Mexico by Spain, and of the valley of the Mississippi by France.

Florida had so far successfully resisted every military expedition sent against it; but it continued to attract attention, and to lure both enthusiasm and adventure to essay its perils. In 1544 a Dominican Father attempted the spiritual conquest of the country. Luis Cancer de Barbastro was a favorite of the impetuous Las Casas, the friend of the Indians, and their missionary; the good Bishop of Chiapas heard of Father Cancer's plans with enthusiasm, and successfully commended them to the king's notice and approbation. Cancer returned to Mexico fully accredited for his mission, obtained a vessel, and sailed for Florida with Father Gregory de Batata, John Garia, and Diego de Panalosa for his companions. They were murdered by the Indians almost immediately upon landing. Cancer's companions were slain first. When he heard of it, he wrote a simple account of the massacre, saying, "All this was indeed terrible and very afflicting to us all, but not surprising; such things can but happen in enterprises for the extension of the faith. I expected nothing less. How often have I reflected on the execution of this enterprise and felt that we could not succeed in it without losing much blood! So the apostles did, and at this price alone can faith and religion be introduced." He then landed and calmly walked to meet his fate. He had seen thirty years' service among the Indian missionaries when he was murdered, and had been very successful in making converts. Father Cancer was but one example of the devoted spirit and heroic courage of the Spanish Catholic missionaries. In 1553 a vessel was wrecked on the coast of Florida, in which was a number of Dominican Fathers. The survivors of the shipwreck set out to walk to Tampico, the frontier town of Spanish settlements in Mexico. They were nearly all massacred on the way, and only one priest survived.

These disasters, and other evidences of the fierceness of the Florida Indians, determined Philip II. of Spain to make a further attempt to reduce these Indians to submission, as well as have them converted to the faith. Guido de los Bazares had attempted, but failed, to plant a colony; and Angel de Villifane's squadron, as it sailed from San Juan d'Ulloa with the same end in view, had been shattered by a disastrous hurricane. Philip was urged to promote the Florida enterprise by many advisers. Dr. Pedro de Santander wrote to him, July 15, 1557: "It is lawful that Your Majesty, like a good shepherd appointed by the hand of the Eternal Father, should tend and lead out your sheep, since the Holy Spirit has shown

[1] D. Coxe's "Description of the English Province of Carolana," Louisiana Historical Collections, vol. ii.

spreading pastures whereon are feeding lost sheep which have been snatched away by the dragon, the Demon. These pastures are the New World, wherein is comprised Florida, now in possession of the Demon, and here he makes himself adored and revered. This is the Land of Promise, possessed by idolaters, the Amorite, Amalekite, Moabite, Canaanite." And the writer proposes to occupy the country at various points with a thousand or fifteen hundred colonists, found cities, to be called Philippina and Cæsarea, and establish slave depots and barracoons. In 1559 an expedition was sent out under the command of Don Tristan de Luna, with fifteen hundred men. They landed safely in St. Mark's Bay; but immediately after landing, a storm came up which dashed every one of De Luna's vessels to pieces. Not disheartened, the commandant sent two hundred men, under command of his sargente mayor, into the interior of the country, to explore. They joined the Coosa Indians in a war upon the Natchez, and defeated the latter in a battle fought on the banks of the Ochechiton, the great river discovered by De Soto. After this vessels were sent from Mexico for the survivors of Tristan de Luna's party; and they returned, as glad to get away from Florida as all who preceded them had been.

In 1561 the great India fleet, bearing from Mexico and the Gulf to Spain the bullion and treasure which America annually contributed to the coffers of King Philip, was scattered and wrecked on the Florida coast, and between there and the Bermudas. One vessel disappeared with an uncertain fate, and in it was the only son of Don Pedro Menendez (or Melendez) de Aviles, a stern and haughty Asturian noble, esteemed the first naval commander of his day. Menendez had spent a life of wild adventure upon the sea, had commanded fleets and galleons, and been the prisoner and slave of Barbary corsairs. He had served in the Indies, accumulating great wealth, and had been incarcerated and fined by the Council of the Indies. Philip pardoned him, restored him to his command, and remitted half the fine. Menendez now begged of the king leave to go to the Bermudas in search of his son. The king promised to commission him to make a survey in those parts, for the benefit of future navigators; but Menendez preferred to undertake the conquest of Florida, if His Majesty would permit. "Such grief seizes me when I behold this multitude of wretched Indians," he said, "that I should choose the conquest and settling of Canada above all commands, offices, and dignities which Your Majesty might bestow." While the conditions of his expedition, to which the king assented, were being settled, news came to the court and to Menendez that Florida, Spanish territory, had been invaded by the foreigner and the hated French Huguenots had actually planted a colony of heretics upon the soil of His Most Catholic Majesty.

This was really the case. Admiral Coligny, the sagacious head of the Huguenot cause in France, had seen the expediency of planting colonies of his co-religionists in distant lands, in order not only to disseminate the principles of the Reformation over a wider expanse of soil, but also to secure places of refuge for Protestants in case they came to disaster in Europe. This policy, the original contrivance of Coligny, was followed afterwards by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia, by the Dutch on the Hudson and at Amboyna, and by the Swedes, prompted by Gustavus Adolphus and Chancellor Oxenstierna, on the Delaware. The Catholic colonies and missions of Spain and France were active and zealous in the work of proselyting among the Indians, but the Protestant colonies cared much less for the propaganda of doctrine than they did for the defense of their fellows from persecution. Coligny's first attempt at a colony was under Villegagnon, who went to Brazil and planted a settlement of Lutherans and Calvinists in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro. The Portuguese expelled the wretched remnant of this colony in 1558, after they had been settled there for two years and a half. In 1562 a second Huguenot colony sailed for the New World, under the lead of Jean Ribaut, an excellent sailor and stanch Protestant of Dieppe, who had been selected by Gaspar de Coligny himself to command the expedition. They embarked, with a French commission, under the French flag, and their instructions contemplated a military colony. Ribaut had soldiers as well as seamen, nobles, and artisans in the two vessels in which he and his party sailed from Havre, Feb. 18, 1562. They reached the coast of Florida on the last day of April, and on May-day embarked at the mouth of a great river, glorious with flowers, which they named the River of May, but it is now called the St. John's. Proceeding northward, the vessels came to Port Royal, in South Carolina. A fort was built near the site of the present city of Beaufort, a garrison of thirty men left in it under command of Albert de Pierre, and Ribaut, with the rest of his party, returned to France. The little colony was soon expelled by famine. They crossed the ocean in a crazy bark built by their own hands, and were captured by the English after they had begun to cast lots to decide who should be eaten to save the rest. In 1564 a third Huguenot colony came out, under command of Réné de Laudonnière, a Poictevin noble.

He had three vessels filled with men, and he landed, as Ribaut had done, at the mouth of the River of May. Five miles up the river there is a bold headland (now called St. John's Bluff) which overhangs the broad and sleepy waters of the lake-like river. Hard by this hill Laudonnière's engineers marked out the lines of his fort, and when it was built and named Caroline, after the King of France, the standard of France was hoisted above it. In 1565, after many vicissitudes, the colony and fort were relieved and reinforced by Ribaut, who returned to the coast with many vessels.

But almost simultaneously with Ribaut came other and very different visitors. Menendez was at their head. He had bargained with the king to conquer Florida in three years, introduce five hundred colonists there, and as many slaves, build villages, establish the nucleus of a Florida church, and stock the country with domestic animals. But as Menendez was starting out to recruit his company the news came from France of the occupation of Florida by Laudonnière, and that Ribaut was on the eve of sailing to reinforce him. Menendez was recalled in haste. No foreigners, and especially no heretics, could be tolerated on Spanish soil. Not only must Laudonnière and Ribaut be crushed, but Menendez must conquer and colonize the whole country, to prevent such adventurers from repeating the insult. He was instructed and he proposed, after capturing the fort on the St. John's, to build a Spanish fort in Port Royal Harbor, and another strong one in Chesapeake Bay. This, he thought, would enable him to hold the entire country and keep the French from following in the footsteps of Cartier. The new expedition was pressed forward with fiery energy, recruits being sought in all the Spanish ports. When Menendez sailed from Cadiz, on June 29, 1565, he led the advance-guard of thirty-four vessels and two thousand six hundred and forty-six men, there being a further reserve of fifteen hundred men who were to follow him. Menendez wrote to the king a full account of his expedition, Mendoza kept a daily journal of its occurrences, and there are numerous other and contemporary narratives of these affairs.

Menendez, with his advance, pushed forward with intense earnestness and frantic zeal. He found the French flag flying on the shore and the French fleet anchored off the mouth of St. John's River. In answer to a hail from the French the Adelantado shouted back, "I am Pedro Menendez, General of the fleet of the King of Spain, Don Philip II., who have come to this country to hang and behead all Lutherans whom I shall find by land or sea, according to instructions from my king. At daybreak I shall board your ships; Catholics shall be well treated, but heretics shall die." At daybreak the French had slipped their cables and escaped. Menendez sailed south, built a fort at Saint Augustine, garrisoned it, and then marched back with grim and savage determination to the accomplishment of the remainder of his task. As he sallied forth, Ribaut, with the French fleet, was sailing to attack him, but a storm dispersed them. Menendez led his five hundred men through forest, swamp, and river to attack Fort Caroline while its defenders were away. We have no desire to enlarge upon what remains to be told of this pitiful and brutal story. Menendez was only too successful. He captured the fort and put its entire garrison to the sword. One hundred and forty-two were thus slain. The rest of the French, as they came in a few at the time, shipwrecked and half naked, were invited to surrender unconditionally, and, when they did so, they were every one shot in cold blood. It was charged in France, but has been denied by the friends of Menendez, that he hung many of the French in the trees around the fort, placing over them the inscription: "I do this, not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." "I had their hands tied behind their backs," wrote Menendez himself to his king, "and themselves put to the sword. It appeared to me that, by thus chastising them, God our Lord and Your Majesty were served; whereby in future this evil sect will leave us more free to plant the gospel in these parts."

The atrocious butchery has not found many defenders. John Gilmary Shea, in his "History of American Catholic Missions," observes that "whether in this treatment of the French Huguenots Menendez regarded them as pirates, or as parties to the death of his son, or acted in obedience to the orders of Philip or to his own persecuting spirit, can never be known, but in no point of view can his conduct be justified." The massacre was terribly avenged, leading to probably the most romantic expedition ever undertaken even by so romantic a nation as the French. Charles IX. refused to take any steps to resent the murder of his subjects by Menendez under orders from Philip II. A private French gentleman, a Catholic and a Gascon, Dominique de Gourges, determined to wipe out by his own efforts the stain to French honor which his monarch would not remove. He sold his patrimony, fitted out a secret expedition under the pretense of going to the coast of Benin for slaves, and when he was once at sea unfolded his designs to his followers with such ardor and such eloquence that one and all demanded to be led against the ruthless

Spaniards. Then he proceeded to Florida, formed an alliance with the Indians, who already had learned to hate their cruel masters, and led the combined forces to the assault upon the two forts which guarded the St. John's River. This was in 1568. The forts were taken; the garrisons were slain, and De Gourges hung the few prisoners with the legend above their heads: "Not as to Spaniards, but as to Traitors, Robbers, and Murderers." The forts were demolished, De Gourges took leave of his Indian allies, and he and his men sailed back to France. Their visit was like that of the whirlwind, leaving but desolation to mark where it had alighted. Menendez was not punished. His monarch honored him highly, and when, in 1574, he died quietly in his bed in Santander, he was grand admiral of the Armada of Spain which Philip was collecting for the invasion of England.

The planting of St. Augustine by Menendez was the first durable settlement in Florida, and it was undoubtedly made in consequence of the Huguenot colony on the St. John's. Menendez just failed, in consequence of a storm, in planting settlements inside of Port Royal Sound and Chesapeake Bay. Other colonies, and especially Spanish missions, were planted around the coast of West Florida, in Apalachicola Bay, and among the Creek Indians. In this way the Spaniards of Florida gradually drew nigher to their fellow-countrymen in Mexico.

They do not seem, however, to have improved or increased the general knowledge concerning the mouth of the Mississippi River. It was not explored farther, so far as is certainly known, though it is claimed that in 1630 a Portuguese captain, Vincent Gonzalez by name, sailed up what must have been the Mississippi until he came very near the supposed kingdom of Quivira. It is also said that an Englishman sailed up the river in 1648, and in 1669 a Spanish expedition arrived in New York by way of the Mississippi and the Ohio. In regard to these various early voyages Mr. Shea says, "I confess my skepticism;" and it is certainly not expedient to pin much credit to hearsay evidence of explorations of such an important character, which, when they are made, men are generally eager to report and chronicle in a durable shape.

CHAPTER II.

TRACKS OF EXPLORATION—THE MISSIONARY AND THE FUR-TRADER.

SPAIN discovered, France explored and settled, the valley of the Mississippi. In the expedition of De Soto the men-at-arms and the bloodhounds went in the van of the march, and the Franciscan and Dominican Fathers brought up the rear. In the explorations of the French in Canada the warrior had very little place; the Jesuit and Recollect missionary sat in one end of the frail birch-bark canoe, the *voyageur*, the trapper, or the *coureur des bois* occupied the other end, and both plied the paddle, both shared the burthen of the toilsome portage, both dozed or watched by the same fire at night. And the results were as different as the methods. The Spaniards destroyed or enslaved the Indians, leaving the few survivors to be gathered in missions around some convent or to labor their lives long in hopeless peonage. The French, on the contrary, mixed and fraternized with the Indians, dwelt in their villages, intermarried with them, and adopted many of their habits. The spirit of *camaraderie* which was thus produced was the predominant characteristic of every French-Indian town and settlement from Acadie and Tadoussac to Ste. Genevieve and Natchitoches, from Lake Superior to the Gulf, and from the time of Samuel Champlain to that of Bibaud jeune. The French are not indeed the best colonists in the world, but wherever they have settled they have left the most prominent and ineffaceable impression upon the character of the people. M. F. X. Garneau, in his "History of Canada," quotes Maillefer appropriately on this point. The Gaulish race, above all others, he says, is characterized by "that occult force of cohesion and resistance which maintains their material unity amid the most cruel vicissitudes and makes it rise superior to every attempt to depress it." As M. Garneau himself puts it, "The old Gallic *étourderie* (heedlessness) has outlived the unchangeable theocracies of Egypt and Asia, the political combinations of the Greeks, the civic wisdom and military discipline of the Romans. Endowed with a less flexible genius, this people, more confiding and less calculating, this people of antique blood, but ever young in heart when the appeal of a noble conception or the call of a great heart inspires them,—this people would have disappeared as other races, more sage in seeming than it, had done before; and why? because they comprehended only one mission, one interest, and one idea."

The Gallic *étourderie* has been shown in the strange adventure of De Gourges. It is not absent from the great performances of Champlain and La Salle, the man who planted New France and the man who extended its dominions and gave a new grasp of power and splendor to its conceptions. Champlain took up the work abandoned by Cartier, and which Roberval perished in attempting to carry forward to comple-

tion. There is strong evidence to the fact that the massacre of Coligny's Huguenot colony in Florida had much to do with the renewal of the attempt to settle Canada. This was French territory almost by general consent, and at least *jure primæ occupationis*. The Spaniards would hardly attempt to break up a French colony on French soil because hating their religion. The influence of the Guises and of Catharine de Medici would have been exerted to destroy De Gourges on his return from his heroic expedition against the Spaniards, but it was counteracted by the open sympathy of France and the open applause of Europe. When the effort was made to surrender the Gascon soldier to the vengeance of Philip of Spain, the President de Marigny, Chief Judge of the Superior Court of Normandy, concealed him in his own house, and Queen Elizabeth of England offered him high employment in her marine service. So great did his popularity become that the king, Charles IX., took him into favor, and he was about to accept, with the royal consent, the command of the fleet of Portugal in the war of Don Antonio for the Portuguese crown when death ended his career. The long and sanguinary religious wars of France and the arduous struggles of that kingdom ensued to prevent further attempts to establish French colonies in America. In the words of Mr. Bancroft, "the government which could devise the massacre of St. Bartholomew (August 24, 1572) was neither able nor worthy to found new states." The Edict of Nantes, which effected the pacification of his kingdom by guaranteeing safety to the lives and fortunes of his Huguenot subjects, was promulgated by Henry IV., April 15, 1598, and the same year the Marquis de la Roche sailed for America with the intention of planting a colony in Acadie.[1]

The Normans, Bretons, and Basques had maintained and increased the intimacy of their fishing and trading relations with the coasts of New France during all these turbulent times. In 1578 one hundred and fifty French vessels resorted to Newfoundland alone. To the curing of cod-fish and the trying out of whale oil a new industry had been added, that of trafficking with the Indians for furs and peltries, and so widespread were these operations that in 1555, and before that, bison-skins were brought down the Potomac and thence carried by inland streams and portages to the St. Lawrence, to be traded with the French. Pedro Menendez reports in a letter to Philip of Spain that six thousand hides were thus obtained in two years, and Thevet says the bison used to wallow in the sand on the shores of Anticosti Island.[2] This trade was valuable enough to attract attention. The Marquis de la Roche got a patent from the king securing to him the same privileges as those formerly obtained by Roberval. He gathered a gang of thieves and desperadoes from the prisons, embarked them in a small vessel, and sailed for New France. He landed his forty convicts on Sable Island, a desolate sand-ridge, for safe-keeping, while he himself, with a more trusty crew, proceeded to explore the adjacent coasts. Before he could complete his surveys a storm blew his vessel off the coast, and he returned to France. The convicts were sent for next year, and so great had been their sufferings that when the survivors (there were only ten of them) were brought back to France, Henry IV. made special provision for their future. Other but fruitless attempts were made to set up colonies; but finally Samuel de Champlain, in 1603, accepted the command of two vessels sent out to renew the colonial enterprise. Champlain was a well-descended gentleman of Saintonge, a man of skill and experience, who had seen service in the West Indies as a captain in the French navy. In 1604, after a voyage of exploration the previous year, four vessels were sent out under the general direction of Champlain, and it is noteworthy that the adventurers in these vessels included not only the high and the low, convicts and noblemen, but also Catholic and Protestant clergymen, who greatly vexed Champlain by their polemical disputes.[3]

Champlain, De Monts, Poutrincourt, Pontgravé, and their associates, made experimental plantations in Acadie, at Port Royal, Tadoussac, and finally Quebec. In 1609, Champlain, in company with a band of Indians, explored the lake which bears his name, and won a victory over a band of the Iroquois Indians. In 1615, Champlain took out four Recollect Fathers with him to found a mission at Quebec, and afterwards at Montreal. The Jesuits had found their way to Nova Scotia in 1611.[4]

[1] M. Pol de Courcy, of Quebec, has attempted to show that the Marquis de la Roche came out in 1578, but the preponderance of documentary evidence is adverse to the pretension.

[2] Parkman, French Pioneers in the New World.

[3] "*J'ai vu*," said he, "*le ministre et notre curé s'entrebattre à coups de poing, sur le différent de la religion. Je ne sçais pas qui étoit le plus vaillant et qui donnoit le meilleur coup, mais je sçais très bien que le ministre se plaignoit quelquefois au Sieur de Monts d'avoir été battu, et vuidoit en cette façon les points de controversie.*"—*Champlain: Voyages de la Nouvelle France.* The rough sailors, when, after landing, curé and minister had succumbed to the climate, recommended to bury them both in one grave, to see if they would keep up the controversy *post mortem*.

[4] The Recollects were friars minor of the strict observance, Order of St. Francis. They originated in Spain. They took their French name from the Convent des Recollets, given them by Louis de Gonzague, Duc de Nevers. They were protected by Henry IV., Louis XIII., and Louis XIV., and spread all over France.

This is no place, and there is no room in this volume, for even a sketch of the early history of Canada, as equally there is no occasion for it. All that we wish to show are the paths of exploration to and within the Mississippi valley, and the circumstances and influences which led the French in Canada to pursue those paths so persistently and successfully, and to plant so many settlements at different points along their lines. Those settlements have given to the United States some of their chief cities. They culminated in St. Louis, which would not have had its history nor its fortunes apart from them.

Samuel de Champlain was the true founder of the French province of Canada. He established the various early colonies there. He kept them together by his own personal exertions during a course of indefatigable, intelligent labor, sustained during twenty-five years, until the plantations had become rooted and prosperous. Champlain was a devout, consistent Catholic, who began the record of his voyages with the recital of what was throughout his chief article of faith: "Le salut d'une seule âme vaut mieux que la conquête d'une empire, et les rois ne doivent songer à étendre leur domination dans les pays où regne l'idolatrie, que pour les soumettre à Jésus Christ." He introduced the Recollect friars into Canada as missionaries, and at least did not object to the coming of the Jesuits and the extension of their influence through the colonies. But it is almost a matter of record that his first impulses in planting a colony in Canada were those of resistance to Spanish tyranny, and Spanish absorption of the empire of the New World, and that, in making up his first colonial establishment in Quebec, he sought, when he tried to combine Huguenots with Catholics, less to promote toleration and secure the approval of Henry IV., Sully, and Du Thou than to consolidate a power which would be permanent and solidly hostile to Spain. He was the first Catholic writer who dwelt forcibly upon the massacres by Menendez in Florida, and he was an enthusiastic admirer of Dominique De Gourges, whose exploits he often goes out of the way to applaud. He had spent two years and a half in Mexico, Cuba, and the Spanish West Indies, and there perhaps he learned to dislike the subjects and the policy of Philip II. In his "Voyages" he treats the massacre of Jean Ribaut and Laudonnière as "*affront fait à la nation Française*," and, like a loyal Frenchman, he must have deeply resented the Spanish influence at court which led the weak king to pass this affront by without challenge. He was a gentleman himself, chivalrous in sentiment, and full of sympathy for every chivalric performance. He says of the feat of De Gourges, "Ainsi ce genereux chevalier repara l'honneur de la nation Française, que les Espagnols avoient offensée; ce qu' autrement eust été un regret à jamais pour la France, s'il n'eust vengé l'affront receu de la nation Espagnolle. Enterprise généreuse d'un gentilhomme, qui l'executa à ses propres cousts et dépens, seulement pour l'honneur, sans autre espérance; ce qui lui a réussi glorieusement, et ceste gloire est plus a priser que tous les tresors du monde,"—a sentiment couched in the language and worthy the age of Froissart. Be all this as it may, it is certain that Champlain organized his colony upon the principle of making it French in a representative manner, without regard to religious differences; and he did so in spite of his strong predilections for the Catholic faith, and his good-humored contempt of the Reformers, which he did not conceal. When he discovered that he was not strengthening his settlements by this plan, he declined to admit any more Huguenots among his immigrants.

The colonies thus established effected the exploration of the great basin of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, and thence extended their discoveries to the valley of the Mississippi. These explorations were the work distinctively of the trappers and hunters, the fur-traders and the missionaries. The local and imperial governments had very little to do in promoting and encouraging them. Champlain, indeed, explored as widely as he governed wisely and well; he was such a man as is fit to be trusted with the care and nurture of the first feeble germs of empire in the untrodden wild; but he had no successors. The several companies which controlled the affairs of New France were grasping monopolies, none the less sordid because made up of bourgeois and noblesse elements not well compounded together. The imperial delegated government which succeeded them was an attempt to transplant and naturalize an exotic which was not suited to the climate and had no roots. As has been said of it, the *ancien régime* rule in Canada was "all head and no body." Talon's acute and comprehensive plans, and the broad, vigorous executive ability of Frontenac, were able to sustain it far beyond the limits of its own faint and flickering vitality; but when it expired, with Montcalm, upon the Heights of Abraham, our regrets are for the brave and sagacious marquis slain in defense of such a cause, and not for the French domination.

But in the midst of this herbarium of dried roots and decayed branches, there are two vital forces abounding with energy and propagating power: the French missionaries, and the Frenchmen and half-breeds who conducted the fur trade. Those were the

men who built up Canada, and who extended its influence and its frontiers throughout the two great river systems of the North American Continent. When, after the conquest of Canada by Kertk, in 1628–29, the province was restored to the French company in 1633, by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, it was a poor and mean establishment. In the forcible language of Charlevoix, the island of Cape Bréton, with a scant few fisher huts, the fort at Quebec, "environed by some inferior houses and barracks, two or three cabins in Montreal, as many more possibly in Tadoussac and other spots on the St. Lawrence, and by traders and fishermen," were all that there was of New France; the sole fruits of all the discoveries of a century of explorers, and the outlay, and toil, and sufferings of Cartier and his successors. Champlain, when he came back, brought the Jesuits with him, and they and the Recollects undertook the conversion and the education of the Indians *pari passu* with the extension of the French dominion. Money came into the colony in abundance to sustain their pious and comprehensive designs, and population and prosperity made equally rapid advances.

So much rivalry existed between the Recollect Fathers and the Jesuits in Canada that the literature and history of the period is infected by it; and polemical controversy has actually made it difficult to determine the merits and the rights of priority of the different explorers and discoverers. The local government sympathized with the Franciscan friars, who did not imitate the Jesuits in their severe comments upon the loose morals of the *habitans*, and their indignant efforts for the repression of the lucrative but demoralizing brandy traffic with the Indians. Le Clerc has written the history of "The Establishment of the Faith in Canada" from a stand-point that is so distinctly anti-Jesuit, that he tries to glorify La Salle at the expense of Joliet and Marquette. Hennepin pretended voyages for his own benefit, as La Hontan seems to have done also; and, *per contra*, the insidious influences which obstructed La Salle's efforts while he lived seem to have pursued his memory since he died. La Salle attributed many of those adverse obstacles to Jesuit influences; but he was too noble a man to accuse the order, as others have done, of attempting to poison him. He, Frontenac, and many others in high places, were hostile to the Society of Jesus, opposed their presence in the colony, and put, almost invariably, a dark coloring upon every interpretation of their actions and their designs. The historians of the colony and of the early explorations, Sagard, Le Clerc, Hennepin, etc., are all tinctured with pique or partiality; while the voluminous Jesuit "Relations" seem quietly to assume that nothing was done outside of their order. The sources of these jealousies are not difficult to discover. The Recollects had founded the Canadian missions. They were expelled when the English took possession under Kertk, and they were not restored when France recovered Canada in 1632. At that time Cardinal Richelieu was supreme in France. He offered the spiritual control of New France to his own favorite order, the Capuchins. When they declined it, he confided the province to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. After Richelieu's death, this policy was maintained by Mazarin, and it was intensified under Louis XIV. The popular feeling of the colony against the rigid regimen of the Jesuits increased when Canada began to have large garrisons of French soldiers, familiar with the loose morals of the camp. The Jesuits did not retaliate when accused of severity, exaggeration of their services, trading, and interference in the government. Still, these complications and squabbles make it desirable for the impartial historian to obtain as much information as he can from outside and independent sources.

This information has been sought and secured. It has been carefully sifted, and compared with the fuller but less impartial chronicles written on Canadian soil, and the result is the conclusion that the Jesuit Fathers were *the* missionaries of Canada, the men who explored its wastes, civilized its savages, and converted them to Christianity. About this there can be no dispute. As "the author of Hochelaga" remarks, "the Jesuits always retained the superior position they held from the first among the Roman Catholic missionaries of Canada. There is a well-known Canadian proverb: '*Pour faire un Recollet il faut une hachette, pour un Prêtre un ciseau, mais pour un Jésuite il faut un pinceau.*'"[1] The distinction is as true as it is subtle. The Swedish traveler Kalm, who came to this country to study botany and natural history at the suggestion of Linnæus, spent much of his time in Canada, and has put upon record the different sorts of impressions made upon him by the three classes of religions. He discriminates in his colorings enough to insure himself a character for impartiality.

"The Recollects," he says, "are a third class of clergymen in Canada. They have a fine dwelling-house here, and a fine church, where they officiate. Near it is a large and fine garden which they cultivate with great application. In Montreal and Trois Rivières they are lodged in almost the same manner as here. They do not endeavor to choose cunning fellows amongst them, but take all they can get. They do not torment their brains with

[1] "Take a hatchet to make a Recollect, a chisel for a parish priest, but an artist's brush is necessary for a Jesuit."

much learning; and I have been assured that after they have put on the monastic habit they do not study to increase their knowledge, but forget even what little they knew before. . . . The priests (*curés*) are the second and most numerous order of the clergy in this country; for most of the churches, both in towns and villages (the Indian converts excepted), are served by priests. . . . In order to fit the children of this country for orders, there are schools at Quebec and St. Joachim, where the youths are taught Latin, and instructed in the knowledge of those things and sciences which have a more immediate connection with the business they are intended for. However, they are not very nice in their choice, and people of a middling capacity are often received among them. They do not seem to have made great progress in Latin; . . . most of them find it very difficult to speak it. . . .

"The Jesuits are commonly very learned, studious, and are very civil and agreeable in company. In their whole deportment there is something pleasing; it is no wonder, therefore, that they captivate the minds of the people. They seldom speak of religious matters; and if it happens, they generally avoid disputes. They are very ready to do any one a service, and when they see that their assistance is wanted, they hardly give one time to speak of it, falling to work immediately to bring about what is required of them. Their conversation is very entertaining and learned, so that one cannot be tired of their company. Among the Jesuits I have conversed with in Canada, I have not found one who was not possessed of these qualities in a very eminent degree. They do not care to become preachers to a congregation in the town or country, but leave those places, together with the involvements arising from them, to the priests. All their business here is to convert the heathen; and with that view their missionaries are scattered over every part of the country. Near every town and village peopled by converted Indians are one or two Jesuits, who take care that they may not return to paganism, but live as Christians ought to do. Then there are Jesuits with the converted Indians in Tadoussac, Lorette, Beçancourt, St. François, Sault St. Louis, and all over Canada. There are likewise Jesuit missionaries with those who are not converted: so that there is commonly a Jesuit in every village belonging to the Indians, whom he endeavors on all occasions to convert. In winter he goes on their great hunts, where he is frequently obliged to suffer all imaginable inconveniences, such as walking in the snow all day, lying in the open air all winter, lying out in both good and bad weather, lying in the Indian huts, which swarm with fleas and other vermin, etc. The Jesuits undergo all these hardships for the sake of converting the Indians, and likewise for political reasons. The Jesuits are of great use to their king; for they are frequently able to persuade the Indians to break their treaty with the English, to make war upon them, to bring their furs to the French, and not to permit the English to come among them. There is much danger attending these exertions, for when the Indians are in liquor they sometimes kill the missionaries who live with them, calling them spies, or excusing themselves by saying the brandy has killed them. These are the chief occupations of the Jesuits in Canada. . . . Everybody sees that they are, as it were, selected from other people on account of their superior genius and abilities. They are here reckoned a most cunning set of people, who generally succeed in their undertakings, and surpass all others in acuteness of understanding. I have therefore several times observed that they have enemies in Canada."

Enemies in Canada! Enemies all over the known world, yet none, even while persecuting them and denying them an abiding-place, have ventured to deny their zeal, their perfect, impersonal, and never-flagging devotion to the cause of missionary work. History is unanimous on this point. The heroism of the Jesuit apostles has made malignancy blush and has disarmed the inveteracy of criticism. They let nothing deter or prevent them in their efforts to save souls. They laughed at hardship and privation, and appeared to welcome martyrdom as a pleasure as much as a duty. They baptized infants with the tomahawk uplifted over their tonsured heads in the wigwams of the Iroquois, and they did not flee before crucifixion and impalement in China and Japan. In the words of Bancroft, "they raised the emblem of man's salvation on the Moluccas, in Japan, in India, in Thibet, in Cochin China, and in China; they penetrated Ethiopia and reached the Abyssinians; they planted missions among the Caffres; in California, on the banks of the Marañon, in the plains of Paraguay, they invited the wildest of barbarians to the civilization of Christianity." They suffered with unexampled patience and unsurpassed heroism the tortures of the damned inflicted by savages who might have passed readily for the proper ministers of hell. They were scalped, they were burned at the stake, they were disemboweled, scored with hot knives, pinched with red-hot pincers, and their finger-nails and toe-nails extracted one by one, with a studied refinement of cruelty which was careful not to overstep the margin of endurance and so shorten the process of agony. In the face of these dreadful inflictions, men like Jean de Brébeuf stood erect, with never a quivering lip or eyelid; Isaac de Jogues, while running the gauntlet and enduring weeks of intermittent renewal of brutal pain, comforted himself with visions of the glory of the Queen of Heaven; Bressani, beaten, mangled, mutilated, dragged naked through brake and bramble, and his companion butchered and devoured before his eyes, could yet chant his offices with a firm voice, and, when rescued and restored, could return to the people who had used him thus ill, to be by them murdered at last. The entire chronicle of these Jesuit missions is one of grievous peril and pain and heroic endurance throughout.[1]

[1] Of the Abnaki missionaries, Sebastian Rale was killed Aug. 23, 1624; of those to the Hurons, Nicholas Viel was killed, July, 1625; Jean de Brébeuf, March 16, 1649; Anne de Noue, frozen to death Feb. 1, 1646; Anthony Daniel, killed July 4, 1648; Charles Garnier, killed Dec. 7, 1649; Isaac Jogues, killed Oct. 18, 1646; René Menard, killed August, 1661; Leonar[d] Garreau, killed September, 1665; Natalie Chabanel, killed Dec. 8, 1649; Gabriel Lallemant, killed March 17, 1649; of those to the Iroquois and the Ottawas, etc., Gabriel de La Ribourde and Zonobe Membré were killed, 1680–86; James Gravier in

But, in fact, martyrdom and torture, the tomahawk and the stake, were the least of the things which these missionaries suffered. They were accomplished men of the world, students, scholars, men of intelligent curiosity and refined tastes. Their life in the dark and embruted wilderness must have been a perpetual martyrdom to every instinct of the natural man and the cultivated spirit. This not only in respect of the penances and mortifications they inflicted upon themselves,—as when the stalwart, indomitable scion of ancient blue blood, the massive, oak-like Brébeuf, added to the fatigues of his assiduous duty by flogging himself twice a day and wearing a spiked iron girdle underneath his bristling hair-cloth shirt,—but in respect also of the deprivation and meagre poverty of their daily lives. These students and scholars had no books to read but their breviaries, no light at night but their pine-wood fires. They had no society but that of the ignorant savages, whom they could amuse only with toys and fables. Their chief food, the "sagamity" from the filthy squaw's keüle, tasted, as one Jesuit Father has recorded, "like the paste in the paper-hanger's and bill-sticker's bucket." Their journeys through the forests were horrible with monotony and back-breaking with fatigue. They slept on rocks or the frozen earth or the wet moss of swamps, with birch-bark blankets to cover them. They had to labor with the oar or paddle and bear the weight of the laden canoe at the portage.[1]

And all this labor, toil, and repression seemed to bring with it so little reward, after all, for the savage after baptism and the mass and much teaching, remains a savage still, unreclaimed and, in all except superficial respects, unconverted.

Not that this seemed so to the Jesuits, however. Their faith, their enthusiasm, their sincere delight in their work, was full and ample compensation to them. Nor was their work all done in the shade and gloom of the desolation we have depicted. They were in the free woods, among the scenes and the population of untrammeled nature. In their bold and distant voyages and explorations they had the company of the free and gay *coureurs des bois* and voyageurs, who made the rocks and forests echo with light and joyous chansons. These voyages were made in birch-bark canoes, wonderful contrivances for the sort of navigation in which they are used.[2] On the route, in addition to the spoils of the chase, the voyageur and the Jesuit had the constant resource of an article of food which contributed very materially to the sustenance of some tribes—the wild oats, or wild rice, *Zizania aquatica* of Linnæus, which some have called the "Tuscarora," and which Kalm styles "water taregrass."[3] In the way of animal food, likewise, the Jesuits were enriched by the fortunate circumstance that they could eat the flesh of the beaver—rich, succulent food, and esteemed a delicacy by the Canadians—on days of fast as well as feast. This proceeded from the fact that the Vatican had pronounced the beaver to be fish, not flesh,[4]—no slight boon to strict conformists like the Jesuits, who had no end of "*jours maigres*" in their calendar.

Such were the devotees of this strange order who did so much for Canada. They studied, prepared vocabularies, and translated the Scriptures into every Indian tongue and dialect. They built colleges and seminaries, and erected a chapel upon every conspicuous spot, while, as Bancroft has said with no less truth than rhetorical force, "the history of their labors is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America: not a cape was turned, nor a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way." Between 1634 and 1647 forty-two of these devoted missionaries threaded and explored the wilderness, sought for souls to turn to God, and examined the country with an acute and intelligent research which makes their annual reports and "Relations" invaluable

1706; Louis Vivier in 1730; J. B. St. Cosme in 1707; Nicholas Foucault in October, 1702; and MM. les pères Souel, Testu, Du Poisson, and Du Guienne slain in Arkansas and Louisiana between 1702 and 1730. These are only the recorded cases in the published "Relations."

[1] There were thirty-five portages, some of them leagues long, through forest and swamp and over rock and fall, between Quebec and the Huron country.

[2] "The canoes that navigate the Canadian lakes are among the most ingenious and useful of the Indian manufactures, and nothing that European ingenuity has devised is so well adapted to the habits and necessities of their mode of life. They are made of the bark of the birch-tree; and of all the various contrivances for transporting burthens by water, these vessels are the most extraordinary."—*Keating's Narrative.* "*Tous ces canots,*" says Charlevoix, "*jusqu' au plus petits, portent la voile et avec un bon vent peuvent faire vingt lieues par jour. Sans voiles il faut avoir de bons canoteurs pour en faire douze dans une eau morte.*" In making these canoes the thin inner bark of the white birch is used; thin hoops for ribs; a gunwale of a narrow lathe, to which the bark is sewed with strips of white cedar root; all made water-proof with wild cherry tree gum.

[3] It is common in all America, from Florida to Canada and farther northwards. Kalm says, "The Indians reckon it among their dainty dishes. It grows in plenty in their lakes, in stagnant waters, and sometimes in rivers which flow slowly. They gather its seeds in October and prepare them in different ways, and chiefly as groats, which taste almost as well as rice."

[4] "Le castor," says Charlevoix, "a été juridiquement déclaré poisson par la Faculté de Médicine de Paris, et en conséquence de cette déclaration la Faculté de Théologie a décidé qu'on pouvoit manger sa chair les jours maigres. Par sa queue est tout-à-fait poisson."

contributions to history and geography. Before 1660 they had explored all the course of the great lakes, from Niagara to the head of Lake Superior, had established missions among nearly all the tribes contiguous to these broad sheets of water, and had penetrated up many of the streams which empty into them. Marquette, Allouez, Dablon, Joutel, Montigny, St. Cosme, Davion, Thaumur de la Source. Charlevoix, Gravier, Marest, Du Ru, and Guignas were of the Society, and it more or less inspired and directed the labors of Champlain, La Salle, Joliet, Hennepin, Tonti, Iberville, Buache, Le Clerc, Le Sueur, Vincennes, D'Artagnette, Nicollet, Perrot, and La Verendoye. Dr. O'Callaghan, the able historian of New York, in his work on the "Jesuit Relations," sums up the leading achievements of the order on the path of discovery and exploration in Canada. He says they "became the first discoverers of the greater part of the interior of this continent. They were the first Europeans who formed a settlement on the coast of Maine, and among the first to reach it from the St. Lawrence. They it was who thoroughly explored the Saguenay, discovered Lake St. John, and led the way overland from Quebec to Hudson's Bay. It is to one of them that we owe the discovery of the rich and inexhaustible salt springs of Onondaga. Within ten years of their second arrival, they had completed the examination of the country from Lake Superior to the Gulf, and founded several villages of Christian neophytes on the borders of the upper lakes. While the intercourse of the Dutch was yet confined to the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Orange, and five years before Elliott, of New England, had addressed a single word to the Indians within six miles of Boston Harbor, the French missionaries planted the cross at Sault Ste. Marie, whence they looked down on the Sioux country and the valley of the Mississippi. The vast unknown West now opened its prairies before them. Fortunately, the early missionaries were men of learning and observation. They felt deeply the importance of their position, and, while acquitting themselves of the duties of their calling, carefully recorded the progress of events around them." These records constituted the "Jesuit Relations," which were yearly printed when they reached Europe, and supplied narratives not surpassed in thrilling interest and simple naive statement by any in the collections of Ramusio, Hakluyt, Purchas, and Navarrete. They are at the same time an inexhaustible fund of accurate American history.

Their explorations of the great Laurentian valley were not complete before they heard of the greater valley of the unmeasured river beyond, and panted with sacred ambition to plant the symbol of the cross among the teeming tribes which roamed over its fertile area. That ambition, pious as the Spaniard's thirst for gold was unholy, was not less quenchless than the mad rage of the Conquistadores. It was the sole grand passion which was permitted to intrude into the cool intellectual republic of the Society of Jesus, but it swayed everything before; it was the *mot d'ordre* of a spiritual knight-errantry such as the Templars and Hospitallers never dreamed of. The breviary and the crucifix, the Jesuit missionary's only weapons and buckler, were carried where the lance and the coat-of-mail of the man-at-arms would never have dared to venture. What the lofty soul of Regulus ventured to do with the eyes of Rome and Carthage upon him, and sure of the wondering applause of coming ages, the humble but fearless Father Isaac Jogues did as a matter of simple daily duty. "*Ibo et non redibo*" ("I go, but I shall never return"), he said as he set out on his last fatal mission of peace to the Mohawks, who had already tortured him nearly to death. Such a spirit could not be baffled on the brink of geographical discovery anywhere. While Champlain was exploring the lake that bears his name, and Lakes Ontario and Nipissing, Père D'Olbeau, in his mission at Tadoussac, was observing the Saguenay valley and the regions to the northward of the St. Lawrence. In 1647, Père de Quen discovered Lake St. Jean; in 1661, Pères Drouillettes and Dablon, with M. de Vallière, pressed forward to Lake Nekouban, but it was not until ten years later that Father Charles Albanel and his companions reached and took ceremonial possession of the desolate borders of Hudson's Bay.

Father Drouillettes ascended the Chaudière and descended the Kennebec in 1646, beginning the mission to the Abenakis. Pères Brébeuf, Daniel, Lallemant, Jogues, and Raimbault extended their explorations and missions to the upper parts of Lake Huron and founded the great central mission town of Sainte-Marie, near the Detroit River, and, in 1639, Jean Nicollet was beyond Green Bay and within three days' travel of what he conceived to be an ocean,—the "great water," which was really the Mississippi. Father Marquette, in 1671, was at Michilimackinac, with his Hurons, the first settler in Michigan. Fathers Chaumont and Brébeuf, in 1640, completed the explorations of Lake Erie; Raimbault and Jogues went to Sault Ste. Marie and the archipelago of Lake Huron; and in 1661, Père Mesnard set out to preach the gospel to the Ottawas on the shores of Lake Superior, of whom the fur-traders had just brought in an account. He was never heard from after he reached

St. Esprit Bay, on the west of Lake Huron, but years afterwards his breviary and cassock were found among the Dacotah Indians, preserved as sacred relics. Father Allouez pressed farther west in 1665; he preached among the Chippeways, built a chapel, and became acquainted with the wandering bands of the Pottawattamies, Sacs and Foxes, the Creeks and the Illinois, the Knisteneaux and the Sioux. The latter told him about the great river on which they lived, and he followed the fugitive families of the Nipissings into the upper regions of Minnesota.

Father Dablon also heard of the great river while at his labors on the western shores of Lake Michigan in 1669, and he and Allouez, in 1672, came very near to the Mississippi in their visits to the Kickapoos and Mascoutins on the river Renard. These Jesuits had planned to go north to the polar seas, to discover in that way a shorter route to Japan.

And now the time had come when the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi by the French could be no longer delayed. Louis [illegible] was king indeed, and his thrifty and sagacious minister of finance and trade, Colbert, was looking after all the royal possessions, with a view to their development for the glory and emoluments of France. This Jean Baptiste Colbert, the woolen-draper's apprentice of Rouen, who became Marquis de Seignelay, was in some respects one of the most remarkable men of his age. He purified the French finances, gave his king a navy and an income, and blessed France with a civil code and a new industrial system. He reformed and reorganized the colonies, Canada in particular, which he took away from the monopoly of traders and put under the king's government. Colbert sent Talon to act as intendant in New France, and make that province a factor in his new and world-embracing commercial policy. He encouraged an extensive immigration into the country by liberal gifts of public lands, and promoted in every way the discoveries and explorations made by the Jesuits. Talon, under Colbert's orders, had actually experimented in the direction of educating, civilizing, and giving citizenship to the Indians; he gave active and intelligent support to the development of every form of industry, particularly to new modes of agriculture, the exploration of mineral resources, and the extension of the colonies' commercial relations. He fostered the whale and seal fisheries, and promoted the exports of timber. In 1688 eleven hundred vessels came to Quebec, bringing merchandise and bearing colonial produce away, and this vast increase of trade was mainly the work of Colbert and his colonial right-hand man, Jean Baptiste Talon, *Intendant de la Justice, Police, et Finances en Canada*, a man of indefatigable industry and zeal.

Talon organized and systematized the work of exploration and discovery which had been carried so far by the Jesuits, giving the Fathers civil agents to accompany them, and suggesting particular routes to specially qualified parties. He sent Perrot to the foot of Lake Michigan, to talk with the Miamis, and call a meeting at Sault Ste. Marie of representatives of all the tribes of the region watered by the headwaters of the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, and the Red River of the North. He selected and encouraged the intent and ardent La Salle in his initial undertakings. He picked out Capt. Poulet, of Dieppe, as the fit man to verify the route through the Straits of Magellan, and finally it was he who recommended Count de Frontenac to select Joliet for the companion of Father Marquette in the exploration of the as yet unseen great river of the West. Joliet himself, though a fur-trader now, had been educated in the Jesuit college at Quebec for the priesthood. Réné Robert Cavelier la Salle, who hated and feared the Jesuits, had spent his youth in the Jesuit seminary of Rouen, where, whether he intended to be a priest or not, he had performed some of the duties of a teacher of youth.

The voyage of Nicollet to Green Bay has already been alluded to. Nicollet was an interpreter and colonial commissary, who came to Canada in 1618, and learned to speak Algonkin among the savages. In 1639 he went West among the Winnebagoes (Ouinipagou), "a people who call themselves so because *they come from a distant sea*, but whom some French erroneously called Puants." Nicollet established good relations with these bands, accompanied them on their homeward way, explored Green Bay, ascended Fox River to its portage, crossed, and embarked on a river flowing westward. This was the Wisconsin, and Nicollet was told that, should he descend this river three days farther than the place where he stopped, he would have found the "great water." This, which the Indians meant for the Mississippi, Nicollet mistook to mean the Pacific Ocean or a branch of it. Indeed, the Gulf of California, the "Vermilion Sea," as it was called, was thought to extend northeastward in this direction, and the dimensions of the continent had not then been guessed.[1] De Groseilles, in 1658, on Lake Superior, heard of the Mississippi as a beautiful river, large, broad, and deep as the St. Lawrence. It was discovered that Iroquois war-parties, embarking

[1] The facts as given by Shea and Margry are contained in the Jesuit Relations of 1639–43.

on the Allegheny, descended the Ohio and ascended the Mississippi to fight their old enemies the Illinois, or descended to trade with Spaniards in the Gulf of Mexico. Allouez, learning of the river, conjectures that it empties into the Chesapeake or Delaware Bay —"the sea by Virginia"—he says. He hears of the Ilimouek (Illinois Indians) and the Nadouessioueh (Sioux). "They live on the great River called Messipi," he says.

Unfortunately, just at this point in the narrative of these great events, we are brought face to face with a keen and acrid controversy, which is just as bitter and just as personal and vehement as the quarrel, two centuries ago, in New and Old France, between the adherents of the Jesuits and the friends of Robert Cavelier de la Salle. We refer to the question of the real first explorers of the Mississippi River from the waters of the St. Lawrence. Both parties, perfectly honest and sincere in themselves, have resorted to the questionable and disagreeable expedient of denying or disputing the genuineness and authenticity of the documentary evidence produced by their opponents. The difficulties which environ the misunderstanding are still further complicated by the fact that on both sides of the controversy there are forged or spurious documents, relations known to be false, and pretentious claims demonstrated to be without a shadow of claim to credibility. But, as it is not proper to discredit what Father Hennepin said and wrote in his original journal, because he afterwards claimed what was absolutely false and demonstrably absurd, and as it is not just to reject the truths in La Hontan's narrative because he has mixed up falsehood with them, so it is not just nor proper to reject the "Jesuit Relations" because they are assailed by Le Clerc and do not agree with the La Salle documents collected so industriously by M. Pierre Margry; nor, on the other hand, to reject M. Margry's documents because he pretends with them to confute and demolish the Jesuit "Relations." It is the business of the dispassionate and impartial historian to accept and report all evidence on both sides which is of a credible and reputable sort, and to reject none until it has been proven to be unworthy of belief. Then, when the evidence is all in, and has been clearly and fairly stated, the balance of probability can be brought to the test. This course will be pursued here and hereafter throughout these discussions.

The "Jesuit Relations" are plain, simple, unadorned statements of the progress of mission-work and exploration, published as received from year to year between 1611 and 1673. They are continuous from 1632 to 1672. After 1673 the permission to publish them seems to have been revoked. Their honesty has been impeached by Le Clerc and by a correspondent of Antony Arnauld. But Le Clerc's prejudices and misstatements have been clearly proved, and M. Arnauld's friend simply charges the original narratives with having been garbled after they reached Paris for publication.[1] In respect to the events preceding the exploration of the Mississippi the narratives of the "Relations" are full, clear, simple, and coherent, with that intelligent, logical consecutiveness and dependence of one occurrence upon another which it is so difficult to counterfeit in a spurious or fictitious narrative. We will proceed with these narratives as they are given in abstract by Shea in his satisfactory "History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River." The Ottawa mission acquiring importance, Père Dablon was sent to it as Superior in 1668. A station was selected among the Illinois Indians, to which Père Marquette was sent. He took charge, and at once commenced the study of the dialect of the Illinois Indians. His instructor, an Illinois youth, gave him some knowledge of the course of the Mississippi River, and from the youth he also now heard of the Missouri. The enthusiastic young Father had long before planned to make an exploration of the Mississippi, and was simply waiting orders to undertake it. He now writes, "If the Indians who promise to make me a canoe do not break their word, we shall go into this river as soon as we can, with a Frenchman and this young man given me, who knows some of these languages and has a readiness for learning others. We shall visit the nations that inhabit them in order to open the passage to so many of our Fathers, who have long awaited this happiness. This discovery will give us a complete knowledge of the Southern or Western Sea."[2]

Père Allouez, Nov. 3, 1669, left Sault Ste. Marie to visit Green Bay, spent the winter preaching to the Winnebago and other tribes, and in April, 1670, ascended Fox River, crossed Winnebago Lake, and came to another river, flowing out of "a wild-oat lake." He turned up the river, not down, being in search of the Outagamis or Fox Indians. After a season among them he descended the river to the town of the Fire Nations, as the Hurons called them, the Machcouteuch (or Mascoutens). To reach this tribe he had passed on to the headwaters of the Wisconsin, "a beautiful river, running southwest, without any rapids. It leads to the great river named Messisippi, which is only six days' sail from here."

[1] See John G. Shea's edition and translation of Le Clerc.
[2] Relations, 1669–70.

Père Dablon, now superior-general of the Canada missions, intent on reaching the Mississippi, according to the advices and instructions of Colbert and Talon, yet hesitated whether the route by the Illinois or that by the Wisconsin would be preferable. There was another Indian war, in which the terrible Iroquois conquered again. The Ottawas and Hurons fled before them, and Marquette's mission was broken up. He went with the Hurons to Mackinaw, but the idea of exploring the Mississippi still filled his mind. Père Dablon, who wrote the "Relation" of 1670–71, published in connection with it a map of Lake Superior. In his description of it he makes the following reference to the great river:

"To the south flows the great river, which they (the Indians) call the *Mississippi*, and which can have its mouth only in the Florida Sea." He adds,—

"I deem it proper to set down here all we have learned about it. It seems to encircle all our lakes, rising in the north and running to the south, till it empties in a sea, which we take to be the Red Sea (Gulf of California), or that of Florida, as we have no knowledge of any great rivers in those parts flowing into those seas. Some Indians assure us that this river is so beautiful that more than three hundred leagues from its mouth it is larger than that which flows by Quebec, as they make it more than a league wide. They say, moreover, that all this vast extent of country is nothing but prairies, without trees or woods, which obliges the inhabitants of those parts to use turf and sun-dried dung for fuel, till you come about twenty leagues from the sea. There the forests begin to appear again. Some warriors of this country (Maskoutens), who say that they have descended that far, assure us that they saw men like the French, who were splitting trees with long knives, some of whom had their house on the water; thus they explained their meaning, speaking of sawed planks and ships. They say, besides, that all along this great river are various towns of different nations, languages, and customs, who all make war on each other; some are situated on the river side, but most of them inland, continuing thus up to the nation of the Nadouessi, who are scattered over more than a hundred leagues of country."

It is evident that it only remained now to make an exploration of a river about which everything was so distinctly known, not only to the Western missionaries, but to the traders likewise. Among the latter was Joliet, a secular of the Jesuits, who had come as near to the river as Allouez had, and whose services and usefulness were known to Talon. The intendant had resigned his post and was about to sail for France, when he received a letter from Colbert, on June 4, 1672, to the effect that, "as after the increase of the colony there is nothing more important for the colony than the discovery of a passage to the South Sea, His Majesty wishes you to give it your attention." Talon at once recommended Joliet to the Governor, Count Frontenac, as a proper person to undertake the exploration.[1] "He is a man," wrote the Governor to the French minister, "thoroughly versed in this sort of discovery, and who has already been in the vicinity of this great river, of which he promises to discover the embouchure. We shall have certain news of it this summer, and also of the Lake Superior copper-mine, to which we have sent other canoes, although I do not believe that it can be made of much use when discovered, from the distance and the difficulties of transportation on account of intervening falls and rapids."[2]

When Joliet showed his commission, Father-Superior Dablon chose Marquette to accompany him, instead of Allouez, though the latter was more familiar with the waters west of Lake Michigan. But Marquette's enthusiasm, his studies in the Indian tongues, his acquaintance with and esteem among the Illinois Indians, and his obedient and filial devotion to his order, secured him the appointment.[3] Joliet arrived

[1] Frontenac seems to have known Joliet himself. "M. Talon," he writes to Colbert on Nov. 2, 1672, "*a aussi* juge expédient pour le service d'envoyer le sieur Joliet à la descouverte de la mer du Sud, par le pays des Maskoutens et la grande rivière qu'ils appellent Mississipi, qu'on croit se descharger dans la mer de Californie." The word "*aussi*" would seem to indicate that Frontenac likewise was acquainted with Joliet's good qualities.

[2] This letter—the first part of it at least—which is without date in the Margry collection (vol. i. p. 255), is quoted by Mr. Shea from the Memoir of Frontenac, N. Y. Paris coll., as being written in 1672, November. But then why should he have promised news, *this summer*, of an expedition not yet started, if he wrote in November? The letter must have been written in 1673, after Joliet had gone to join Marquette, and before the exploring party had started, or before news of the start had been received by Frontenac.

[3] Marquette was a remarkable man; not less from his piety, his humility, and his devotion to religion than for his abilities as a linguist and a teacher. The Indians loved him as a brother, while they venerated him as a being of supernatural qualities. Jacques Marquette was a native of Laon, France, descendant of the most ancient family of the place, who had borne its highest civic honors for four or five hundred years. Jacques Marquette was born in 1637, his mother, singularly enough, being Rose de la Salle, a pious and devoted Catholic. He entered the Jesuit schools when only seventeen years old, and in 1666 was sent to Canada as a missionary. Immediately on his arrival he began the study of the Montagnais and Algonkin Indian dialects, with the purpose of connecting himself with the Tadoussac mission; but in 1668 he was ordered to join the Ottawa mission, and he forthwith proceeded to Lake Superior, erecting the missionary station of Sault Ste. Marie. Père Dablon joined him here, and they built a church. Marquette had two thousand Indians here under his care, a docile race, whom he tried to teach the lesson of his own life: "learn to labor and to wait." In the autumn of 1669, he was sent to the Ottawa Indians, taking the place of Allouez. It was his leading ambition to have a mission among the Illinois Indians and to discover the Mississippi, and these things he incessantly prayed for. He made acquaintance with wandering

at the mission of St. Ignatius of Michilimackinac, says Marquette, on the day of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, and the two travelers were not long in preparing their simple outfit. They had gathered all the information they could get of the Indians and drawn up a map on the basis of it. They provided themselves with two bark canoes, and Indian corn and some dried meat was their whole stock of provisions. They had five men besides themselves, "firmly resolved to do all and suffer all for so glorious an enterprise." "It was," said Marquette, in his simple journal, "on the 17th of May, 1673, that we started for the missions of St. Ignace. Our joy at being chosen for this expedition roused our courage and sweetened the labor of rowing from morning till night. As we were going to seek unknown countries, we took all possible precautions, that, if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be foolhardy; . . . above all, I put our voyage under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her that if she did us the grace to discover the great river, I would give it the name of Conception; and that I would also give that name to the first mission which I should establish among these new nations, as I have actually done among the Illinois."

The travelers soon came to the village of the Menominee or Wild Rice Indians, and from thence to Green Bay. They entered the Fox River, made the difficult passage beyond, crossed Lake Winnebago, and on June 7th reached the town of the Mascoutins and Miamis. Thence to the Wisconsin River, gliding down the tranquil stream through vines and beds of wild rice, until, on June 17th, they reached the bluffs of Prairie du Chien, and, as Marquette says, safely entered the Mississippi "with a joy that I cannot express." Marquette describes the river with a few simple touches which are very effective. Its current "is slow and gentle;" it is in many places "studded with islands;" "on sounding, we have found ten fathoms of water; its breadth is very unequal; it is sometimes three-quarters of a league, and sometimes narrows to three *arpents* (two hundred and twenty yards)." "We gently follow its course, which bears south and south-

Illinois, studied their language and customs, and learned of them about the river on which some of their villages stood. He came to dream of the search for Indian nations towards the south seas "who are still unknown to us, and to teach them of our great God whom they have hitherto not known." He thirsted for danger, toil, and hardship, and martyrdom did not appal him, though it was not in his humility to seek it. He took it as a happy augury that Joliet should have arrived with his commission on the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, "whom," he said, "I have always invoked since my coming to the Ottawa country, in order to obtain of God the favor of being able to visit the nations on the Mississippi River." On his return from the great exploration, Marquette was broken down in health by a dysentery. He recovered partially, and engaged at once in other active and fatiguing missionary work, until finally, on his way from old Kaskaskia, on the Illinois River, to his former station at Mackinaw, he expired, on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, May 18, 1675. Louis Joliet, his companion, seems to have been a Canadian by birth, educated in a Jesuit college at Quebec, and afterwards engaged in the far West fur trade. Parkman says his father was a wagon-maker of Quebec, and that Louis was born there in 1645. He began life with the intention of joining the priesthood, received the tonsure and the minor orders, and took a distinguished part in the philosophical disputations of his class. When he abandoned the clerical vocation, he was sent by Talon to explore the Lake Superior copper mines. He was hardy, brave, intelligent, with a strong mercantile instinct, and had not lost favor with the Jesuits by renouncing the priesthood. After his return from the Mississippi, Joliet married a fur-trader's daughter, made a journey to Hudson's Bay, and received afterwards a grant of the island of Anticosti, where he established himself, engaging in the fisheries and surveying and making maps. The English burnt his place on Anticosti and took his wife prisoner in 1690. He was afterwards royal pilot for the St. Lawrence and hydrographer at Quebec, dying poor about 1700. Marquette's map and his simple narratives are all that he left. He sought no reward; his tender piety and unselfish devotion have embalmed his memory, and the Indians have fancied miracles in connection with his tomb. Two years after his death, says Mr. Shea, in a commemorative address at St. Louis in 1878, his Ottawa Indians, passing that way, took up his body, cleansed the bones, and, putting them in a box of bark, conveyed them to Point St. Ignace, where they were with solemn rite deposited in a little vault in the middle of the church. This edifice was burned down in 1700, and in time all trace of the site and of Marquette's tomb was lost, till last year, when the Rev. Edward Jacker discovered and identified both, but only to find that the tomb had been rifled, evidently by some Indian medicine man, who wished the bones of the great priest as a magical power. The remnants of the box and some fragments of bones were piously gathered, to be placed under a monument in his honor. The family of Marquette still exists in France, proud of one who added such lustre to their name. The descendants of Joliet have filled many places of honor in Canada down to our day both in Church and State, and at this very moment the archbishop of the ancient see of Quebec and the archbishop of St. Boniface in Manitoba claim descent from Louis Joliet. Cortes once pushed his way to the carriage of Charles V., and when the emperor-king haughtily demanded, "Who are you?" the conqueror of Mexico replied as haughtily, "One who gave you more kingdoms than your ancestor left you provinces." Marquette and Joliet, ignored by Louis XIV., might, amid the gay circle of his courtiers, have told him the same. Their peaceful conquest gave into the grasp of France the two great river systems of North America, the St. Lawrence and Mississippi. In the valley of the Mississippi alone, the loveliest, richest, and most wonderful on earth, they gave France what, had she known how to use it, would have made her the mightiest and happiest of nations. No other river on earth traverses, like the Mississippi, every variety of climate; no other valley is so evenly watered, so rich in gold, silver, lead, iron, and coal; none has a more fertile soil, scenery more grand and picturesque, none greater advantage for commerce. Yet France overlooked all this.

east, till the forty-second degree. Here we perceive that the whole face is changed; there is now almost no wood or mountain, the islands are more beautiful and covered with finer trees; we see nothing but deer and moose, bustards and wingless swans, for they shed their plumes in this country." Monstrous fish, fish of strange shape and design, are encountered; wild turkeys perch among the trees, wild cattle (bisons) come to the river-shore to drink. Everything is new and strange in this untraveled wilderness, and no human beings were seen in a traverse of a hundred leagues. At last, on June 25th, footprints of men are seen, a beaten path. The two explorers leave their canoes with the people and follow the path on foot with beating hearts. A village is seen on the bluff; "then indeed we recommended ourselves to God, with all our hearts," yet pursued the path undiscovered till they could hear the Indians talking. The brave adventurers shouted, the Indians rushed out, the peace-pipe was held aloft on both sides. "Illinois," said the savages, and took the voyagers to their village, where a venerable sachem, standing naked in the doorway of his cabin, with uplifted hands, extended to them a welcome which reads like a verse from the Odyssey. "How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchman," said he, making believe, with complimentary finesse, to shade his eyes, "when thou comest to visit us! All our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace."

We will not closely pursue Marquette's narrative, which flows along throughout in this simple and beautiful style, the original being more naive and charming than can be reproduced in any translation.[1] The next day the voyagers proceeded on their way, promising to return in four moons, and escorted to the river-bank by a regiment of spectators. They soon came to the mouth of the Missouri River (the *Pekitanoui*, or muddy river, as Marquette calls it), having passed the Painted Rocks, the description of which was afterwards challenged by Hennepin. These pictured monsters frightened Marquette's followers, and they were still talking about them, "sailing gently down a beautiful, still, clear water, when we heard the noise of a rapid into which we were about to fall. I have seen nothing more frightful; a mass of large trees, entire, with branches, real floating islands, came rushing from the mouth of the river Pekitanoui, so impetuously that we could not, without great danger, expose ourselves to pass across. The agitation was so great that the water was all muddy and could not get clear." Marquette's chief thought, however, was whether he could not, by ascending this river, make the discovery of the Red or California Sea. "I do not despair of one day making the discovery," he says, "if God does me this favor and grants me health, in order to be able to publish the gospel to all the nations of this New World, who have so long been plunged in heathen darkness." Neither of the explorers could dream that just below this point of the Missouri's debouch, with "its dangerous rapid," from which they were so eager to escape, a great city would be built, the population of which would in two hundred years exceed the number of all the Indians whom Marquette sought to convert, where his name would be the theme of even the schoolboy's lips, and the day of his discovery be kept as a festival.

From the site of St. Louis the adventurers still descended, passing the mouth of the Ohio, which they knew as the Ouaboukigou (Ouabache—Wabash), from the lower tributary of that stream. They found here the Chawanons, or Shawnees, Indians, who had thirty-eight contiguous villages, Marquette reports, but were not warlike. The banks of the river now became clothed with cane-brakes, and the missionary found the mosquitoes, which had not troubled him before, beginning to swarm. "We now, as it were, entered their country," he says; and the voyager who enters there, as experience proves, must leave all hope of sleep behind. The Indians procured sleep by passing their nights on a scaffold of poles erected above a smudge fire. Indians encountered in the Chickasaw country assured the travelers that they were not more than ten days' distance from the sea, but they did not attempt to reach it. The Indians were hostile or treacherous. In descending to the mouth of the Arkansas they had secured proof that the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, and not into the Atlantic Ocean or the Gulf of California, and they feared, if they descended farther, they would fall into the hands of the Spaniards, be made prisoners, and lose the fruits of their voyage. So they turned the prows of their canoes up the river, retracing their course until they reached the mouth of the Illinois River,

[1] For example, the sachem's formal speech of welcome: "Quand jéu finy mon discour, le capitaine se leva, et tenant le main sur la teste d'un petit esclave qu'il nous vouloit donner il parla ainsi. 'Je te remercie, Robe Noire, et toy françois (s'addressant à M. Jollyet) de ce que vous prenez tant de peine pour nous venir visiter,—jamais la terre n'a este si belle ny le soleil si éclatant qu'aujourdhui; jamais notre riviere n'a este si calme, n'y si nette de rochers que vos canotz ont enlevées en passant, jamais nostre petun n'a en si bon gout, ni nos bleds n'ont paru si beau que nous les voions maintenant. Voicy mon fils, que je te donne pour te faire connoistre mon cœur, je te prie d'avoir pitié de moy et de toute ma nation, c'est toy qui connoist la Grand Genie qui nois a tous faits, c'est toy qui luy parle et quy escoute sa parole, demande luy qu'il me donne la vie et la santé et vient demeurer avec nous, pour nous le faire connoistre," etc.

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and by it and the portage and Chicago River came again to Lake Michigan, passing by the Indian town of Kaskaskia, which Mr. Parkman places with such accuracy about seven miles from the town of Ottawa, Illinois. At the end of September they reached Green Bay, having been gone four months and paddled their canoes over twenty-five hundred miles.

Marquette's journals and map, the sole record of this most interesting and momentous voyage, were not treated as they deserved to be. He prepared his account and transmitted it at once to his superior, Father Dablon, who forwarded it, with a preface, to Frontenac, by whom it was sent to Europe. But it was not published by the French government, and did not see the light until printed imperfectly in 1681 by Thevenot in his "Recueil de Voyages," but with a map different from that of Marquette's, which accompanies his "Relation." This map of Thevenot's may be a reproduction of the one drawn for Count Frontenac from memory by Joliet. A copy of Marquette's "Relation" and map, however, with Dablon's introduction, was preserved in the archives of the Jesuit college in Quebec It was practically unknown, for even Charlevoix did not see it, and it was finally unearthed to be published by B. F. French in the Louisiana Historical Collections, and given, original and translation, with much supplementary matter and learned illustration, by Mr. J. G. Shea in his excellent volume on "The Discovery of the Mississippi River."[1]

Joliet, after taking leave of Père Marquette, proceeded to Quebec, to communicate the results of his discoveries to Count Frontenac. At the foot of the rapids of Lachine, at Montreal, his canoe was upset, two of his men and an Indian boy were drowned, and the explorer barely saved his own life. His journal, his map, and all his papers were lost. "Nothing remains to me now but my life," he wrote to Frontenac, "and the ardent desire to employ it on any service you may direct." But Frontenac himself reported Joliet's return, and the discovery made by him and Marquette, in a letter to Colbert dated Nov. 11, 1674.[2]

"The Sieur Joliet," he writes, "whom Mr. Talon advised me to send to the discovery of the South Sea when I came from France, returned from there three months ago, and has discovered some fine countries, with a navigation so easy by beautiful rivers, that he has found from Lake Ontario and Fort Frontenac one may go by vessel clear to the Gulf of Mexico, having but one portage to make between Lakes Ontario and Erie, about half a league long, and where a post may be set up and another vessel be employed on Lake Erie.

"These are projects to work upon when peace is well established, and the king shall please to push these discoveries.

"He has been within ten days' distance of the Gulf of Mexico, and believes that by the rivers which from the west fall into the great river which he found, and which flows from north to south, and which is as large as the St. Lawrence at Quebec, we may find communications leading into the Vermilion Sea and California.

"I send you by my secretary the chart which he has made of it, and the remarks he has been able to remember concerning it, having lost all his papers and journals in the shipwreck that overturned him within sight of Montreal, where he expected to be drowned after having made a voyage of twelve hundred leagues, and lost all his papers and a little savage whom he brought from those regions, which I greatly regret.

"He had left at Lake Superior, at Sault Ste. Marie, among the Fathers, copies of his journals, which we cannot obtain before next year, through which you will learn with more particularity about the discovery, in which he has acquitted himself very well."

The fragmentary report of Joliet, which accompanied his map as a sort of marginal comment, completes the history of this successful exploration, which, however, was never turned to any useful purpose by the Canadians or the imperial government. Marquette died and was forgotten, except among the Indians.[3]

Marquette was the saint, his passions subdued and his soul as brave as it was tranquil. La Salle was the sinner, proud, haughty, ambitious, scheming high schemes, and sacrificing others as readily as he immolated himself in the pursuit of his great and sometimes nebulous enterprises. But Mr. Shea is transparently unjust in the comparison he makes between the two men. There is no evidence that La Salle was sordid or grasping, and he does not deserve the sneer at "the aristocrat trying to be a merchant; courtier aspiring to rule, eager for a title, but with no idea of founding a state with the whole valley of the Mississippi in his hand."[4] He was an adventurer; but so were Columbus and Balboa, Raleigh and Drake. He was, if Mr. Shea will have it so, "a buccaneer;" but after the order of Cortes and De Soto, not after that of Morgan and Capt. Kyd. Abbé Raynal said, "New France had among its people a Norman named Robert Cavelier de La Salle, a man inspired with the double passion of amassing a large fortune and gaining an illustrious name. This person

[1] The MS. was reprinted by Mr. Lenox under the direction of Mr. Shea, says Parkman.

[2] Marbry, vol. i. p. 257.

[3] Mention has been made of the veneration in which he and his name were held among the tribes. He once preached to two thousand warriors, and his influence with the Illinois Indians was very great. Once, being at war with the Miamis, they came to beg him for ammunition. "I have come among you," he calmly replied, "not to aid you to destroy your enemies' bodies, but to help you to save your own souls. Gunpowder I cannot give you, but my prayers you can have for your conversion to that religion which gives glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to all men."

[4] Address at the Marquette celebration, St. Louis, 1878.

had acquired under the training of the Jesuits, among whom his youth was passed, activity, enthusiasm, firmness of character, and high-heartedness,—qualities which that celebrated confraternity knew so well how to discern and cultivate in promising natures committed to their care. Their most audacious and enterprising pupil, La Salle, was especially impatient to seize every occasion that chance presented for distinguishing himself, and ready to create such opportunities if none occurred." This is true, as far as it goes; but the trouble with La Salle was, not that he was trained and moulded by the Jesuit discipline, but that his impetuous and imperious nature refused to submit to any discipline, any curb, even of his own experience, sorrow and suffering. His rule of life was that of Marius:

"Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinæ."

"Under the pressure of all his misfortunes," said one of the missionaries, who was companion of his wanderings, "I have never remarked the least change in him; no ill news seemed to disturb his usual equanimity; they seemed rather to spur him on to fresh efforts to retrieve his fortunes, and to make greater discoveries than he had yet effected."[1] Such a man was no charlatan, but a hero.



CAVELIER DE LA SALLE.

Again, Marquette's discovery was the single keystone act of a series of discoveries all leading up to one point. That point—the test case in the great

hold as an outpost against the Iroquois. He set up a seigniory and built a village and stockade, studying the Indian tongue and the conditions of the fur trade. The Indians who visited him told of untraveled lands and unnavigated rivers outside of Canada; he heard of the Ohio, which name the Iroquois claimed to belong to one great river extending all the way to the Gulf of Mexico. He sought a route to China; perhaps he might find it in this way. He went to Quebec, saw Governor and intendant, won them to his plans, sold his seigniory, fitted out a party, including some Sulpicians, and started out for the Ohio. At the head of Lake Ontario the party met Joliet, just returned from a futile attempt to reach Lake Superior; they took Joliet for their guide to the Illinois, and La Salle left them. He had started to go to the Ohio. La Salle, his journals, maps, etc., now fall into mist for two years; there is no record of what he did or saw between 1669 and 1671, except the record which M. Margry has furnished, the unpublished Histoire de M. le la Salle, by a third person, anonymous, who pretends to give the results of ten or twelve conversations with La Salle in Paris. This third person will have it that in these two years La Salle, almost alone, deserted by his people, explored the Ohio from its Alleghany headwaters to the falls or to Cairo and the Mississippi, and descended also the Illinois to the Mississippi, which stream he followed to the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude,—that is to say, from Alton, Illinois, to below the bluffs of Columbus, Kentucky. We have the evidence, however, from his own hand and that of Joliet also, his rival, that La Salle did discover and explore the Ohio.

La Salle, when he returned from the wilderness, had great plans. They needed much money to accomplish them. He went to Quebec, saw the merchants, saw Frontenac, and taught him the secrets of the fur trade, in which the Governor wished to engage a little himself. In 1674 La Salle went to France with strong letters from Frontenac; he was well received at court, secured a patent of nobility and the seigniory of Fort Frontenac, and got large advances of money from his family to promote his adventures in the fur trade. In 1677 he was in France again; new commissions; new loans; exploration of the

[1] René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, was born in Rouen, of an old and rich burgher family, in which at one time was an estate known as La Salle. The date of his birth was Nov. 22, 1643. His father and uncle were rich merchants; his brother was a Sulpician abbé; the family had plenty of money. Robert received a good education; he connected himself with the Jesuits, taught in their schools, but could not yield himself to their crushing discipline. He lost his inheritance by joining the Jesuits, and when he left the order he sailed for Canada, in 1666, to seek his fortune. The Sulpicians of Montreal gave him a grant of land at Lachine to cultivate, and

induction—needed to be established, and Marquette proceeded to verify it with a certain grand single-hearted sincerity which was sublime in itself and in all its surroundings. But La Salle, man of ideas, man of designs, man of complex, far-reaching plans, had conceived a project of empire of which the successive step-by-step discoveries undertaken by him were only necessary parts of the tremendous fabric. To the execution of these schemes he brought keen intelligence, profound earnestness and enthusiasm, and a will that never bent under any pressure. Talon, the intendant, had conceived the idea of crossing Lake Ontario and forcing the Dutch and English out of New York, which would have eventually smothered them in New England. Champlain had sought a northwest passage to China. La Salle combined both plans with the occupation of the Mississippi and the West and the monopoly of the fur trade by France. This would crowd the Spaniards as well as English; it would build up an empire for France in America, and it would enrich the Sieur de la Salle beyond all rivalry of contemporary wealth. Every step he took was for the advancement of this plan,—Forts Frontenac, Niagara, Crevecœur; the exploration of the Ohio, the Illinois, the upper and lower Mississippi, the expedition to the Gulf, the fort in Texas. It was La Salle's plan, and it became the plan finally of the French government, when, having its chain of forts from Niagara to Vincennes, to Kaskaskia, to New Orleans and Mobile, Pensacola and Presidio del Norte, the government of New France planted its cannon also at Fort Du Quesne on the Ohio and Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain at the same time that it struck at Hudson's Bay. It is no reproach to a strong government, much less to a young man with no fortune, not too many friends, and numerous active enemies, if such comprehensive and far-reaching plans fail of accomplishment. La Salle's were crushed by a combination of political, moral, and physical forces. He did not, perhaps, have the attraction of cohesion in himself, and he had to encounter subtle intrigue and trade jealousy and suspicion; to bear the brunt of ecclesiastical and civil feuds which he had no hand in causing; to be the victim of Indian wars he had not roused, and beaten, buffeted, ruined by storm, frost, pestilence, robbery, and murder.

We have no intention to follow La Salle's adventurous steps. At Fort Frontenac he could form his plans at his leisure, for he was feudal lord of all around him. He was on the road to riches, for he had the monopoly of the buffalo fur trade, and this would be immensely profitable as soon as the prairies were reached. He needed money, for he had borrowed five hundred thousand francs. He pushed Hennepin forward to the explorations in Minnesota; he established Tonti at Fort Crevecœur, and then pressed on his preparations to complete the exploration of the Mississippi. Joliet and Marquette had traversed six hundred miles of its course. He would explore it from its far northern source to the Gulf. He mustered his men, resolved to put through his adventure at last, or perish in the attempt. "So many mishaps and evils always happening in his absence made him resolve to trust nobody any more and to lead himself all his people, march with all his equipments, and head each of his enterprises, so as to insure a happy issue."[1]

It was on Dec. 21, 1681, that La Salle and his company, fifty-four in all, Frenchmen, Indian warriors, and squaws and children, set out from Fort Miami. The streams were frozen in places, the portages were made on sledges, yet on Feb. 6, 1682, they had reached the Mississippi, to find the river full of floating ice. In a week,[2] the navigation free, the strag-

Northwest, the Prince de Conti for his patron, permission to build a fort at Niagara. Returning, with his noble friend the loyal Chevalier Tonti for companion, La Salle built the town of Niagara, built and launched the first vessel, the "Griffin," on Lake Erie, sailed to Lakes Huron and Michigan, and built Fort *Crevecœur* (the only groan he ever uttered) on the Illinois, at Peoria. Misfortunes and losses of every sort, many of them of his own contriving, fell upon the adventurer, but he sent Père Hennepin to explore the Upper Mississippi, and he finally explored the lower stream from Alton to the Gulf, thus earning, at least, his title of explorer of the West. In 1683 he went to France again, set out by sea to settle Louisiana and build a fort at the mouth of Mississippi, landed in Texas, and after an Iliad of misfortunes and miseries was basely murdered by some of his own followers. It is a wretched story; but Robert Cavelier de La Salle was not of the men who are born to die in peaceful comfort in their beds. He was badly treated; the elements as well as his fellows conspired against him, and his rule was too severe, his manners too reserved and haughty, for him to be well served. But no man ever had greater confidence shown him by rulers and capitalists, and no man ever won more loyal followers than he in the noble Chevalier de Tonti.

[1] Rélation des Descouvertes de Sieur de la Salle. This is the name by which Parkman quotes it. In Margry's work, vol. i. 435, the title is Relation des decouvertes et des voyages du Sieur de la Salle, etc., 1679–80–81, the sub-title being Rélation Officielle. It is from the records of the French ministry of the marine, and M. Margry is in doubt as to whether it is La Salle's own composition or the memorial of his friends and partners, based on his letters and journals, and written up by *un savant ecclésiastique*. It is probably the latter, as Parkman conceives. But La Salle furnished much of the substance of the document, and Hennepin pilfered from it.

[2] "Twelve days," says the narrative of Nicolas Cavelier, in Margry. Tonti, in his narrative (same volume), says the delay was to enable the Indians to build canoes. Père Membré says they were detained by the ice from February 6th to 13th. Young Cavelier is probably wrong.

gling hunters had come in, an early start was made next morning, 13th, and at evening they had reached the mouth of the Missouri (Ozage, Membré calls it), and camped in the woods below for the night. This camp may have been—and probably was—within the present limits of St. Louis County. Young Cavelier says, "*Le premier jour, on alla cabaner à six lieues au coste droit, proche de l'embouchure d'une rivière qui tombe dans le Mississipi et qui la rende forte trouble et borbeuse.*" (Six leagues from the mouth of the Illinois would bring one to the south shore of the Missouri, and *proche de l'embouchure.*) The place was fully inhabited,—"*abondante en peuples,*" says Tonti. He adds, "There are even some villages of savages who make use of horses for war purposes and to transport the flesh of the bisons killed by them in the chase." Father Membré also speaks of the Indians. These, the earliest inhabitants of St. Louis County, were Osages. La Salle and his party[1] proceeded down the Mississippi to the delta without any further misadventures; they entered the Gulf of Mexico by all three mouths, and, when the parties were reunited on a spot of dry ground just within the river, a column was erected, bearing the arms of France and inscribed: "*Louis le Grand, Roy de France et de Navarre, règne; le neuvième Avril,* 1682." The Frenchmen were mustered under arms, the regulation *Te Deum* and other Latin chants and hymns were sung, a volley of musketry was discharged, the column planted, and La Salle proclaimed the fact (attested likewise by a *procès-verbal* drawn and witnessed on the spot) that he took possession of LOUISIANA in the name of the French king. The boundaries of the parchment empire thus appropriated are marked by Mobile on the west, the Rio Grande on the east, the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers on the northeast; on the northwest the territory extends to the polar circle.

La Salle now retraced his course. He established a fort on the Illinois, at "Starved Rock," near the Indian town of Kaskaskia, to defend his new trading regions from the assaults of the Iroquois; he gathered many tribes about his settlement, for his influence with the savages was almost supreme, and in Indian councils he was more powerful and more persuasive even than Pontiac or Tecumseh; and then, in 1684, he went once more to France to prepare for his last expedition. We will not follow him, but proceed now to examine the various and conflicting evidence in regard to this part of the history of exploration in the Mississippi valley.

We have alluded already to the fact that this matter has been complicated, and the discussion of it seriously embarrassed by the intrusion of spurious and fraudulent claims and the coinage of documents with false names and dates, as well as invented facts. The extent to which this has been done marks at once the general public interest in the subject and the intensity of the controversies of the period. People do not coin and forge for amusement, but for profit, and canards and invented documents will not be put forth when there is nobody to read them. The counterfeit documents on which to rest opinions, claims of discovery, and explorations did not cease with the immediate period of the discovery of the Mississippi In 1855, Judge Law delivered a lecture before a literary institute at Cincinnati, in which, while pronouncing a eulogy upon the Jesuit missionaries of the Northwest, he seriously impeached the fair fame of Père Marquette. He said that the Jesuits extended their missions towards the Mississippi by three routes—the Wabash, the Illinois, and the Wisconsin Rivers, and "that one or more of these three routes had been traversed by the Jesuit Fathers years before Marquette and Joliet launched their frail bark, in 1673, on the waters of the Mississippi, is susceptible of proof; and that the Mississippi had been known, and the tribes inhabiting visited, and the missions established, before Marquette even coasted its borders, is now well understood. As early as the year 1652, twenty years before Marquette and Joliet started on their voyage of discovery to the 'great river Mechassippi,' Father Jean Dequerre, Jesuit, went from the mission on the Superior to the Illinois, and established a flourishing

[1] It is worth while to put on record the names of La Salle's party, the first of the advancing tide of persons of all nationalities who have built up St. Louis. They did not come by railroad nor steamboat, yet there was a characteristic diversity in the composition of the party. The names may be found in Tonti's Relation, as published by Margry: M. de la Salle, commander, for the king, at the said discovery (Rouen, France); the Reverend Father Zenobie (*sic*: Zenobius Membré), Recollect (Membré was a native of Bapaume, Spanish Netherlands); the Sieur Henri de Tonty, captain of brigade (an Italian, son of a governor of Gaeta): the Sieur de Boisrondet (French, and well-born; a youth stanch and loyal to La Salle throughout); Jacques Bourdon, Sieur d'Autray (French; son of Bourdon, the engineer, of Quebec); Jacques La Métorie, notary; Jean Michel, surgeon; Jacques Cochois; Anthoine Bassard; Jean Masse; Pierre You: Colin Crevel: Jean du Lignon; André Hénault; Gabriel Barbier. Pierre Migneret; Nicolas de La Salle; André Babeuf; Pierre Buret; Louis Baron; Jean Pignabel; La Violette; Pierre Prud'homme, armorer. Savages: Captain Clause; Amabanse; Hirguen; Ahos; Senechó; Nanaouairinthe; Youtin; Sanomp; Ouabarcsmantii; Alimalman; Apexos; Chouakost; Akiesko; Maskinampo; Miousma; Onenthio; Pioua; one Huron woman, three Nipissings, five Abenakis, one Okipois, and three children. Of these Indians, some were of the Mohecans, survivors of those expelled from New England and New York; the Abenakis were from Maine, the Nipissings from the Huron country. All were of the Algonkin race and deadly enemies of the Iroquois.

mission, probably the mission of St. Louis, where Peoria is now situated. He visited various Indian nations on the borders of the Mississippi, and was slain in the midst of his apostolic labors in 1661. In 1657, Father Jean Charles Drocoux, Jesuit, went to Illinois, and returned to Quebec the same year. In 1670, Father Hugues Pinet, Jesuit, went to the Illinois and established a mission among the Tamarois or Cahokias, at or near the present site of the village of Cahokia, on the borders of the Mississippi. He remained there until the year 1685, and was at that mission when Marquette and Joliet went down the Mississippi. . . . Thus it will be seen that for twenty years, to wit, from 1653 to 1673, anterior to the discovery of Marquette and Joliet, there was a succession of missions on the Illinois, and one of them, that of Cahokia, established on the very banks of the Mississippi. There are no other memorials of these missions now extant, as known to me, except those preserved in the Seminary of Quebec, from a copy of which the above notices are taken." John G. Shea, unwilling that such discreditable charges should lie against the memory of Marquette, "the angel of the Ottawa missions," investigated the matter carefully, and showed that no such missionaries as Father Duquerre and Father Drocoux ever existed. The sole authority for these and their alleged work was a discredited MS. by one Fr. X. Noiseaux, a vicar in the Quebec Seminary, who gave no authority for his statements, and whose own superiors have said of his work that "errors of every kind, contradictions, false dates, distorted facts, are found in every page."[1]

This is but one, and a modern, instance. Le Clerc, in his large work upon "The Establishment of the Faith," quotes the testimony of Father Anastasius Douay, a companion of La Salle in his last journey, to the point that Marquette's "Relation" was a fiction, and not published until after La Salle's discovery, and that Joliet would have given no sanction to the statements it contained. This, again, is all wrong, like much else in Le Clerc's prejudiced accounts of affairs. Thevenot published his version of Marquette's journal in 1681, at least a year before La Salle's discovery was made, and two years before the news of it could reach France. But the letters of Count Frontenac, given above, are a sufficient corroboration of the work done by Marquette and Joliet, even without Marquette's journal and map. Le Clerc's position that Marquette's "Relation" is a fiction is utterly untenable. If evidence of that sort is tenable under any circumstances, we must admit Marquette's "Relation," or else consent to dispense altogether with the class of evidence to which it belongs.

Tonti, the loyal and generous, brave and devoted follower of La Salle, has been seriously injured by the fact that a spurious narrative was put forward in his name, an absolute forgery. He disclaimed all connection with its authorship. La Hontan, another writer, whose travels have obtained credit because, like Hennepin, he knew how to mix the true with the false, has told of his travels up the "Long River." No such river ever existed, nor was any such voyage ever made. Mathieu Sagean also invented the account of an El Dorado in the Northwest known only to himself; but this adventurer was illiterate, he did not know how to lie, and he only deceived a few persons, like M. de Pontchartrain, who were not to the manner born. The most prominent and conspicuous of these fabulists of the period, who seemed born with a constitutional aversion to the unadulterated truth, was Friar Louis Hennepin, a Flemish Recollect, an adventurer, who lied, libeled, cheated, and forged with utter unscrupulousness, but who, nevertheless, had many of the best qualities of the traveler. In our own day he would have distinguished himself as a newspaper correspondent. His braggart vein did not prevent him from being brave and adventurous, and as an observer he has not often been excelled, while as a *raconteur* he was very bright and entertaining. His travels went through many editions, and their popularity is not surprising. He was a brazen, impudent liar, but he loved a good story and knew how to tell one. As has been stated, he was sent by La Salle to explore the upper Mississippi in 1680. This he did, from the mouth of the Illinois to the Falls of St. Anthony, in a full and satisfactory manner, being taken prisoner and detained several months by the Sioux. When he got away from them he went to France and published an account of his travels and discoveries in a little volume, finely illustrated, which the public eagerly welcomed and read with avidity. In 1697, after La Salle's death, and fourteen years after his first edition, he published a new version of his travels, in which he claimed to have gone *down* the Mississippi, and discovered its mouth, before going up to its source. He had forborne to mention this subject previously, out of consideration for or fear of La Salle. In his first edition, however, Hennepin had given the dates, and now he had not time enough left to put his long voyage in. Consequently, he was compelled to go up and down the Mississippi in his birch canoe more rapidly than he could have done it by steam. The result was that his wretched expedient was instantly detected, and he took no credit by

[1] Collections of Wisconsin Historical Society, vol. iii

the falsehoods he was trying to set up. He was a renegade and a dishonest man at the best. His first edition was dedicated to Louis XIV., the last to William III. of England, showing that he had changed his politics. He does not seem to have had any religion to change. Not content with stealing from the narratives of Marquette, La Salle, Membré, Le Clerc, and Marquette, Hennepin turned out of his way to misrepresent and libel all these, and La Salle in particular. He is the author of the story that La Salle's main object in his last voyage was not to occupy the mouth of the Mississippi, but to seize and plunder the Mexican mine of Santa Barbara.

Under such a condition of the records and documents, it is natural that the facts about the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi are confused and provocative of discussion and controversy. The partisans of La Salle have attempted to discredit or belittle the performance of Marquette and Joliet, and have set up a counter-claim of priority, which there is no proof that La Salle himself asserted. The partisans of Marquette, on the other hand, have attacked at once the credibility of the documents relating to his explorations, the value and extent of those explorations and discoveries, and the character and genius of La Salle himself. There is no necessity for all this. There can be but little doubt of these facts: First, that Marquette and Joliet reached the Mississippi in 1673, and that no white man of whom there is any record preceded them in exploring that part of the great river; second, that Hennepin, acting under the orders of La Salle, explored the upper Mississippi in 1680, no European having preceded him; and third, that La Salle, in 1682, descended the Mississippi from the embouchure of the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico, and returned by the same route, having had no predecessors in that exploration. No one can safely or successfully dispute these three controlling facts: the evidence for each and all of them is too strong. If they are conceded, all causes of controversy are removed at once, without detracting anything from the honor and character of Marquette, the enterprise and adventurousness of Hennepin, and the glory and persistence of La Salle.

The claims put forth by M. Margry in behalf of La Salle's priority have been industriously urged by him, but they are untenable. Indeed, this laborious investigator has himself discovered and published the evidence which overthrows the pretension. In order that no injustice may be done to M. Margry, it is proper to say that this gentleman, who is a member of the French Historical Society and assistant custodian of the archives of the marine and colonies in Paris, has been most indefatigable in the search for materials for history, and especially American history. He was employed a number of years ago by General Lewis Cass to examine the French archives for information concerning the early history of Detroit, and subsequently by Parkman in securing copies of documents relating to French-Canadian history. He has published several volumes of original papers relating to our history, from his department, assisted by the government of the United States. In 1879 he was elected a member of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and in his letter of acceptance he wrote as follows in relation to some papers of his published in the French "General Journal of Public Instruction" in 1862:

"What I s[illegible] concerning Cavelier de la Salle's priority in discovering the Ohio and Mississippi has been the occasion of great, and even acrimonious [illegible]troversies. I care nothing for attacks from which search a[illegible]uth is excluded, and which are little else than passion. It is enough for me to state that in the American edition of my volumes, which you have, I was not allowed to put any notes of introduction, but that the map inserted in the French edition confirms what I have advanced respecting the discovery of the Ohio, and that I still very firmly believe that La Salle discovered the Mississippi by way of the lakes, by Chicago, and by the Illinois River, as far south as the 36th parallel, and all this before 1673 (the date of Marquette's discovery).

"This opinion of mine I base, first, on the narrative made by La Salle to the Abbé Renaudot.

"This narrative describes an expedition in which La Salle was engaged southwest of Lake Ontario for a distance of four hundred leagues, and down a river that must have been the Ohio. This was in 1669."

"The narrative proceeds: Some time thereafter he made a second expedition on the same river, which he quitted below Lake Erie, made a portage of six or seven leagues to embark on that lake, traversed it towards the north, ascended the river out of which it flows, passed the Lake of Dirty Water (St. Claire?), entered the Freshwater Sea (Mer Douce), doubled the point of land that cuts this sea in two (Lakes Huron and Michigan), and, descending from north to south, leaving on the west the Bay of the Puans (Green Bay), discovered a bay infinitely larger, at the bottom of which, towards the west, he found a very beautiful harbor (Chicago. Is there any earlier mention or description of that site?), and at the bottom of this river, which runs from the east to the west, he followed this river, and having arrived at about the 280th (*sic*) degree of longitude and the 39th of latitude, he came to another river, which, uniting with the first, flowed from the northwest to the southeast. This he followed as far as the 36th degree of latitude, where he found it advisable to stop, contenting himself with the almost certain hope of some day passing by way of this river even to the Gulf of Mexico. Having but a handful of followers, he dared not risk a further expedition, in the course of which he was likely to meet with obstacles too great for his strength. [See my work *Découverte et Établissement des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 1614-1754], vol i. p. 378.]

"I base my opinion, secondly, on a letter of La Salle's niece —the Mississippi and the river Colbert both being one. This letter, dated 1756, says the writer possessed maps which in 1675 were possessed by La Salle, and which proved that he had

already made two voyages of discovery. Among the places set down on these maps, the river Colbert, the place where La Salle had landed near the Mississippi, and the spot where he planted a cross and took possession of the country in the name of the king, are mentioned. (Vol. i. p. 379.)

"I base my opinion, thirdly, on a letter of Count Frontenac. In this letter, which was written in 1677 to the French premier, Colbert, Frontenac says that 'the Jesuits, having learned that M. de la Salle thought of asking (from the French crown) a grant of the Illinois Lake (Lake Michigan), had resolved to seek this grant themselves for Messieurs Joliet and Lebert, men wholly in their interest, and the first of whom they have so highly extolled beforehand, although he did not voyage until after the Sieur de la Salle, who himself will testify to you that the relation of the Sieur Joliet is in many things false.' (Vol. i. p. 324.)

"In fine, I found my opinion on the total antagonism between the Jesuits and the merchants, as well as all those who represented interest or only a legitimate ambition. In opposition to the Jesuits Cavelier de la Salle always associated with the Sulpicians, or Recollets, whom Colbert had raised up against the Jesuits, in order to lessen the influence of those who would fain undermine him.

"If La Salle had wished to practice deception, and to claim a merit that was not his, nothing would have prevented his saying that he had gone farther down the river Mississippi or Colbert than he does say he went, whereas he left Joliet and Father Marquette the honor of having penetrated to that river by way of the Wisconsin, and of having descended the Mississippi River three degrees farther than he, and that before the enterprise of 1678."

This letter of M. Margry is the brief of his entire case for La Salle. The letter of La Salle's niece, Madaleine Cavelier, Dame Leforestier, written 21st of January, 1756, says, "As soon, monsieur, as your letter came I sought a safe opportunity to send you the papers of M. de la Salle. There are some charts which I have added to these papers, which should serve to prove that, in 1675, M. de la Salle had already made two voyages in these discoveries, since he had on that matter a map which I send you, by which mention is made of the place where M. la Salle landed (*aborda*) near the river Misipi, another place which he names the river Cobrer (Colbert?), in another he takes possession of this land in the name of the king and has a cross planted, in another place which he names Frontenac, the river St. Lorans at another place. You will see in these pieces the review which they made in the fort, which he built of stone which had been (*aitet*) of wood. You will find there the receipt of M. Duchesneau, for the interest for nine thousand livres, which M. de la Salle paid him to indemnify those who had made this wooden fort." This letter of the Dame Laforestier proves too much for M. Margry. The good lady does not more than indicate the contents of the papers (which are not in existence), but she describes the maps, and proves that one of them, at least, was in illustration of the exploration of 1682. If La Salle had known the Mississippi before 1675, he would not have confused its name with that of Colbert. Colbert was the name which La Salle selected for the river, just as he selected the name of Louisiana for the territory. In any event, the letter proves nothing except that La Salle made two voyages before 1675. The maps may or may not have been relevant to these voyages. There is no evidence for it beyond the unsupported conjecture of this simple-minded dame.

M. Margry relies further upon Frontenac's letter of 1677. The language of Frontenac is singular, but it cannot be read without the context. The Governor (who was mixed up in the fur trade, probably in partnership with La Salle, and suspected the Jesuits of thwarting him in this matter, as they had done in regard to the brandy trade) takes the occasion, in this letter, of preferring a charge against the whole Church in Canada. "Almost all the disorders of New France," he writes, "derive their source from the ambition of the ecclesiastics, who, wishing to join to the spiritual authority an absolute power over temporal things, cause to suffer and to murmur all those who are not entirely submissive to them. It is not simply since a year or two that the ecclesiastics have wished to make themselves an absolute empire in Canada; it appears they formed the design almost as soon as they came in here." In proof of this general indictment Frontenac produces several instances and examples, some of which are very comical. Among these instances, however, is this, "that, having learned that M. de la Salle designed to demand the concession of Lake Erie and the lake of the Illinois (Lake Michigan), of which the first is a consequence of his grant of the commerce of Lake Frontenac, which chiefly comes from Lake Erie, at the entrance of which he necessarily needs to build a fort to prevent the English from seizing it (and by the report of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers themselves they [the English] have recently sent a deserter named Turquet to reconnoitre it),—on learning this, I say, they resolved to make a demand themselves for this concession for the Sieurs Joliet and Lebert, people who entirely belong to them, and the first of whom they have so much vaunted in advance, *although he did not voyage until after the Sieur de la Salle, who himself will testify to you that the relation of the Sieur Joliet is false in many things.*" What voyage? What relation? The Jesuits and La Salle had counter-claims, not to the discovery of the Mississippi,—that was not in question now,—but to Lake Michigan. La Salle wanted to plant a trading-post at the upper Kaskaskia, at Peoria, the great town of the Illinois, where Father Marquette had planned to have a missionary station. Joliet had

been out with St. Lusson in 1769 on an unsuccessful journey towards Lake Superior and Lake Michigan. This was the voyage in which La Salle claimed priority over him. In 1672, when Joliet was sent out to join Marquette and seek the Mississippi, he was expected also to find out something more about the copper-mine on Lake Superior. Joliet made no "Relation" in regard to the discovery of the Mississippi. His only report was a map drawn from memory and a few fragmentary pages concerning it. His report in regard to his journey with St. Lusson and Dolier and Gallinée, on the contrary, must have been full and comprehensive. The reference to Joliet, therefore, is not to his journey with Marquette in 1672 at all, and if it had been so, the words "false in many things" would not imply that the Mississippi had not been navigated by him and Marquette.

But M. Margry depends chiefly upon the reported conversations of M. de la Salle with "a friend of the Abbé de Gallinée" (whom he considers to be the Abbé Renaudot) for the proof that La Salle was the original explorer of the Mississippi River. This interesting article has been carefully examined, in connection with the other documents furnished by M. Margry, and the conclusion is that it does not bear out any such supposition. The Abbé de Gallinée's friend probably misunderstood La Salle. He certainly got the latitude and longitude wrong. He makes the longitude of the headwaters of the Scioto or the Ohio and that of the city of Chicago the same. The paper by itself is unintelligible. Read in connection with other papers in M. Margry's volumes, however, a meaning can be reached which seems to satisfy all the conditions of the problem, without putting a reflection upon the honor or veracity of any of the principal actors in this drama of discovery. If we suppose that "the friend of the Abbé de Gallinée" misunderstood La Salle, we will find further that at no time did La Salle, or any of his friends for him, claim that he discovered the Mississippi prior to 1682. He did claim to have discovered the Ohio in the winter of 1669–70, and to have descended it an uncertain distance. He did claim to have made many other discoveries of importance in the country to the south of the great lakes. This claim is made in several shapes, as coming directly from him and from his immediate friends, in official documents and authentic memorials. Joliet, according to Parkman, conceded the claim, in two maps produced by him in 1673 and 1674. But he did not claim to have discovered the Mississippi, though he knew of Joliet's and Marquette's claim, and was recommending his services and sufferings to the court, in pursuit of a recompense to be based upon them. Talon, the intendant, Frontenac, the Governor, knew of no such claim, no such discovery, though their interests and La Salle's were identical, and though La Salle had gone to the south and west to make discoveries by Talon's own direction. Nor did La Salle's kinsmen make any such claim for him after his death in the memorial to the king reciting his services and explorations.

How then are we to interpret the conversation with the friend of the Abbé de Gallinée? That such a conversation took place there can be no doubt. That La Salle's opinions and his statements concerning his performances were misunderstood is equally clear. The reporter was not well up even in the loose, imperfect geography of the day. He absurdly says that La Salle, during the twelve years of his American journeys, had traversed the regions between the 330th degree and the 265th degree of longitude and the 55th degree and 36th degree of latitude,—a range of from Hudson's Bay to Tennessee and Arkansas, from the Grand Banks of Newfoundland to the upper Missouri River. Perhaps La Salle did go to Hudson's Bay. We know that he sought a short way to India, and that his first journeys were made in the country north of the St. Lawrence. We know that in the end he went to Matagorda Bay, low down on the Gulf of Mexico. But he had not done so at the time of this conversation, and did not pretend to have done so. His pretensions are formulated with the utmost distinctness in a paper published in M. Margry's second volume (p. 377 *et seq.*), in which a friend of La Salle's makes an official report to the Marquis de Seignelay (son and successor of Colbert) on his undertakings, in the shape of a memoir "on the discoveries of the Sieur de la Salle *to the south and the west* of the Great Lakes of New France." This is an elaborate defense of La Salle from all the charges brought against him by his enemies (enemies whom he feared because, as he himself said, "they always succeed in the end in pulling a man down"), and it was made just on the eve of his departure for the exploration of the Mississippi. In regard to this the memoir says, "The Sieur de la Salle has had sufficient proofs that the river Colbert (Mississippi) falls into the Gulf of Mexico, . . . *and we will have positive news about it at the end of the year from the Sieur de la Salle.*" This is the language of one who intends to go and get ocular proof of that which he is already morally certain about. And here is all that La Salle claims at the end of 1681: "*He has been the first to form the design of these discoveries* which he communicated, *more than fifteen years ago* [in 1677 namely], to M. de Courcelles, Governor, and

to M. de Talon, intendant of Canada, who approved it. He subsequently made several voyages to that region (*de ce coste-là*), and one among others in 1669 with Messieurs Dolier and Gallinée, priests of the seminary of St. Sulpice. *It is true that the Sieur Joliet, to forestall him* (*pour le prévenir*), *made a voyage in* 1673 *to the river Colbert;* but this was simply (*uniquement*) to trade in that direction, without having spent any money upon it, and without attempting then nor since to make any establishment there, while on the other hand the Sieur de la Salle, with this design, caused Fort Frontenac to be constructed and built several vessels with decks; he has built several other forts, discovered the country of the Nadowesioux (Sioux) and several others, all at great expense, which he was under no obligation to incur, and the avoidance of which would have made him rich." "If he had preferred profit to glory," the memoir adds, "he had but to remain in his fort, where he enjoyed an income of more than twenty-five thousand livres a year from the commerce he had attracted there."

All this is clear and intelligible. It disposes completely of M. Margry's claims, and it only remains for us to show what were the nature of La Salle's discoveries, how he came to make them, and what their value was to himself and to the Governor and intendant who so eagerly urged him to prosecute them. His career as a discoverer properly began at his trading-post at Lachine, where he received the Indians from every quarter, studied their languages and manner, and made himself familiar with their country. This is on record, and it is also on record that in 1669, after conferences with Talon and Courcelles, he sold Lachine and started out on an exploring expedition in company with Dolier and Gallinée, the Recollect friars. They intended to seek the Ohio, but the Recollect brothers, after meeting Joliet, were persuaded by him to go around Lake Erie and seek Lake Superior, whereupon La Salle said he was too sick to go farther, and the two parties separated.

At that time the Iroquois were so formidable between Detroit and the head of Lake Ontario that this lake and Lake Erie were of no use to the French. The missionaries and traders left Montreal by the northern route, ascended the Ottawa River, made the portage to Lake Nipissing, got into the Georgian Bay, skirted along the north shore of the North Channel, and in 1660 had only heard of two traders who had passed through the Sault Ste. Marie into Lake Superior. The missionaries had immediately followed them,—Menard, Allouez, Dablon, and now Marquette,—and at this time there were missions at Sault Ste. Marie at the east, and at La Pointe in the southwest of Lake Superior, with stations possibly on Green Bay and the Strait of Mackinac, only reached, however, overland from Sault Ste. Marie. The lake routes were not available; the southern shores of Huron, Erie, and Michigan were scarcely known, and the Iroquois and their allies infested the northern routes also.

It is repeatedly mentioned that La Salle entertained Indians of the Iroquois nation at his post at Lachine. But it has not been noted, apparently, that among these Iroquois were some of the Susquehannocks, an Iroquois tribe who were generally at war with their kindred of the Five Nations, though sometimes at peace. These people, who traded with the Swedes, traded also with the French. As we shall show, they hunted up to Lake Erie as well as on the headwaters of the Potomac. La Salle sold out Lachine, Jan. 9, 1669. July 1st of that year he engaged men in his service to go with him "on the voyage for which the said Sieur de la Salle prepares himself to go to the savage and distant nations of both the North and the South Coast,"[1] and started out with Fathers Dolier and Gallinée. The latter, in his "Relation," says that M. de Courcelles begged M. Dolier to join forces with M. de la Salle, "to make together the voyage that M. de la Salle had contemplated (*prémédité*) for a long time towards a great river which he had conceived (in consequence of what he thought to have learned from the savages) to have its course towards the west, at the end of which, after seven or eight months' march, . . said savages related that the land was cut off,—that is to say, according to their fashion of speech, that this river fell into the sea,—and that this river is called in the Iroquois tongue, Ohio. . . . The hope of getting beaver, but above all the hope of finding by this way a passage to the Vermilion Sea, into which M. de la Salle believed the Ohio fell, made him undertake this journey, so as not to leave to another the honor of finding the road to the South Sea, and by it that to China." Father Gallinée goes on to say that La Salle's commission authorized him to search closely in all the woods, rivers, and lakes of Canada in quest of natural advantages (*pour voir s'il n'y auroit rien de bon*), and begged the Governors of the provinces he might come to, such as Virginia, Florida, etc., to permit him to pass, and to give him aid, as they would wish us to do by their people in like case.[2] The expedition started from

[1] Margry, vol. i. 106. *Engagement de Charles Thoulonnier au Service de Cavelier de La Salle.*

[2] Mr. Shea, in his "History of the Discovery of the Mississippi," says, "When Joliet passed down Lake Ontario, in 1674, he

Montreal, in seven or eight canoes, on July 6, 1669, having for guide two canoes of Sonnontoueronon (Seneca) Iroquois, says M. de Gallinée. They had come to Montreal the previous year, and "had dwelt a very long time with M. de la Salle, and had told him so many marvels about the Ohio River, which they claimed to know perfectly well, that they kindled in him more than ever the desire to visit it." These Indians knew all about the Shawanese (*Chiouanons*), and the other Ohio tribes. Gallinée had a Dutchman for his guide. At this time the Senecas were at peace with the French, but they were at war with the Susquehannocks, or, as Gallinée terms them, "*the Antastogué or Antastouais, who are the savages of New Sweden*, and who continually are on the war-path around the country of the Senecas." They had just slain ten men in the very place where the Fathers and their party were awaiting an interview with the Senecas, and the good Gallinée does not seem to have liked the prospect. The object in going to the Senecas was to buy from them an Indian captive of one of the Ohio tribes who might serve to guide them to that country. The Senecas, however, refused them a guide; it was six days' journey of twelve leagues each from their town to the Ohio, whereas, from Lake Erie across to streams running into the Ohio, it was only a short portage of three days. Besides, the Ohio country was very dangerous. The Toaguenha were a bad tribe who would find their camp and scalp them at night. If they escaped these, they were sure to be slain by the Antastoes (Susquehannocks), and that would embroil the Senecas with "Onontio," the Governor of Canada.

They left the Senecas, went to the Niagara River, and thence to a village of the Gantastogué—Sonontoua Outinaouatoua—on or near Lake Erie, where La Salle fell sick, and where the party found two guides, captives of the Shawanese and the Nez-Percé tribes, one of them a Pottawattamie. La Salle selected the Shawanese for his guide. It was at this Indian town that Joliet was found, just in from the West, and here La Salle parted from the Fathers, who started for the shores of Lake Erie, La Salle announcing that he should return to Montreal. Where did La Salle go? In 1677, in his petition to the court of France for leave to establish himself at Fort Frontenac, he said, "In 1667 and the following years he made divers voyages at much expense, in which he first of any discovered much country to the south of the great lakes, among others the great river Ohio. He followed it to a place where it falls from a great height into vast morasses, at the height of 37 degrees, after having been swollen by another very large river that comes from the north; and all these waters apparently empty into the Gulf of Mexico," etc. So, then, he claimed the priority in getting at the true idea of the Western river system; in reaching and exploring the Ohio; in examining the coast-line of Lake Michigan on the south; in discovering the mouth of the Illinois River; and in making acquaintance with the Sioux nation, one tribe of which was settled on the western side of Lake Michigan, south of Green Bay. Joliet admitted his claim to the discovery of the Ohio, and the French court admitted his claim to priority at the Illinois River, for when Joliet asked leave to establish himself there with twenty men in 1677 it was refused.

If we should suppose that La Salle, in 1669, after parting with Dolier and Gallinée, put himself in charge of his Shawanese guide, descended the Allegany, the Beaver, the Tuscarawas, the Muskingum, or the Scioto into the Ohio, and followed it beyond the Wabash, in conjunction with the Shawanese and perhaps the Susquehannock Indians, afterwards mounting the Wabash, making portage to the Kankakee River, thence by the Illinois into Lake Michigan—we can understand exactly how he proceeded, and what the great explorer claimed, and also how he came by his intimate knowledge of the Chicago country. We cannot explain the mystery in any other way than by conceding that between 1667 and 1671 he spent his time in exploring the country and the rivers south of the great lakes; and, as his followers deserted him, he must have had the assistance of the Indians. The immediate value of his discoveries to the Canadian government, outside of the great expanse of new territory which he brought into knowledge, was that he opened up a new southern water-route for the fur trade. The crowning offense he committed in the eyes of his enemies, fur-traders and others, was in attempting to control this route to his own personal advantage by erecting Fort Frontenac and the fort on the Illinois River. With these and a fort on the Straits of Mackinac, as he himself said, he would have entire command of the trade of

stopped at Fort Frontenac, where La Salle was then commander under Frontenac. He was thus one of the first to know of the result of Joliet's voyage, and, perhaps, was one of the few that saw his maps and journals, which were lost before he reached the next French post. At the same time it does not seem to have made much impression on La Salle; his great object then was to build up a fortune," etc., etc. Why should not Mr. Shea give La Salle the benefit of the counter-supposition that when Joliet met La Salle, at the time of which we are now writing, he might have got some germs of the ideas about the great Western river with which the explorer's brain was then teeming? Which is the more likely, in a question of debt, that La Salle borrowed in 1674 what he had been thinking about since 1667, or that Joliet borrowed in 1669 what he accomplished in 1673?

the lakes. With another fort at the mouth of the Mississippi, he would command the entire trade of the Mississippi valley.

In view of all the extended array of facts here presented, therefore, we must conclude that Marquette and Joliet first, among the French, discovered the Mississippi River, and that La Salle first explored the river and the valley of the Mississippi, and made the world acquainted with their extent, their continental relations, and the immense possibilities of their future. Marquette found the path; La Salle surveyed the thoroughfare.

CHAPTER III.

UPPER AND LOWER LOUISIANA.

THE French empire in America was as magnificent in its proportions as it was short-lived. Canada extended northward to the Polar Sea, and the hardy *coureurs des bois* and fur-traders were more than once in conflict with the British whalers and seal-hunters on the shores of Hudson's Bay, while there were numerous naval battles in the fiorded borders of Newfoundland.[1] Westward the only limit to New France was the Pacific Ocean and the Spanish possessions. Louisiana began where Canada left off, at the great lakes, and it claimed to extend to the Alleghany Mountains on the east. The boundary line between it and Florida was the Rio Perdido, while it claimed an indefinite proportion of territory from Western Georgia. On the west the French demanded the Rio Grande, and the Spanish government conceded the Sabine as the dividing line between Louisiana and Mexico. The Bishop of Louisiana claimed what is now Oregon as being part of his see, and the concession made by the French king to Antony Crouzat covered all the expanse of the Mississippi River and all the lands binding upon it and its tributary streams to their several sources.

In fact, this great river and its tributaries were very little known until many years after this grant. But La Salle's voyages had opened the way to further explorations, and to settlements in several places. This explorer's eagle eye had fixed upon the most commanding points between Quebec and Mexico. He chose Lachine as the outpost and bastion of Montreal; he selected Kingston (Fort Frontenac) as the best place to control Lake Ontario; he chose the site of the fort on Niagara River afterwards known as Fort Erie; his eye appreciated the advantages of Detroit and Mackinac; Chicago, Peoria, St. Joseph's, Natchez, New Orleans, and Matagorda Bay were all points of his choosing; and, as was the case with Alexander, the places which he selected for forts and trading-posts have most of them grown to be cities by the natural process of the "survival of the fittest." In the autumn of 1683, La Salle started from Illinois to go to France and prepare for his expedition to the Gulf of Mexico, leaving the faithful Tonti in command of his post, Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois. He reached La Rochelle, France, on December 23d of that year. Tonti was ordered to hold the post in Illinois, and to co-operate with his commander when he should have news of his arrival below. La Salle's last and disastrous expedition sailed from La Rochelle on July 24, 1684, with four vessels and a handsome equipment for a permanent colony in Louisiana. Through accident or treachery, they sailed beyond the mouth of the Mississippi and landed on the coast of Texas, whence La Salle was never able to extricate himself.[2]

[1] It was in these fields that Le Moyne D'Iberville acquired the experience and earned the renown which caused him to be selected to colonize Louisiana. The British had set up and fortified some fur-trading posts on Hudson's Bay and occupied several fine harbors in Newfoundland soon after the beginning of what was known in Europe as "the League of Augsburg." La Salle was only Canadian by adoption, but Pierre Le Moyne D'Iberville was a native of Montreal, a good type of the old Canadian noblesse. He was trained in the French navy; he had distinguished himself in the capture of Pemaquid and other affairs of the border, in the lead of the mixed forces of French and Indians which Canada sent to raid upon the frontiers of New England and New York. From the taking of Pemaquid he sailed at once to Newfoundland, captured and burned St. Johns, and, with a force of one hundred and twenty-five Canadian soldiers and a few Abenakis Indians, made a raid upon all the British settlements, slaying two hundred persons and making seven hundred prisoners. Thence he and his brother Sérigny proceeded to Hudson's Bay with a squadron of war-ships, captured or sunk several English vessels after a desperate engagement, and there laid siege to, bombarded, and took the English Fort Nelson, expelling the British from those inhospitable shores. It was after these gallant exploits that D'Iberville was commissioned to complete La Salle's explorations of the Lower Mississippi. He was one of the eleven sons of Charles Le Moyne, a pioneer gentleman of Montreal, who had distinguished himself in the field under La Barré, and was noted for his influence over the Christianized Iroquois, they choosing him for their leader under the name of *Akouessan*. Charles Le Moyne's sons were François de Bienville, killed by the Iroquois in the attack upon Repentigny, Longueuil, Sérigny, Assigny, Maricourt, Sainte-Hélène, Chateauguay aîné, Chateauguay jeune, Bienville jeune, and D'Iberville. The latter founded Louisiana, the younger Bienville founded New Orleans, and three parishes in Louisiana bear the names of the sons of Le Moyne.

[2] It has been unjustly assumed that it was by design that La Salle overshot his mark. Mr. John Gilmary Shea, whose hos-

The explorer, in fact, never seems to have found out exactly where he was. In common with all his contemporaries he seems to have under-estimated the size of the continent and the breadth and swoop inwards of the Mexican Gulf. He thought that, because it was not a very great voyage by sea from the mouth of the Tampico River (or the *Panuco*, as it was then called) to the mouth of the Mississippi and to Florida,

tility to the great explorer is unfortunate, in that it too often induces him to make light of great plans and magnificent purposes, claims that this expedition is a proof that La Salle was a "buccaneer." In a note to his translation of Le Clerc's "Etablissement de la Foi," vol. ii. p. 202, Mr. Shea says, "It was pretended that La Salle sailed from France to settle in Louisiana. This farce has been kept up until recently, and historians generally have been misled. The truth is at last made clear. The letters of Peñalosa, a renegade Spaniard, Margry, iii. p. 63; La Salle's Projects, ib. pp. 44, 48, 63; his memoir on the expedition he proposed against one of the Mexican provinces, ib., ii. p. 348; the journal of the Sulpitian, Rev. Mr. Desmanville, ib., ii. p. 515, all show that his real object was the conquest of the Santa Barbara and other mines in Mexico. It would seem to have been his object from the first to reach the rich mining country by means of the Mississippi. The perfect madness of attempting to invade Mexico and wrest New Biscay from the Spaniards with a hundred men is apparent; but La Salle told Beaujeu that they were only the forerunners of Peñalosa, who was to follow them next year with considerable forces. (Beaujeu in Margry, ii. p. 428.) This furnishes the only clue to La Salle's obstinate refusal of Beaujeu's last offers, and of his lingering near the coast without making any serious effort to reach the Mississippi." We are compelled to differ with Mr. Shea in regard to this matter. We do it reluctantly, because his authority is deservedly high, and he is one of the most accurate and thorough, as he is the most painstaking, of our historians. But La Salle's fair fame is as much an object of interest and a thing to be defended by the people of the Mississippi valley as Marquette's; and Mr. Shea's attacks upon La Salle, while they have the persistence of personal feeling, are not always borne out by a more liberal interpretation of the authorities cited for them. This is said advisedly, and for the following reasons: The above-quoted paragraph charges more things than one. It charges that La Salle concealed his real object; that his expedition was in effect a piratical one, and that the plan of it was rash and hare-brained. To this it is necessary to reply that, if Margry's volume be any authority, nothing can be more certain than that La Salle's real object was to emancipate his fur trade from the obstructive influences of his enemies by providing a new outlet for it *via* the Gulf of Mexico. He knew that the only way for him to get at the peltries of "Castoria" was to convert that region into an appanage of Louisiana. Secondly, if La Salle did plan an attack upon Mexico, it was not a filibustering expedition at all, but a legitimate military and naval expedition of the French government, sanctioned, encouraged, and equipped by the king and the ministry; and lastly, it was not the plan and act of a fool, but a well-wrought, ably-fortified scheme by one of the most comprehensive and practical minds of that generation. All these three things we propose to establish by the authorities cited by Mr. Shea in proof of the converse propositions.

I. *La Salle's Object.*—In a letter written by him to one of his friends from Michilimackinac, October, 1682, he says, "I have at present great enemies, who are used to accomplish (*qui sont venus à bout*) everything they undertake. I do not pretend to resist them, but only to set myself right, *so that I can complete by sea what I have begun here.*" (Margry, ii. p. 290.) "The utility of this enterprise (the discovery of the Mississippi) is primarily apparent in the convenience of the ports that the mouths of this river form near the Spaniards and near the path of their fleets, where it will be easy to support a strong colony in consequence of the fertility and kindliness of the country and the prairies, all ready for tillage, etc. . . . The mouth of the stream is easy to defend, and, consequently, the entrance to the whole land also. It is within (less than) two leagues [wide], and an army could only with great difficulty march by land because of the great brakes of canes, etc. We can, from there, notably incommode and even entirely ruin New Spain simply by arming the savages, who are easy to keep in order, having already temples and chiefs, and who mortally hate the Spaniards because enslaved by them." (Margry, ii. 292, 293.) All this shows that he looked upon a colony inside the mouth of the Mississippi as the best place not only for his fur-trade, but for attacks on Mexico without danger of reprisals by the Spaniards. He repeats what has been quoted several times, and there can be no doubt that his colony on the Mississippi was, in his mind, the best place in the world from which to operate against New Biscay if he made up his mind to do that. In other words, his avowed object was the real object, and the one which he had most dearly at heart.

2. La Salle, in proposing to operate against Mexico, was proposing a legitimate military expedition against a foreign nation with which his country was at war. La Salle's memoir, the "Projet d'une Nouvelle Enterprise" (Margry, ii. p. 359, not 348, as given by Mr. Shea), states expressly that "the principal fruit which the Sieur de la Salle has proposed from the great perils and labors undergone by him in his discovery was to satisfy the desire of the late Monseigneur Colbert to find a post where the French might establish themselves and wear out (*fatiguer*) the Spaniards in the places whence they draw all their riches. The place that he proposes to fortify, *sixty leagues above the mouth of the river Colbert, in the Gulf of Mexico*, has all the advantages that we made out for, that, as much for its advantageous situation as in consequence of the favorable disposition of the savages dwelling thereabouts. . . . The coast and shore, inundated for more than twenty leagues within its mouth, renders it (the river) inaccessible by land." . . .

3. As to the foolhardiness of the enterprise, La Salle says in this same project (pp. 360, 361) that the Indians were so irritated by the tyranny of the Spaniards, so eager to welcome the French that eighteen thousand of them, forgetting ancient enmities and conquering local differences, had come from two hundred leagues around to meet and welcome him. "By the reunion of these forces," he said, "we can form an army of more than fifteen thousand savages, who, feeling themselves to be supported by the French and the Abenakis of the Sieur de La Salle's suite, will meet with no resistance in the province which it is proposed to attack, where there are not more than four hundred full-blooded Spaniards, scattered through a section one hundred and fifty leagues long and fifty broad, all officers or artisans more fit to manage the mines than to oppose vigorously the enterprise, which would be even favored by the mulattoes, Indians, and negroes, if promised their freedom. Under all these considerations, the Sieur de La Salle offers, with the approval of Monseigneur, to undertake this enterprise, and, *if peace should prevent its execution*, he offers to establish a post very advantageous to commerce, very easy to defend, *and one from which, as soon as a rupture occurs*, the Spaniards can be deprived of a great part of their mines. . . . All these things being surmised, it

it would not necessarily be a great journey by land. La Salle, independent of his pretensions as an original explorer, was a great geographer. The Jesuit maps are marvels of accuracy, as far as they go,—for example, the Jesuit map of Lake Superior, Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay, and the upper portions of Lakes Michigan and Huron,—but they risk nothing upon conjecture. La Salle, on the other hand, in advance of his chief explorations, worked out the main problem of the water-shed of the American continent. He, in common with all the European colonists of his day, lived on the eastern slope of the North American continent. He and they had heard of the mountains, but had not crossed them. The lakes, the great and little rivers, even the rivers rising back of or between the tall mountain ranges of New England and New York, all flowed eventually into the Atlantic Ocean. La Salle, in common with his contemporaries, heard of streams in the regions south of the great lakes, which flowed towards the west. He, like the rest of his contemporaries, knowing the narrow breadth of the continent in the latitude of Mexico, assumed that it continued to be nearly as narrow far to the northward of the Gulf. Maps made a generation after La Salle gave the Gulf of California treble its real length and importance, gave it an inward trend about on the line of the Colorado River, so that the Pacific coast seemed to be about on the meridian of Pike's Peak and the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers. It was assumed that the rivers which ran westward, south of the lake region, flowed west into this wrongly placed and extended "Vermilion Sea." The chronicler of Coronado's march had dispelled this illusion, but his narrative was either not read or not understood. La Salle began his explorations, and their first and most immediate result was to demonstrate that the river system of the interior of the continent, instead of flowing westward into the Gulf of California, flowed southward into the Gulf of Mexico. This was a great discovery. But it still did not quite dispel the illusion of La Salle in regard to the narrowness of the American continent. He died with the idea that the Missouri, the Arkansas, and the Rio Grande were comparatively short streams, and that by going westward the coast line of the Gulf of California and the Pacific Ocean would be discovered about where we now know the Rocky Mountains to be. La Hontan's false narrative somehow gives us the first intimation of the existence of that great chain. It is certain that this pretender did not reach, much less explore it; but some of the French *coureurs des bois* may have easily penetrated into those regions by the Missouri, the Nebraska, or the Saskatchewan Rivers, and La Hontan may have learned from them what he claimed to be a discovery of his own.

When La Salle's death was still a secret, or perhaps before it occurred, but when it was already known that he had failed to reach the mouth of the Mississippi River, the Jesuits in France made overtures to the Marquis de Seignelay for permission to build a

Sieur de La Salle offers, *if the war continues*, to start from France with *two hundred men*; we will join to these *fifty* who are in the country; we will take *fifty filibustiers* as we pass by St. Domingo; he will cause to descend the savages who are at Fort St. Louis, to the number of more than four thousand warriors, and he will join to these a much greater number of others; he will divide this army into three corps to make it easier to subsist them, and also to compel the Spaniards to divide their forces. Two of these corps will be composed each of fifty Frenchmen, fifty Wabanakis, and two thousand savages. We will give orders to them to simultaneously attack the two extremities of the province, and the same day we will enter with the rest of the force the heart of the country, where it is certain that we will be seconded by all the unfortunates who groan in slavery. The English at Boston, although this colony is much more powerful than all those of the Spaniards, have been desolated by six hundred savages. Chile has been ruined by the Araucanians, and the evil that the Iroquois, although without discipline and without leadership, have done to Canada, are examples which suffice to show how much this style of warfare is to the injury of those unused to it, and what may be expected from savages led by experienced Frenchmen who are acquainted with the country." La Salle goes on to estimate also the extent and quality of the aid that might be looked for from the filibusters (volunteer French privateersmen) of San Domingo and other places in the West Indies, and to elaborate his plans in a way which shows how carefully he must have studied them out. The whole paper is a project of successful warfare by France in America without demanding either many troops or much money from the mother-country, and in effect was the scheme upon which France conducted her subsequent wars with England on this continent. How successfully, the history of Braddock's defeat, Fort William Henry, Ticonderoga, and Pontiac's war will prove. The king was so much prepossessed in favor of La Salle's projects that on March 4, 1684, the Marquis de Seignelay wrote to M. de Cussy to call a muster of the San Domingo filibusters and get them in trim for the enterprise proposed by M. de la Salle. (Margry, ii. p. 377.) The evidence adduced is sufficient, we think, to relieve M. de la Salle from the weight of all of Mr. Shea's charges. He was proposing, in time of war, a military operation which was at once original and entirely feasible. It had the sanction of the king, and it would have resulted also in carrying out La Salle's ulterior object of a strong plantation near the mouth of the Mississippi, which was the only point that La Salle contemplated as the base of his operations. It is more than probable, indeed, that he thought of the excursion upon New Biscay and suggested it to the French marine, chiefly as a means to secure the effectual establishment of his Louisiana colony. The references to the Abbé d'Esmanville's journal and Beaujeu's letters, which are dwelt upon by Mr. Shea, merely show that La Salle was compelled to insist with emphasis upon his inchoate New Biscay expedition in his intercourse with his subordinates, in order to prevent M. de Beaujeu from depriving him of his soldiers; and that La Salle espoused Peñalosa's views as likely to create a diversion in favor of his own plans.

vessel at St. Louis of the Illinois—the name of La Salle's fort—and complete the exploration of the river.[1] But the accomplished and loyal Sieur de Tonti had already made another voyage down the great river—the second that was ever undertaken—with the simple object of affording relief and succor to his commander. Fort St. Louis had been taken away from him by Governor Barré and Intendant de Chesneau, both enemies of La Salle and antagonistic to his every interest; but Tonti had succeeded in securing his restoration to the command. Now he heard that La Salle was in distress at some point on the Gulf of Mexico, and he at once proceeded to his relief. His simple letter to the French Minister of Marine on the subject speaks volumes in his favor. It was written in Montreal, after his return, being dated Aug. 24, 1686. He says, "On the news I learned last autumn at Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, that M. de la Salle had descended to the coast of Florida, that he was fighting with the savages and destitute of provisions, I believed that, under such circumstances, it would be of service to the king and agreeable to your grandeur to give him succor. That is why I started for this object on Feb. 16, 1686." He went down the river to the Gulf, restored the king's arms that La Salle had planted and the stream had washed away, made peace with the Quinipissa Indians and gave them a letter for La Salle. This letter the Indians kept for fourteen years and then delivered it to D'Iberville. Tonti could get no news of La Salle, further than that he had put into Mobile Bay on his voyage out. He returned up the river, but not until he had left some of his men in a garrison on the Arkansas River, with instructions to look out for La Salle and his men, and relieve them if possible.[2] Well could this loyal follower declare, as he did in a letter to Cabart de Villermont, written after his return, "I have nothing to reproach myself for on this subject as regards the king's service and my friend's."

La Salle's brother, his attached retainer Joutel, and some others of the explorer's staff succeeded in extricating themselves from Texas. They descended the Arkansas River, found the post established by Tonti, and from it mounted the Mississippi to St. Louis des Illinois. There they concealed La Salle's death, nor was it disclosed by them until after they had arrived in France. When Tonti heard of it finally, he at once proceeded down the river again, with the object of relieving La Salle's settlement in Matagorda Bay, but the place had before that been captured by the Spaniards from Vera Cruz and Tampico. So ended La Salle's attempt to settle the country of Upper and Lower Louisiana. Tonti was of great service in reinforcing M. de Denonville with a body of Canadians and Illinois Indians against the Iroquois. Afterwards, in 1702, he was with D'Iberville, but his career practically ended with his efforts to rescue La Salle.

The attempts of the explorer himself were not useless, however, in promoting the very early settlement of Illinois by the French. The dates of the planting of towns in Illinois are very uncertain, as the records do not begin anything like as early as the time of these settlements, nor is it always certain that a French settlement was coeval with the day of the establishment of a mission. There is, however, one record which goes to show that the settlement of Illinois was begun very early. This is a letter of Governor-General de Denonville to M. de Champigny, intendant, dated Nov. 6, 1688, and written from Quebec. "We have nothing to say on the subject of M. de la Salle," remarks Denonville, "of whom M. Cavelier, his brother, is gone to carry news to Monseigneur; we foresee *that a great number of our libertine coureurs des bois, who are among the Outaouacs and the Illinois*, will be sure to undertake to go join him." Thus, even as early as 1688, there must have been a good many of these bush-rangers among the Miamis and the Illinois. They, as a rule, lived in the Indian villages, taking up with the Indian women, and, as the Illinois bands spent half of each year at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, in the "American Bottom," it is quite likely that some French cabins may have been put up in these Indian towns within a year or two after La Salle made his first exploration down the Mississippi.

La Salle's unworthy brother, Cavelier, proposed to continue his explorations; but the proposal was not very cordially received. Tonti himself, in 1694, offered to Cabart de Villermont to continue La Salle's enterprise and "accomplish" his discoveries, in order to give trouble to Spain, menace the Mexican mines and extend the fur trade, particularly in buffalo robes. Tonti holds, moreover, that, unless the French speedily occupy the Mississippi valley, the English are sure to do so, sending parties from Carolina to seize points on the Ohio River. This, in fact, was just what Daniel Boone did in 1769. Tonti says that he had heard there were English present at a conference with the Miami Indians. The Baron La Hontan, writing from Hamburg in June, 1694, mentioned that he had met two Frenchmen who came

[1] Parkman, Discovery of the Great West, p. 389.

[2] This fort became afterwards the town of Arkansas Post, which was captured from the Confederates during the late civil war by Gen. John A. McClernand, of Illinois.

from Virginia. They claimed to have descended the Mississippi with La Salle, to have been with his party in Texas at the time of his death, and then to have joined the Indians, and through them to have discovered very valuable mines. La Hontan probably was romancing, however; the French resident at Hamburg could discover no traces of the adventurers. Other attempts were made besides those above enumerated to obtain the aid of the French government in completing La Salle's work,—notably by the Sieurs De Louvigny and De Mantet in 1697. In the same year one of the old friends of La Salle, the Sieur de Rémonville, and M. Argoud projected a Louisiana company and prepared some elaborate memoirs on the subject.

It was reserved for Pierre Le Moyne D'Iberville to complete the work of La Salle, perfect the discovery of the Mississippi, and the settlement of Louisiana. There can be no doubt that the French ministry had determined from the first to secure possession of the magnificent country opened up by La Salle; but there were many delays, and it was necessary to proceed carefully, because Spain was stronger than France in the Gulf of Mexico. Iberville was ordered to prepare for his first voyage as early as June, 1698, when he was assigned to the command of the frigate "Badine." He immediately drew up his estimates and made all his preparations, notifying the French ministry that a company was forming in London to establish a colony in the places to which he was going. This company, he was advised, was formed on the strength of information given by Father Hennepin, who, as has already been stated, dedicated the last edition of his work to the English king, William III., and offered to pilot an English fleet to the mouth of the Mississippi.[1] This news about the English made the French government very anxious to have Iberville sail promptly, and repeated orders were sent to him and to the navy-yard at La Rochelle to hasten his departure. He finally sailed from Brest Oct. 24, 1698.

Two years before this the Spaniards in Florida had advanced their posts as far westward as Pensacola, which they strongly fortified. Iberville arrived at Cape François, in St. Domingo, on December 4th, and on Jan. 26, 1699, he was off Pensacola, where the Spaniards would not permit the French to land. Sailing westward, Iberville, reinforced by a fifty-gun ship under Chateaumorant, came to Dauphin Island, west of Mobile Bay, which the French commander called Massacre Island, from having found a large number of bones of men and women there. The fleet finally anchored under the lee of the Chandeleur group, while Iberville, with his smaller vessels, explored Ship Island and Cat Island (the latter so named because it was found to be full of raccoons). The colony was landed on Ship Island, where huts were erected for them. From this point Iberville and Bienville started in two large barges, with fifty men, to discover and explore the Mississippi, the insignificance of the mouth of which deceived the commander when he had finally reached it. However, the barges proceeded up the river, and at last came across the Indians who had preserved for the French Tonti's letter of April 20, 1685. Iberville ascended the Mississippi as far as the mouth of Red River, and then, returning, explored the route to the sea by way of Lake Pontchartrain. He then began the erection of a fort on the main-land at Biloxi, opposite Ship Island. This fort had four bastions and mounted twelve guns.[2] Sauvolle, one of Iberville's brothers, was put in command, with Bienville, another brother, for his lieutenant. Iberville, having completed his fort and settled his colony, now returned to France. Sauvolle undertook some explorations of the interior, putting Bienville in command of the exploring parties. He ascended some of the rivers and bayous, and found unpleasant intimations that the English were destined to give trouble to the new colony. A war-party of Chickasaws, which had penetrated as far as Lake Pontchartrain, was officered by two Englishmen, and in the Mississippi River itself, only a few miles below the site of New Orleans, Bienville came across a British sloop-of-war of sixteen guns, under command of Captain Bar, who told the French that he was examining the banks of the river with the purpose of planting a colony. Captain Bar turned back in consequence of the representations of Bienville. But it was this voyage, and the report in Paris and Versailles that England was preparing to make an establishment of French Huguenot refugees on the Mississippi, that led to the prompt return of Iberville on his second voyage, with reinforcements and more colonists, for

[1] "If they have no other pilot but him," wrote D'Iberville of M. de Pontchartrain, "nothing will come of it. He is a man whom I know for an ignoramus, who was never except on the lower part of the Mississippi, and has no acquaintance with the sea-coast." Proof, this, that Hennepin's forgery and deceit were detected as soon as published.

[2] Stoddard, "Historical Sketches of Louisiana," says this was at old Biloxi, mouth of the Perdido, but Martin and Gayarré say the present Biloxi, and Gayarré indicates the very spot which was fortified. "On the east side, at the mouth of the bay, as it were, there is a slight swelling of the shore, about four acres square, sloping gently to the woods in the background, and on the right and left of which two deep ravines run into the bay."

Louisiana.[1] Iberville proceeded up the Mississippi and built a fort some sixteen miles below the present site of New Orleans. Tonti having joined him, he went up the river farther, and established where the city of Natchez now stands another post, called "Rosalie," in honor of the Countess of Pontchartrain. The fort on this spot, which Iberville intended to be the capital of the province of Louisiana, was not built until sixteen years later. Bienville explored a part of the Red River at this time.

In 1702, war having broken out between France and Spain on the one side and England on the other, Mobile was made the chief French post, with a naval station at Dauphin's Island. Iberville and the officers under his command, in spite of continual attacks of fever and other climatic diseases, were indefatigable in the prosecution of their explorations. The Red, the Yazoo, the Pascagoula, and Washita Rivers were all ascended, and the Arkansas was explored above Little Rock. In 1705 the Missouri, as will be seen farther on, was explored as far as the mouth of the Kansas River. The French colony, however, was removed as far as possible from prosperity. In 1701, Sauvolle died, and in 1706 a fatal blow was received in the death of Le Moyne D'Iberville, who could not be replaced. There was sickness, there were dissensions and famine in the midst of plenty, so that the helpless and incapable colonists were dependent on provisions imported from Vera Cruz, on acorns found in the woods, and on the charity of the Indians, among whom they more than once were forced to canton themselves in order to escape starving to death. The colonists were not fit for the tasks they had undertaken,—half were incapable adventurers, in search of easy good fortunes; half were *fainéants*, who did not intend to work, the sweeping of jails and prisons, the worst and meanest of tramps and idlers. The colonial and home governments both helped to confirm these settlers in their incapacity by encouraging them in the fruitless search after mineral wealth, and in hunting and trapping for furs, instead of giving them land and requiring them to till it. Supplies which should have been produced on the spot, and from the rich and teeming soil, were instead regularly sent over from France, and, being looked for, no effort was made to supplement them by the culture of the soil. The government also broke up or changed sentiments frequently and in an arbitrary manner, so that no one felt inclined to plant and improve where the holdings were of such uncertain tenure. The general result of this bad policy was disastrous in the extreme. Stoddard, in his Historical Sketches, says, "The crown was liberal in both men and money. During the first thirteen years about twenty-five hundred settlers arrived, and few of them ever returned, and the money expended on the colony during the same period amounted to the enormous sum of 689,000 livres. Yet such were the sufferings of the colony that, in 1712, it contained only four hundred whites, twenty negro slaves, and three hundred head of cattle."

The government, weary of such a steady drain from which no income was returned, and strained in all its resources by the expenditures of a gigantic war, determined to adopt another method with Louisiana. To abandon the colony there was simply to hand over a great province, with the possibilities of an empire in its future, to the English. It was accordingly farmed out, under a charter of singular liberality, to Anthony Crouzat, a wealthy merchant who had had extensive dealings already with the crown. Of Crouzat's charter and his success in the government of his enormous province more will be said presently; but it is necessary first to speak further of the progress of exploration and settlement along the course of the Mississippi. In 1698, on the 14th of September, just as D'Iberville was preparing to sail on his first voyage to Louisiana, a party started in eight canoes from Michilimackinac to descend and explore the Mississippi River and establish missions at different places. This party was under the lead of Father Francis Joliet de Montigny, a native Frenchman, but ordained in Quebec. Tonti, La Salle's lieutenant in 1683, had obtained of the explorer a grant of land on the Arkansas River, which the French government confirmed to him subsequently. When he established his post here, in 1686, he was anxious to have a mission settled on the spot, and in 1689 he gave to Father Dablon, superior of the Jesuits in Canada, a deed for a piece of land, six acres, near the fort, on which a chapel and mission house were to be built and a lofty cross reared. Tonti provided that this was to be done by November, 1690, but there are no records to prove that it was done. When it became known in Canada, however, that a colony was to be planted by D'Iberville in Louisiana, St. Valier, the bishop of Quebec, claimed that the new settlements and the whole valley

[1] Captain Bar (whose name is given by Iberville as Captain Louis Bank or Banks) appears to have been connected with the enterprise of Daniel Coxe, one of the original proprietors of New Jersey, for the planting of *Carolana*, the history of which was published in 1722. The claim rested in part upon the alleged discovery made fifty years before by the English Captain Wood. The point where Bienville met Captain Bar and turned him back was called by the French *the English turn*, and is said to have been the site of the English defeat by Jackson in 1815.

of the Mississippi were in his diocese, and, consulting the Jesuit Seminary at Quebec, procured from them the establishment of a mission on the Lower Mississippi. Montigny was chosen to be the pioneer of this mission, and was invested with the authority of vicar-general. He is spoken of as "a man of vast designs and boundless zeal;" and Gayarré, in his "History of Louisiana," eulogizes him as the worthy descendant of that Galon de Montigny who was the standard-bearer of France at the battle of Bouvines. In company with Montigny were Father Antony Davion, a priest of the same seminary, Father John Francis Buisson de St. Cosme, a native and a priest of Quebec, and the Sieur de Vincennes, who gave his name to a village of the Miami Indians on the Wabash River, he having a trading-post and a lieutenancy there. Vincennes, whose family name was Buissot, is said to have been a nephew of Louis Joliet, the companion of Father Marquette. Tonti accompanied the party as far as the Arkansas, and St. Cosme's narrative of the journey is overflowing with expressions of obligation and gratitude to him. "He facilitated our course through several nations," says St. Cosme, "winning us the friendship of some and intimidating those who from jealousy or a desire of plunder had wished to oppose our voyage. He has not only done the duty of a brave man, but also discharged the functions of a zealous missionary. He quieted the minds of our employés in the little vagaries that they might have; he supported us by his example in the exercises of devotion which the voyage permitted us to perform, very often approaching the sacraments."[1]

From Mackinac the voyagers proceeded to Green Bay, where the Jesuits had a mission among the Winnebagoes, Pottawattomies, and Sacs and Foxes; and thence made a detour to the Illinois River, fearing to go by the Wisconsin, on account of the hostility of the Fox Indians. They descended by way of Milwaukee and Racine to Chicago, where there was a Jesuit mission to the Miami Indians.[2] There were two Jesuit missionaries at Chicago at this time, they having a house there. The Indian village numbered over one hundred and fifty cabins, and there was another village quite as large about a league distant. The missionaries accompanied the Indians in their different migrations, and it is probable that they had a house in every considerable stopping-place of the savages. The portage which St. Cosme describes was from the Chicago River to the Kankakee, and thus into the Illinois River. Navigation on the Illinois River began at La Salle's old fort. There was another fort at Lake Peoria, where also was the village of the Peoria Indians and the Illinois mission, then in charge of Father Marest. St. Cosme thinks it the best and most promising of all the Jesuit missions, there being a number of converts, among them the principal chief of the Illinois, whose name was applied to the village of Kaskaskia.

The party reached the Mississippi on the 5th of December, and finding it free of ice, proceeded to descend at once. Below the mouth of the Missouri and the painted rocks described by La Salle, the party landed on the Illinois side and proceeded to the Indian town of Kawechias (Cahokia), of which name this seems to be the first mention, though it is evident that Montigny must have heard of it either from Tonti or Father Marest. The Illinois here were in mourning in consequence of their losses from an attack of the Shawanese and the Chickasaws, in which they had lost many warriors. It gives one a new idea of the range and military strength of the Chickasaws to find them almost simultaneously operating on Lake Pontchartrain in Louisiana and opposite St. Louis. At the town of the Tamarois, an Illinois tribe some miles below, the Indians told them that they had never seen any Black Gown, except Father Gravier, who had visited them a few days before that. This would seem to fix a limit for the date of the establishment of the missions of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, which has been very hard to determine, and has been placed much earlier than this year. From the Ohio to the Arkansas St. Cosme does not see anything remarkable except the pelicans and the canes, which now begin to grow along the river's bank. Christmas-day was spent among the Quapaw Indians. Father Davion was given a station as missionary to the Tunicas Indians and Father Montigny took one among the Taensas, supposed to be a branch of the Natchez. St. Cosme remained among the Tamarois. Father Thaumur de la Source, in a letter which accompanies St. Cosme's narrative, says, "The finest country that we have seen is all from Chicagou to the Tamarois. It is nothing but prairies and clumps of wood as far as you can see. *I will mention also, that many Canadians marry among the Illinois.* I shall not come down within two years to know whether they will settle this country." Father de la

[1] Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, John Gilmary Shea, p. 47.

[2] This was a very early and important station of both traders and missionaries, and Charlevoix thinks it was visited by Nicolas Perrot as early as 1671. This, however, says Shea, is only an inference of the historian, not borne out by Perrot's manuscript. Marquette and Joliet touched here on their return from the Mississippi in 1673, and Marquette wintered here in 1674. Allouez was here in 1677, and it must have been known to La Salle at quite an early period in his extensive explorations.

Source did settle there himself, however, for Charlevoix found him at Cahokia in 1721.

D'Iberville arrived out on his second voyage on Dec. 7, 1699. He brought with him a Canadian, a kinsman of his own, by name Le Sueur, and some thirty workmen. Le Sueur had been sent to Louisiana by M. L'Huillier, farmer general, to explore for minerals. He was a voyageur, familiar with the northwest, having been one of the party of Nicholas Perrot and Father Marest who, in May, 1689, planted a cross and took possession of Minnesota in the name of the French king.[1] He had found a mineral which he esteemed valuable in 1695, had built a fort near it on the Upper Mississippi, two hundred leagues above the mouth of the Illinois, and had obtained from the home government permission to work this green earth (which probably was thought to contain silver). Le Sueur and his miners proceeded up the Mississippi from Biloxi, arriving at Tamarois in the country of the Illinois in June, 1700. On September 1st Le Sueur reached the mouth of the Wisconsin River. He had encountered on the way up two or three detachments of Indians in canoes, and as many small parties of Canadians. The latter were in pursuit of trade, while the Indians were upon the war-path. Le Sueur still pushed up the Mississippi, beyond the mouth of the Chippeway, and in his journal describes Lake Pepin and the caverns in the adjacent hills. He left the Mississippi at the mouth of the St. Peter's (the Minnesota) River, which he ascended to the Blue Earth River, on which his fort had been established in 1695. The post was enlarged and named Fort L'Huillier. Le Sueur's narrative, as made up by La Harpe, is valuable from the amount of information it gives respecting the Sioux Indians and their habits. His mine never came to anything, and he returned to France in 1702.

While Le Sueur was ascending the Mississippi, Father Gravier was going down that stream from the Miami mission at Chicago. As Le Sueur went up the river he was met at the mouth of the Illinois by a Canadian, who gave him a letter from Father Marest, warning him of hostile acts of the Sioux above. It is possible that this messenger may have been traveling with Father Gravier's party. Father Gravier found the Kaskaskias band in the act of migrating from their town on the Illinois River and descending the Mississippi, as he seems to have supposed, to go to Louisiana. But it is more likely that they were simply making their annual journey to their lower towns on the Kaskaskia River, where, in fact, they stopped, Father Marest accompanying them. Leaving the Illinois and the priests at Tamaronha (Tamarois,—Cahokia and Kaskaskia country), Father Gravier descended the river to assist Father du Ru, who was D'Iberville's chaplain, and had a mission among the Houmas Indians. Gravier describes the buffaloes as lining the banks of the river as he went down-stream, and speaks of seeing fifty bears in a single day. These bears were always traveling from south to north. Gravier also found distinct traces of the English on the Mississippi at this early day. In one instance it was a small band of Mohegan Indians, below the mouth of the Ohio, who spoke in the Algonkin and Shawanese dialects, and traded much with the English. This may have been by the way of the Ohio and the Alleghany Rivers, the Dutch traders from Albany getting access to the headwaters of the latter stream by favor of the Iroquois. But Father Gravier also found in a village of the Arkansean Quapaws swords and guns of English make, which they said had been brought to them the previous year by an English trader, who had prejudices, and made threats against the Jesuit missionaries. This trader probably had come to the Mississippi through the country of the Chickasaws, and he most likely started from South Carolina or Georgia, though it is possible that he may have descended into the Indian country along the well-beaten path of the Cherokees, through the Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys. The fact of the presence of an Englishman on the Mississippi in 1699 seems to remove the obstacle of impossibility which stood in the way of the alleged earlier journeys in that direction undertaken by Englishmen, as, for instance, Col. Wood, in 1654, who traversed Kentucky as far as the Mississippi, and Capt. Bolt (or Batt who reached the Mississippi through Kentucky in 1670. It also gives new interest to the legend of the twenty-three Spaniards who are reputed to have been wrecked at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1660 and to have ascended that river, the Ohio, and the Alleghany, as far as the site of the present town of Olean, thence proceeding to Onondaga, from which point they were forwarded to New York.[2] The chief

[1] Rev. E. D. Neill, History of Minnesota, p. 144.

[2] One account of this excursion of the Spaniards is given in a note to Stone's "Life of Joseph Brant." There is reputed to have been a French mission in 1666 in the Onondaga country, at the town of Pompey, the Jesuits having gone there at the solicitation of Karakontie, the Onondaga chief. The Spaniards are said to have come here three years later, piloted by Iroquois captives whom they had found among the southern tribes. The object of the long journey was silver, they having mistaken the Iroquois' description of salt incrustations for signs of that metal. The Spaniards left their canoes at Olean Point, and could be convinced that the French in the Iroquois town were

of the Kappas, when questioned by Gravier, recollected the visit of Father Marquette to his tribe twenty-seven years before, or pretended to do so. Father Gravier evidently did not entertain a high opinion of the Lower Mississippi, either as a place for colonies or a field for missions, and he doubts if the court will consent to maintain the settlements there when it discovers that there are no mines and that all the country is subject to inundations every year. The fort on the Mississippi whence he wrote, at Poverty Point, thirty-eight miles below the site of New Orleans, was, he said, apparently selected out of regard for the mosquitoes, which he fancied must be more abundant there than in any other place in the world. "In sooth," he says, "they have given us little truce for seven or eight days, but at this moment they sting me in close ranks, and in the month of December, when we ought not to be troubled by them, there was such a furious quantity that I could not write a word without having my hands and face covered, and it was impossible for me to sleep the whole night. They stung me so in one eye that I thought I would lose it. The French of this fort told me that in the month of March there is such a prodigious quantity that the air is darkened with them, and that they cannot distinguish each other ten paces apart."

It will be noticed that in these various narratives there is distinct evidence of a floating population of Canadian French, voyageurs and *coureurs des bois*, along the Mississippi, and in and around the Indian towns on its banks, and between it and the lakes, from about 1685. There is no evidence, however, of any distinct French *settlements* in this section, except only the missions, anterior to the year 1700. The Indians themselves were migratory in their character. The missionaries accompanied them in their wanderings, so as not to lose their influence, and Mr. Shea is probably right in supposing that at the time of D'Iberville's first voyage Tonti's fort on the Illinois was the only permanent French establishment west of the lakes, unless we may add to the list Le Sueur's fort on the Blue Earth, which was abandoned by at least a part of its garrison, and Tonti's little fort and mission at Arkansas Post, in regard to the occupancy of which at that time there is no positive intelligence. It had been La Salle's plan to gather the Indian hunters of the Illinois, Miamis, and allied tribes, with the *coureurs des bois*, around the fort of St. Louis des Illinois, so as to have a large and strong town there, at once capable of resisting the raids of the Iroquois and of producing large results in the fur trade. The Jesuit missionaries, as they by degrees converted or brought the Illinois under their influence, succeeded in breaking up their migratory habits and in gathering them into towns. They did not, however, succeed in making them strong enough to repel the assaults of the Five Nations, and hence, when the Illinois Indians planted themselves permanently, they abandoned their large settlements of Kaskaskia, Peoria, etc., on the Illinois and on the borders of Lake Michigan, and went to reside in their winter quarters of Cahokia, Tamarois, and Kaskaskia, on and near the Mississippi, opposite St. Louis. The narratives just quoted from indicate the beginning of these towns, the population of which was reinforced by tribes dwelling lower down the river, who dreaded the assaults of the Chickasaws, and by *coureurs des bois* and half-breeds, who were roaming about in search of peltries. It was probably by a gradual and, in many cases, imperceptible process that these Indian towns became converted into French villages, and hence the clouds that conceal the dates of their supposed beginnings. Mr. Dillon justly says, in his "History of Indiana," "neither the occasional presence of a missionary, nor the sojournings of adventurous explorers of the country, nor the periodical visits of fur-traders, can be fairly regarded as the founding of civilized settlements." Nor can a migratory Indian town be looked upon as a fixed and stable plantation, and the prairie Indians were much more nomadic than their brethren in the East. In 1795, Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, said to General Wayne, "The prints of my ancestors' houses are to be seen everywhere in this portion. It is well known by all my brothers present that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the headwaters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan." In such a state of things a town could not be said to become permanent until the influence of the whites predominated, and houses took the place of lodges. The chimney is the only anchor of a house, and the Indians never built chimneys.

La Salle's fort, on the St. Joseph's River of Michigan (near the site of South Bend), was built as early as 1679, but the first permanent settlement west of

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deceiving them in denying any acquaintance with deposits of the precious metals. Both parties began to "prospect" for mines, Indian jealousy and suspicion were excited, and finally, on All-Saints' Day, 1669, the entire party, French and Spanish, were murdered, none being left to tell the tale. The story, however, is exceedingly improbable, for La Salle and the Recollect Fathers, as was shown in the preceding chapter, were in this very country at that time. The authorities for the other alleged explorations are given by Collins in his "History of Kentucky," but they are chiefly slender or conjectural.

Lake Erie was made by Antoine de La Motte Cadillac at Detroit in 1701. In that year Cadillac, who was a witty attaché of Frontenac's at Quebec and had commanded at Michilimackinac in 1694–96, where he had quite a garrison, a large Indian village, and a town of fur-traders and *coureurs des bois* under his protection, went from Montreal to Detroit, established a fort, and laid out a town. In 1705 the French king gave La Motte authority to concede land to actual settlers. The concessions were in the shape of cumbrous leases, with many feudal conditions attached, an annual rent to be paid in peltries, timber and mineral privileges reserved to the crown, restrictions imposed for the protection of game, etc. The grantee was bound to plant or help to plant a May-pole in front of the principal manor-house every first of May; he could not sell the land without permission of government and the payment of a tax, nor mortgage without leave, nor work at particular trades without a license, nor grind his corn except at the mill of the manor, nor buy nor sell except under many restrictions. Under such circumstances it was natural for adventurers like the *coureurs des bois* and the fur-traders, all of whom traded spirits to the Indians for furs, to keep away from the government plantations and seek places for their settlements where they could enjoy more freedom. In 1702 the Sieur de Juchereau established such a post south of Lake Erie, in company with the Jesuit Father Mermet, either on the Ohio, as is commonly supposed, or, as some hold, at the Miami town on the Wabash which was subsequently called Vincennes. La Salle's and Tonti's fort of St. Louis des Illinois appears to have been abandoned about the year 1700, or about the time that Father Gravier speaks of the movement of the Illinois Indians to the South. It was not long after this date, certainly, that Kaskaskia became a permanent settlement. Charlevoix, when he was at Cahokia, complaining of the folly of planting a town so far inland, was told that when it was first settled it was immediately on the bank of the river, which had receded from it so far in that brief interval. The reverse of this happened at Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi, in a line with Kaskaskia. According to Capt. Pittman, "when the fort was began, in the year 1756, it was a good half-mile from the water-side; in the year 1766 it was but eighty paces; eight years ago the river was fordable to the island; the channel is now forty feet deep." Cahokia, or, as Pittman calls it, Kaoquias, "the village of Sainte Famille de Kaoquias," was the first settlement on the Mississippi. Its site was not well chosen, as it was liable to be flooded. "The land was purchased of the savages," says Pittman, "by a few Canadians, some of whom married women of the Kaoquias nation and others brought wives from Canada, and then resided there, leaving their children to succeed them."[1]

We must conclude, in view of all the facts, that Cahokia (or Tamarouha) and Kaskaskia began to be French settlements about the time of the permanent removal of the Illinois Indians from their summer to their winter quarters. This, as Father Gravier's "Relation" shows, was in 1700. Peoria probably had at that date a colony of French trappers and hunters. Vincennes, the Miami town, became a French post in 1702 by the establishment there of the Sieur de Juchereau. The evidence for this is complete,—the only doubt having arisen from the fact that the first French explorers applied the name "Ouabache" to the whole Ohio River instead of to its Indiana branch solely. But Gravier's "Relation" shows conclusively that in 1700 this confusion no longer existed, and the Ohio and the Wabash were clearly distinguished from one another, and each was called by its own appropriate name. The language of Father Marest's "Relation" in 1712 is, "*Les François étoient établis au Fort sur la fleuve Ouabache; ils demandèrent un missionaire; et le Père Mermet leur fut envoyé.*" Mermet went with Juchereau in 1702; his ministry was among the Mascoutin Indians; there never was any French fort on the Ohio, nor were the Mascoutins ever that low down. They were about Vincennes, where the Piankeshaws had a village, as also the Twightwees had one at La Salle's post on the St. Joseph's. Oct. 19, 1705, M. de Vaudreuil wrote to the French minister that he had sent "Sieur de Vincenne to the Miamis." For this M. de Pontchartrain reprimanded M. de Vaudreuil, saying, "His majesty desires that you cause the Sieur Vincennes to be severely punished,—he having carried on an open and undisguised trade." In 1712, however, M. de Vaudreuil again sent Vincennes to the Miamis. In the year, 1712, both Cahokia and Kaskaskia have an authenticated existence—by the record. There was a church and a mission in each place,—Notre Dame de Cascasquias and La Sainte Famille de Caoquias. The former had grown to be quite a considerable town. The French and Indians lived contentedly together.

[1] "The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi, with a Geographical Description of that River. By Capt. Phillip Pittman. London, 1770." Pittman says in his book "was originally wrote at the request and for the perusal only of the secretary of state for the colonies." He made several attempts to get up the Mississippi before he could succeed, and at one time proposed to go disguised as a Canadian voyageur, but was dissuaded. He writes like a careful observer, and his maps and plans are very good.

"You call us your children," said an old Shawanese chief to Gen. Wm. Henry Harrison when the latter was Governor of Indiana; "why do you not make us happy as our fathers, the French, did? They never took from us our lands; indeed, they were in common between us. They planted where they pleased, and they cut wood where they pleased, and so did we. But now, if a poor Indian attempts to take a little bark from a tree to cover him from the rain, up comes a white man and threatens to shoot him, claiming the tree as his own." This speech explains precisely the reason why the French got along so amicably with the Indians, and why there is an irrepressible conflict between the Anglo-Saxon and the Indian. The Frenchman had no land-hunger. He was a trapper or a trader, and his attempts at agriculture were neither elaborate nor extensive. Besides, he knew how to accommodate himself *socially* with the savages, entered into all their sports and games, and took a squaw in every village to which he came.

The Illinois were a social race. They had none of the taciturnity with which their kinsmen are, perhaps wrongly, credited, but had the manners and the vices of a city population. From the first they seemed to have formed a strong attachment for the French. La Salle and Tonti made a powerful impression upon them, and the Jesuit missionaries knew how to maintain and extend their influence. Thus the Frenchman was always welcome to the villages of the Illinois, and, whether the missionary or trader went west by the route of the Illinois River or by that of the Wabash, he had to pass by an Illinois town. The *coureur des bois* did not care to leave his hunting-grounds so far behind him as to carry his peltries to Quebec or Montreal, and the fur-trader was only too happy to meet him half-way in the Indian towns and relieve him of his goods at an enormous enhancement of the profit. Thus the Indian towns at the portages and landing-places gradually became the homes of the hunters and trappers and the visiting-points of the traders, and thus we can understand what M. de Denonville wrote in his memoir to the home government dated 8th March, 1688, that the French had "divers establishments" on the river Mississippi, "as well as on that of the Oyo, Ouabache, etc., which flow into the said river Mississippi." Kaskaskia and Cahokia were seated in "a country replete in all the bounties of nature." The soil produced every sort of fruit and grain,—"the deer, the buffalo, and the elk furnished in those days bountiful supplies, the rivers abounded with fish, while the forest and the feathered tribes afforded articles for comfort and for trade. Surrounded thus by good things, what more could a Frenchman have desired, unless it were a violin and a glass of claret? The former we are told they had, and we have good authority for saying that they drank excellent wine from their own grapes."[1] There are deeds on record at Kaskaskia which bear the date of 1712, says the authority just quoted. This town was beautifully situated on the point of land formed by the junction of the Kaskaskia River with the Mississippi,—not immediately at the confluence, but three or four miles above, as Philadelphia was located with respect to the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers. The site of the town is a deep alluvial plain, with high bluffs on the side of the Kaskaskia River opposite. In Cahokia the land is too low, and liable to be flooded by every rise of the Mississippi. After the establishment of Fort Chartres in 1718, Kaskaskia became the seat of government of Upper Louisiana, and was of consequence enough to be assumed as the centre from which all distances were measured in the surrounding country. In 1721 it was the capital of the Louisiana "district of Illinois." From this date the French settlements on the Mississippi must be treated as integral parts of the Louisiana system.

That system did not overflow with liberality nor any other kind of grace. It was military at one pole and intensely ecclesiastical at the other. Louis XIV. was besought by the Huguenot refugees in England and America for leave to move in a body into Louisiana, colonize it, and loyally hold it as a fief of the crown. They would doubtless have developed and improved the country rapidly. But the king replied that he had not expelled them from France to enable them to build up their heresy in America, and in the code of 1724, for regulating the province of Louisiana,—a code promulgated by royal ordinance "in order to maintain the discipline of the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church,"—the director-general and officers were commanded "to remove from said country all the Jews who may have taken up their abode there; the departure of whom, as declared enemies of the Christian name, we command within three months, including the day when these presents are published, under pain of forfeiture of their bodies and estates." In article second of the code all slaves are commanded to be baptized and educated in the same church, and article third says, "We prohibit any other religious rites than those of the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church, requiring that those who violate this shall be punished as rebels, disobedient to

[1] James Hall, Sketches of the West.

our commands. We prohibit all meetings for this purpose: such we declare to be unlawful and seditious assemblages, subject to the same penalties inflicted upon masters who shall permit or suffer it with respect to their slaves."

The military hand did not rest less lightly than the ecclesiastical. Before Crozat took charge of the colony the administration, while quarreling among themselves, united to oppress and "regulate" the colonists. Nobody was free except the sixty or seventy Canadians who led a roving and dissolute life among the Indians. The imbecile government meddled with everything, and created a hundred abuses under the pretext of correcting one. It sought to repair its impotence by its ubiquity. It could not teach the colonists to keep themselves from starving, but it could force them to regard the province as a prison. Thus, Bienville, the most enlightened and energetic man in Louisiana, and the one who had its interests most sincerely at heart, could write to the home government in the following terms: "I have ordered several citizens of La Rochelle to be closely watched, because they wish to quit the country. They have scraped up something by keeping taverns. Therefore it appears to me to be nothing but justice to force them to remain in the country, on the substance of which they have fattened." Bienville also asked leave to exchange Indian slaves for negro slaves in the West Indies. "We shall give," he said, "three Indians for two negroes. The Indians, when in the islands, will not be able to run away, the country being unknown to them, and the negroes will not dare to become fugitives in Louisiana, because the Indians would kill them." In 1712, Anthony Crozat obtained his charter from the king. It was time, for the colony was almost at the last gasp. The letters patent to Crozat cover an immense and extraordinary grant. It was a gigantic monopoly of an embryo empire. It said that "upon the information we have received concerning the disposition and situation of the countries known at present by the name of the province of Louisiana, we are of opinion that there may be established therein a considerable commerce, so much the more advantageous to our kingdom, in that there has been hitherto a necessity of fetching from foreigners the greatest part of the commodities which may be brought from thence; and because, in exchange thereof, we need carry thither nothing but commodities of the growth and manufacture of our own kingdom, we have resolved to grant the commerce of the country of Louisiana to the Sieur Anthony Crozat, our counselor, secretary of the household, crown, and revenue, to whom we intrust the execution of this project. We are the more readily inclined hereunto, because his zeal and the singular knowledge he has acquired in maritime commerce encourage us to hope for as good success as he has hitherto had in the divers and sundry enterprises he has gone upon, and which have procured to our kingdom great quantities of gold and silver in such conjunctures as have rendered them very welcome to us. For these reasons, being desirous to show our favor to him, and to regulate the conditions upon which we mean to grant him the said commerce, after having deliberated this affair in our own council, of our certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, we, by these presents, signed by our own hand, have appointed and do appoint the said Sieur Crozat solely to carry on a trade in all the lands possessed by us, and bounded by New Mexico and by the lands of the English of Carolina, all the establishments, ports, havens, rivers, principally the port and haven of the isle Dauphine heretofore called Monaere; the river of St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois; together with the river St. Philip, heretofore called Missouri, and of St. Jerome heretofore called Ouabache, with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the river St. Louis." Crozat was to have a fifteen years' lease of this territory; to search for and open mines and reap the profits of mining, less one-fifth to the crown, and to send a vessel once a year to Africa for slaves. He was to own in perpetuity all the land he improved, the buildings he put up, and the manufactures he established; and for nine years he was to receive fifty thousand livres a year for public expenses, after that to bear all the charges of government himself; and he was required to send two ships to Louisiana every year, laden with colonists and supplies.[1]

[1] Crozat, the recipient of these vast favors, or the man whose shoulders these immense burdens were imposed, had been a farmer of the revenue, a merchant also, who, in the words of a contemporary, "had prospered in opulence to the astonishment of all the world." Gayarré attaches a romance to his name that he was peasant-born, foster-brother to the son of one of the noblesse, who educated him and procured the advancement of his fortunes in trade; that he had an only daughter, who was lovely, refined, and possessed of every accomplishment, fell in love with the heir of the Lauzuns. To secure such a husband for his child Crozat needed to be a Medici, so that trade and wealth might supply what was lacking in blood, and to this end Crozat took his Louisiana contract. He failed; the daughter died of a broken heart, and Crozat expired beside her bier. It is unfortunate for Gayarré's romance, however, that Crozat lived many years after he surrendered the government of Louisiana to the king's hands, and he probably made money by the operation. He died in 1738, at the age of eighty-three, before the Louisiana estates had developed their full value.

Crozat found his new province in a slipshod state. There were five or six forts, three or four hundred beggarly colonists, and about seventy-five Canadian *coureurs* who took the king's pay as militia. The new manager of the colony was a business man. He sent for La Motte de Cadillac from Canada to act as Governor, retained Bienville as lieutenant-governor, and reinforcing the colony with men and goods, directed a vigorous search after mines, while seeking the means of introducing French goods into Mexico. Gayarré laughs at Cadillac, who seems to have been as proud and poor as Frontenac, but no Governor could have built up Louisiana under the circumstances, no matter what his abilities. Cadillac wrote home that the inhabitants were no better than the country,—they were the scum and refuse of Canada, ruffians, vagabonds, profligates. He declared that the colony was not worth a straw as it was, but he hoped to make something of it. He did not succeed, though he came near doing so, if his advice to the ministry, to give the colonists as much land as they wanted, without conditions, had been taken. It was not taken, however, and Cadillac was sent off on a wild-goose chase after gold-mines, while Bienville, with whom the Governor quarreled, though his was the only clear head in the province, secured peace with the Natchez Indians. Cadillac encountered much laughter and opposition in his efforts to carry out his ideas of government. "There are as many Governors here as there are officers," he wrote. "Every one would like to perform his duties according to his own interpretation of them." The colony, he said, was "a monster without head or tail, and its government is a shapeless absurdity. . . . Verily, I do not believe that there is in the whole universe such another government." Crozat finally dismissed him, in the bluntest way, for incompetence, but the new Governor, De l'Epinay, did not succeed any better, and finally, in August, 1717, Crozat threw up his charter.

The Regent d'Orleans was practically king of France in this time of the minority of Louis XV., and the kingdom was overwhelmed with the debts incurred by Louis XIV. in pursuit of glory. Crozat had accomplished nothing for Louisiana and for France, but some of his agents had extended the limits of the French possessions in several directions. St. Denys, a hero of romance, had planted the French standard far up on the Red River, and on the Rio Grande and the Rio Bravo. Another and permanent post was established on the Sabine. Charleville had reached the Cumberland River, opened trade with the Shawanese, and established a post where Nashville now is, in 1713, while Fort Toulouse was built on the Coosa River, above the mouth of the Tallapoosa, and Bienville completed Fort Rosalie at Natchez in 1716. The immense province of Crozat had paid nothing to legitimate enterprise, but that fact probably made it more valuable for purposes of speculation, and France was just in that bankrupt and desperate condition which fits a country to become the prey of speculators. The regent was an adventurer himself, and adventurers flocked about him. Legitimate financiering offered no prospect or hope, and this opened the door wide to illegitimate financiering. When Crozat surrendered his charter, the Council of State received it gladly, resolving that it was to the interest of France that Louisiana should be fostered and preserved; that this was an undertaking beyond the strength and resources of any individual; and, as such enterprises would not be proper for a king, on account of the inseparable commercial details, Louisiana should be intrusted to a company. This was the origin of the Company of the Indies, chartered by the Parliament of Paris less than a month after Crozat withdrew from the colonial business. The Company of the Indies was the contrivance of the faro banker John Law, the friend of the regent, who had undertaken to restore the collapsed finances of the state by creating something out of nothing. He had started the Bank of France, and, to give a show of stability to the operations of this stock-jobbing concern, he proposed the Western Company, or the Company of the Indies, another stock-jobbing concern, for its support. One bubble could not sustain itself, but the bubble which rested on another bubble had something solid under it, so people thought. The bank would be very profitable if it had the revenues of the Indies Company out of which to get its dividends. Louisiana was only a dream in France, but Law and the regent took care that it should be a handsomely gilded dream. All France for a while was seized with the infatuation of sudden riches, and the result was the most gigantic speculation ever known, followed by the worst financial crash and the most wide-spread ruin.

The Western Company speculation, however, which crippled France, was not without its advantages to Louisiana. The company had a monopoly of the revenues of the province, but it needed to improve the condition of the province in order to show any revenues. Some, at least, of the one hundred million livres of the original subscription of Louisiana stock had to be spent in Louisiana. The company was under bonds to introduce into the province six thousand whites and three thousand negro slaves. Bienville became Governor. He determined to settle on the river, and in 1718 he selected the site and planted

the present city of New Orleans, giving to it the name of the dissolute regent. A company of two hundred miners and assayers, under command of Francis Renault, was dispatched to the Upper Mississippi. On his way to Louisiana Renault stopped at San Domingo and bought five hundred negro slaves, whom he took to the Illinois country,—the beginning of slavery in Missouri, for Renault's slaves worked in the lead-mines west of Ste. Genevieve. Boisbriant, the king's lieutenant for Louisiana, who arrived out in the spring of 1718, proceeded up the river, assumed the government of the Illinois district, and built Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi, not far from Kaskaskia. This post thus became the centre and seat of government of the Illinois district, and population gathered around about it. To hasten the colonization of Louisiana, the company made numerous and extensive grants of land, with provisions attached requiring the importation of settlers. Law obtained a tract of twelve miles square on the Arkansas, to which he transplanted fifteen hundred German emigrants from Alsace; Leblanc and others got a grant on the Yazoo, which they planted; Bernard la Harpe secured a grant at Natchitoches; De Meuse at Point Coupée; St. Reiné among the Tunicas; Diron d'Artagnette at Baton Rouge; Paris Duvernay at Bayou Manchac; Du Muys at Tchoupitoulas; the Marquis d'Artagnac at Cannes Brulées; Madame de Chaumonot at Pascagoula, etc. The settlements on the Sabine and at Natchitoches and the exploits of St Denys alarmed the Spaniards, who now pushed several posts into Texas, occupying and fortifying San Antonio de Bexar, Bahia, and Goliad, and then advancing as far as Nacogdoches and founding the mission of San Miguel de Linarez. La Harpe, who built Natchitoches in 1719, made many explorations westward into Texas, conciliating the Indian tribes and setting up trading-posts. He now pushed beyond the Spaniards and established a trading-post still farther up the Red River, at an Indian town one hundred and fifty leagues beyond Fort Natchitoches, in what is now Arkansas. War having broken out between France and Spain, Bienville reduced Pensacola, while a Spanish expedition crossed from Santa Fé to the Missouri River. This expedition was intended to excite the Pawnee or Osage Indians to make war on the Missouri Indians, who were allies of the French. The party crossed to the Missouri River, in the neighborhood of Sabine County, where they fell in with the Missouris, and, mistaking them for the Osages or Pawnees, revealed their plans to them, and were in consequence massacred in the night. This bold attack led the French to erect a fort on an island in the Missouri River, about the mouth of the Osage River.

Five hundred slaves were brought over from Africa in 1719, and by 1722 there were 2100 Guinea negroes in the colony, the annual importation after that ranging from one hundred to three hundred. A man slave sold for 600 livres and a "likely" woman for 500 livres. In February, 1720, five hundred and eighty-two emigrants arrived out from France. They included some women from the streets, and even from the houses of correction and the hospitals of Paris, who were thought to be good enough to become wives of the Canadian colonists. Many other settlers began to come out, and explorations were pushed and trading-posts established in various quarters. The years 1722-23 were full of disaster and gloom for Louisiana. Law's Mississippi bubble had burst, the company was a wreck, and the seven thousand recent emigrants in the new province found their supplies suddenly shut off. The result was famine, and many starved to death. Indian wars also broke out in several places, and the garrison at Fort Orleans in the Missouri (near Jefferson City) was massacred. The Chickasaws captured the Yazoo fort, and finally the Natchez Indians broke into revolt, and were exterminated before they would submit. Terrible storms devastated the crops and laid the fields waste, and the troops in some of the garrisons mutinied. In 1733, however, when the government of the India Company ceased, it was seen that the colony had grown and developed greatly. The population was over seven thousand, including some men of enterprise and wealth, agriculture had become the established pursuit of the people, and there were a great number of new and prosperous settlements. In the Illinois and Wabash sections in particular great crops were produced, supplying the lower sections and yielding besides an exportable surplus. The peltry trade from this section was valuable and important, and a good many flourishing towns had sprung up here. The whole country had an established civil government and the vicar-general at New Orleans, representing the diocese of Quebec, saw that religious instruction was amply supplied. In short, there can be no doubt of the exactness of the thoughtful Stoddard's conclusion that "whoever takes a correct view of the transactions of the Mississippi Company must be convinced that it was of infinite utility to Louisiana, perhaps the preservation of it, particularly as it possessed energy and resources. . . . From this period may be dated the gradual progress of the colony to a more eligible condition, though it was occasionally interrupted by the Indians and Spaniards."

It was about this time that Louisiana began to fee

the proximity of the English upon its eastern border. The Chickasaw Indians, and sometimes the Choctaws, were more or less under the influence of English traders and hostile to the French. Some of the dispersed Natchez took refuge among the Chickasaws, and when Bienville demanded their surrender another war began. Bienville from New Orleans and D'Artagnette from Fort Chartres marched against the Chickasaws in 1736. Their stronghold was on the headwaters of the Tallahatchee, and at Pontotoc they were able to defeat the French army under Bienville and his Choctaw allies, compelling the veteran to retreat, while D'Artagnette, Vincennes, their Canadian forces and their allies, the Illinois Indians, headed by Chicago, were crushed on the Yallabusha, in an assault upon another of the Chickasaw towns. The Illinois ran away, the best of the Canadian troops were slain, and D'Artagnette and Vincennes, taken prisoners, with the faithful Senat, the Jesuit missionary, were reserved for the stake and the torture. Bienville renewed the attack on the Indians in 1740, but his military genius had left him with his youth, and a treaty with the Chickasaws showed that he dreaded to encounter them again. With this his public career of forty years in Louisiana ceased, and he was superseded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil. From this time until the outbreak of war with England and the English colonies in 1754, Lower and Upper Louisiana had a season of quiet prosperity and continual advancement. In 1754, M. de Vaudreuil became Governor-General of Canada, and M. de Kerlerec succeeded him as Governor of Louisiana. The French had increased their settlements, and colonists were coming in every year, as they had been steadily doing since 1740. Poverty and shiftlessness had given place to a diversified and profitable husbandry, the culture of indigo, sugar, and tobacco being added to that of the cereals, and Louisiana now began to export largely.

But the pressure and encroachments of the English increased steadily. The French had explored the Ohio, ascertained the geography of Upper Louisiana, and attempted to connect it permanently with Canada and lower Louisiana by a line of forts, which were placed pretty much where La Salle had long ago indicated. The expectation of the French seemed to be that the barrier of the Appalachian Mountains would constitute a perpetual boundary between their territory and that of the English. The French courted and won favor with the Eastern Indians, who were greatly exasperated at the appropriation of their lands in Pennsylvania. In 1753 the disaffection of the Eastern tribes seemed so general that the French were encouraged by it to advance their frontiers. They erected forts at Crown Point, Niagara, Rivière du Bœuf, and at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers. These advances were too significant to be disregarded by the English, who had already learned the value of the lands west of the mountains. A series of military operations ensued, which resulted in the conquest of Canada and the expulsion of the French from all those parts of Upper Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi River. This was the immediate cause of the settlement of St. Louis.

It is difficult to name the precise period when the English government and colonies became acquainted with the resources and the capabilities of the Mississippi valley. The French were certainly much more forward in acquiring a knowledge of these regions, as they were also in settling them. But it is still the fact that the charters under James I. and his successors, while giving a definite front upon the Atlantic Ocean, with distinctive parallels of latitude to mark the boundaries between the different colonies and companies, claimed that the territory granted extended in every case through to "the South Sea." What that meant exactly neither grantor nor grantees knew in anywise, but the time was now coming when an interpretation of the charters and patents would be forced. The grant of "Carolana," which has already been spoken of, was never perfected by a settlement, and it only led to a feeble and ineffective protest when Oglethorpe planted his colony in Georgia. The English explorations towards the Mississippi and the ascents of that river, if they ever were made, bore no fruit, and it seems probable that the earliest knowledge of the fact that there were regions of surpassing fertility on the western side of the Appalachian Mountains was gained by the English in 1710, when Lieutenant-Governor Spottswood, of Virginia, at the head of the exploring party fantastically named by him "The Knights of the Golden Horse-Shoe," crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains and saw the fertile lands of the valley of Virginia, and beyond. But, while the French were completing their chain of posts from Quebec to New Orleans, the English contented themselves with checking their rivals in the Chickasaw country, interfering with them on the Gulf of Mexico, and challenging their advances in the section between Lakes Ontario and Champlain. The first indication of an intention to advance the frontier practically (aside from the careful reservations made in European treaties and the assiduous nursing of Iroquois pretensions to the indefinite extension of their hunting-grounds westward) was made in the establishment of Fort Oswego, in 1722. In fact, the English knew astonishingly

little of the sections over which the French *coureurs des bois* had been roaming and ranging at will for a generation. We have only scant and uncertain traditions of English traders passing thitherwards now and then, and these experimental journeys could not have been very numerous, for every English trader who crossed the mountains knew that he risked his scalp at every mile of his route. Spottswood, as the result of his explorations, proposed to the British ministry in 1716 to form a company for settling on the Ohio, and James Logan, Secretary of Pennsylvania, who often met the Delaware, Shawanese, and Iroquois Indians, and was well advised of what was being done by the French in Ohio and Indiana, was almost importunate in insisting on the necessity of establishing British outposts in Western Pennsylvania, on the mountains, and on Lake Erie and the Ohio River. The ministry was indolent, however; home affairs were concern enough for it, and it was loath "to give umbrage to the French."

In 1729, Joshua Gee, a hard-headed Englishman, published in London an ingenious discourse on trade, in which he insisted that it was essential to the maintenance of British commercial supremacy that colonies should be extended westward to the Mississippi and its tributaries. About 1730, John Salling and Thomas Morlen, adventurous Virginians and borderers, crossed the Blue Ridge, it is reported, intent upon making an exploration of the "Upper Country," which the inveterate hostility between the Indians and the Virginia "Long-Knives" had kept an unknown region. They crossed into the valley, traversed it as far as the headwaters of the James River, and had come near the Roanoke when they were captured by Cherokees. Morlen made his escape; Salling was carried prisoner into Tennessee and adopted as a member of the tribe. Subsequently, while on a hunt in Kentucky, Salling was captured by the Illinois Indians and taken to Kaskaskia. After various adventures and six years of captivity, he was finally ransomed by the Governor of Canada and exchanged through Fort Orange, New York, and Williamsburg. His story, on his return, of the rich and fertile regions and mighty rivers and prairies he had seen fired the popular imagination. Winchester, Va., had just been settled,[1] and John Lewis and John Mackey, wishing to find new settlements, employed Salling as their guide. The three established themselves in the valley of Virginia, near the head of the James, and here, in 1736, John Lewis was visited by Burden, agent of Lord Fairfax, who had a patent for extensive tracts in the northern neck. While Burden was with the Lewises he captured a bison calf, which, on his return to Williamsburg, he presented to Governor Gooch. That official, in return, made Burden a grant of half a million acres of land west of the Blue Ridge and the Shenandoah, upon condition that he settled a hundred families upon the tract within ten years. Burden complied with the terms of this grant, and did it so well that some of the most distinguished families in Virginia are derived from the colonists on Burden's grant. Among these may be named the McDowells, Crawfords, McClures, Alexanders, Wallaces, Pattons, Prestons, Moores, Matthews, etc., names familiar likewise in Western annals.

In 1742, John Howard crossed the mountains from Virginia, descended the Ohio in a skin canoe, and was taken prisoner by the French on the Mississippi. This journey, however, has none but tradition to rest upon, though De Haas seems to fancy that the English claims to "priority of discovery" have partially their source in Howard's supposititious journey, the real priority claim standing upon Cabot's discovery alone, and the assumption that that gave rights which extended clear across the continent. This was supplemented by the purchase of the claims of the Iroquois Indians, who pretended to the right, by conquest, of all the territory north of the Cherokee country and east of the Mississippi. The Five Nations had indeed made successful raids upon all this region, and they asserted their supremacy throughout all of it, saving only so much as was occupied by the Miami confederacy. If this claim had been good the English were rightful owners, for they had certainly bought out the Iroquois pretensions, both in the treaty of 1684, negotiated by Lord Howard and Governor Dongan, and in that of 1726, when the Indian confederacy ceded all their lands to England, in trust for themselves, however, "to be protected and defended by his majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs." France, by the treaty of Utrecht, was debarred from invading the territory of England's Indian allies, and consequently, if the validity of the Indian claim could be established, it carried everything else with it. But this cannot be done. The convenience and the policy equally of the European nations required them to agree, by common consent to the principle that Indian titles covered no more than the good will of the Indian nations conveying them. The Indian's deed was a relinquishment, valid against himself, but not necessarily of effect in favor of others. With his conveyance all his own rights ceased, but he had not the power at will to designate

[1] By Joist Hite, with sixteen families from Pennsylvania, in 1732.

the successors to whom he wished those rights to pass. The treaties referred to, therefore, and equally the treaty of Lancaster in 1744, must be regarded as nugatory in their effects upon the French rights of possession in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. This Lancaster treaty had been negotiated between the Six Nations and commissioners from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, with the aid of the well-known Pennsylvanian interpreter, Conrad Weiser.

In 1744, at the same place, another treaty was negotiated, to which not only the Iroquois, but the Twightwees (or Miamis) and the Shawanese, were equally parties, and all these Indians surrendered lands upon the condition of protection.[1] The fact of the negotiation of these treaties shows that the colonial and imperial governments of the English had awakened to the fact of the value of the lands in the "Western country." The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had not distinctly defined the boundaries between the British and French possessions in the West; both claimed large territories which the Indians still possessed, but which were becoming prospectively valuable as immigration increased and cheap land was less easily accessible. The claim of the English by right of discovery, such as made by men like Howard, was speedily backed by claims founded on possession and occupancy; for English traders at least, if not settlers, began to pour into the new country. The technical form of the general English pretension was as follows: "That all the lands or countries westward from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, between 48 and 34 degrees of north latitude, were expressly included in the grant of King James the First to divers of his subjects, so long since as 1606, and afterwards confirmed in 1620; and under this grant the colony of Virginia claims extent so far west as the South Sea, and the ancient colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut were by their respective charters made to extend to the said South Sea, so that not only the right to the sea-coast, but to all inland countries from sea to sea, has at all times been asserted by the crown of England."

An active and often fatal rivalry now began in the Ohio country between English pioneers and French occupants and traders, the latter, as a rule, having the sympathy of the Indian tribes. The French historians, while in general terms they impeach the treachery of "*perfide Albion*" in these struggles, have not shown themselves unintelligent to the general issue and the causes which led to it. M. Barbé Marbois, in his very manly and satisfactory history of the cession of Louisiana (in which indeed he was a leading actor), speaking of the times of which we now write, says, "The chase, the amusement of civilized man, is the principal business of savages. The French, having become equally capable of fatigue with the Indians, were always ready to accompany them, and to second them in all circumstances; they therefore scarcely ever experienced the treachery so commonly employed towards the English, who attempted to form isolated settlements. But, besides the inconvenience arising from this dispersion, there was another obstacle to the progress of the French colony: the officers from Europe had, for the most part, only false notions with respect to colonial government. They were named through favor, and the most important places were oftentimes only filled by dependents, who accepted them in hopes of making or re-establishing their fortunes." The wide dispersion of the French settlers, which made them incapable of offering an effectual resistance to British encroachments, seems, however, to have proceeded from the fact that the French traders, trappers, and hunters followed the Indians from place to place. It suited the convenience of their business for them to do so, and then, moreover, they thus eluded the petty inspections and local tyranny of the Canadian and Louisiana governments, which men accustomed to the woods and the lakes and rivers found it very hard to bear.

But the Indians soon discovered that, if the French

[1] Upon this matter of adventurous and supposititious titles from the Indians it may be as well to say that Wheaton has shown conclusively that the courts will not even "take notice" of any land title not derived from the general government, and in each case this title must be recognized by the government which is concerned. In the third volume of the "United States Reports," p. 543, it is explicitly stated that "*Discovery constitutes the original title to lands on the American continent;* and the title thus derived was the exclusive right of acquiring the soil from the natives, and establishing settlements upon it." (3 Wheaton, U.S. Rep., 543.) In explanation of this position it is added by Wheaton that "the Europeans respected the rights of the natives as occupants, but asserted the ultimate dominion to be in themselves; and claimed thereby the power to grant the soil while in possession of the natives." The Indian right of occupancy, moreover, was one which a tribe could pass to a government, but which neither tribe nor individual could pass to individuals. The Miamis could sell to Parliament or to Pennsylvania, but not to Weiser nor to La Salle. The United States, as successor to Great Britain, insisted upon the fact that they had "a clear title to all the lands within the boundary lines described in the treaty, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy,"—the "right of occupancy" being entirely different from title derived from right of sovereignty. "These rules," says another Supreme Court decision, "accord to the Indian the right of possession only. They deny him title, except he receive that title from this government or its assigns." Discovery alone, therefore, does not give title; but it always proceeds from "discovery followed by possession." But the full chain of title will be found more fully discussed in our eleventh and twelfth chapters.

were more kindly and sociable, the English traders paid them better prices and made the business of hunting more lucrative. The British traders had more capital, less time to spare, and they bought rapidly. To make the business they were upon go off still more rapidly, they were very liberal with their rum and spirits. The Pennsylvanian traders went into the Ohio wilderness in considerable numbers, and they found means to interfere materially with the business of the French. They were rough men, mountaineers, rude in manners, carrying their lives in their hands. Their dress was half Indian; they were experts in the use of the rifle, and they did not scruple to use their deadliest weapons in their frequent feuds. The roughest and most adventurous of these border characters were generally employed as retainers of the fur-trader; they drove his pack-horses in the long train across the mountains and rivers; protected him from outlaws and Indians, and, when he had reached camp, they scattered about among the Indian towns, hunting-camps, and wigwams, trading goods suitable to the wilderness traffic for furs and peltry. The trade which thus sprung up was valuable enough to the bordermen of Pennsylvania to excite the emulation of Maryland and Virginia; one consequence of which was the establishment of the Ohio Company in 1749. Lawrence and Augustine Washington were both connected with this scheme; but the founders and chief persons in the enterprise were John Hanbury, a London merchant of wealth, and Thomas Lee, president of the Council of Virginia. When Lee died, Lawrence Washington became chief manager of the Ohio Company, and promoted its interests with intelligence and judgment. Conrad Weiser, the Lancaster (Pa.) interpreter, had been to a meeting of the Shawanese at their village of Logstown (on the north side of the Ohio River, seventeen miles below the site of Pittsburgh) in 1748, and he had seen how valuable the lands were all through this section. His mission, in fact, while it was in part to conciliate the Shawanese and make them presents, in order to neutralize the influence of Peter Chartiez, a French half-breed (who had recently dwelt in Philadelphia, but was now a refugee among the Shawanese, and seeking to engage them in hostile acts against the English), was, in fact, also to learn whether or not the tribes could be induced to look favorably upon a large acquisition of land upon the Ohio by the English. Col. Thomas Lee had been one of the commissioners of Virginia at the Lancaster treaty in 1744, where he had become acquainted both with Weiser and the Shawanese. When Weiser returned from his visit to Logstown the Ohio Company was formed, with ten other Virginians in it besides Lee and the two Washingtons; the king, upon being petitioned, at once ordered the government of Virginia to grant to the company half a million acres of land west of the mountains, to be held free of quit-rent for ten years, two-fifths of the land to be located forthwith, and settled by planting one hundred families upon it within seven years; besides which, a fort was to be built for the protection of the settlement. About the same time other companies for the colonization of the West were formed in Virginia, including the Loyal Company, which had 800,000 acres, and the Greenbrier Company, which was granted 100,000 acres.

The Ohio Company, however, could not move so briskly but it was anticipated by the French. Before its charter was drawn and in hand Vaudreuil's successor, the Marquis de la Galisonnière, Governor of Canada, sent Louis Celeron de Bienville, with a battalion of three hundred men, to the Ohio to make peace with the Indians and renew the French possession of the country. Celeron at several points on his march planted stakes, with plates of lead at their base, bearing inscriptions in French to the effect that in 1749, Louis XV., through Commandant Celeron, had buried these plates "as a monument of renewal of possession which we have taken of the said river and all its tributaries; and of all the land on both sides as far as the sources of said rivers; inasmuch as the preceding kings of France have enjoyed it, and maintained it by their arms and by treaties, especially by those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle." Celeron also captured sundry Pennsylvania traders in Ohio, and sent them home to Governor Hamilton with letters notifying him that in the future all such intruders would be rigorously dealt with. At the same time the Miami Indians sent wampum-belts to Governor Hamilton, notifying him that the French with their buried plates, were trying to steal the country from the Indians, and assuring him that their friendship for the English would endure as long as the sun and moon ran round the earth. Governor Hamilton and the Pennsylvania Council sent an envoy to the Ohio Indians in the autumn of 1749, in the person of George Croghan, a veteran trader, who knew the Western country very well. He was amply supplied with presents, and had with him Andrew Montour, a Canadian half-breed, for interpreter. The Ohio Company had just sent out an agent to explore lands on the Ohio on its account. This was Christopher Gist, a native of Maryland, a hardy and expert pioneer, whose home was on the banks of the Yadkin, in the same section from which Daniel

Boone afterwards started out on his path to Kentucky. Gist made his way to the Ohio by the Indian path through Cumberland, Md., the path which later became the bed of the National turnpike road. At Logstown he found the "half-king," Tanacharisson, a Seneca chief, in power. The half-king was a member or vassal of the Iroquois confederacy, but his people were mixed,—some Iroquois, some Delawares, some Miamis and Shawanese. Gist found some of Croghan's rough people in Logstown, and discovered Croghan was only a few days in advance of him. He pursued at once and overtook the Pennsylvania agent at Muskingum, a town where the Mingoes and the Wyandots had pitched their wigwams. Gist and Croghan now concluded to act in concert on account of the hostility of the French. They raised the English flag and called a council of the Ohio Indians to meet at Logstown in the spring. They next explored the chief parts of Ohio, including Piqua, chief town of the Twightwee or Miami confederacy, over which the sachem of the Piankeshaws then presided. A treaty of alliance was made with the Miamis, who sent home some French envoys with rather a hostile message. Gist descended the Ohio almost to Louisville, then he crossed over into Kentucky, followed the river of that name to its source in the Cumberland Mountains, crossed the headwaters of the Great Kanawha, the ranges of the Alleghany and Blue Ridge, and finally reached his home on the Yadkin, having made a journey of over a thousand miles, the great r part through an unexplored wilderness.

The French at once dispatched Captain Joncaire, "a veteran diplomatist of the wilderness," to prevent the Ohio Indians from concluding the proposed treaty with the English. Joncaire was the best possible person to have charge of such a mission. He had been captured by the Iroquois when a child, adopted into the tribe, learned their language and manners and customs, and, since his return to civilization, had been repeatedly employed as ambassador to or mediator between the Indians, and he had not unfrequently led their war-parties. But the council at Logstown was proof against even Joncaire's persuasions, though it was said of him that he had the wit of a Frenchman and the eloquence of an Iroquois. They rejected his gifts and his propositions. The English, they told him, were their brothers, and "Onontio" (the Governor of Canada in Indian phrase) had no rights or pretensions on the Ohio except such as the Indians could afford to disdain. The commissioners of Virginia, Messrs. Fry, Lomax, and Patton, in the conference at Logstown in the spring of 1752, finally procured from the Miamis, Shawanese, Delawares, and Western Iroquois a deed confirming the Lancaster treaty of 1744 in its full extent, consenting to a settlement on the Ohio, or rather southeast of it, and guaranteeing to it the protection of the Twightwee confederacy. Meantime, the alliance of the English with the Miamis had been in some measure sealed in blood. The French had attacked some Pennsylvania traders at a post at Pickawillany, near Dayton, Ohio; the Miamis defended them and were defeated, losing fourteen warriors, while the traders were carried off prisoners to Canada. This war, thus begun, was maintained on the Ohio and extended to Canada, while there was still apparently profound peace and the most elaborate *entente cordiale* between France and England in Europe. Practically, it did not cease until the French were expelled from Canada and from all their territory in America.

Joncaire blustered and threatened, but Gist, having returned to the Ohio, completed his surveys of the territory ceded by the Indians to the Ohio Company, and laid out a town and fort on Chartier's Creek, near the site of Pittsburgh. Gist had fixed his residence west of Laurel Hill, not far from the Youghiogheny, and eleven families of pioneers crossed the mountains with him. But the French were not ready to yield the Ohio country yet awhile, and, in spite of treaties, they knew how to deal with the Indians better than the English. An old Delaware sachem, seeing Gist planting his surveying stakes along the Ohio all the way from the Monongahela to the Kanawha, said to him, "The French claim all the land on one side the Ohio, the English claim all on the other side; now, where does the Indians' land lie?" But the Indians knew of old that their French fathers were not near so land-hungry as their English "brothers." Besides, the French were building forts, and arming them, in a systematic and persistent fashion. In 1753 they had completed their works at Presqu'isle (Erie), on Lake Erie; Fort Le Bœuf, on French Creek (Waterford, Pa.), and Venango, mouth of the same stream. On the opposite side of the stream to Venango, Fort Mitchell was built. Before the end of that year Fort Du Quesne was also projected, and a fort at Logstown.

These encroachments on what was claimed to be English territory caused a degree of agitation in the colonies. The Governor-General of Canada had told Tanacharisson, the half-king, that none of the Ohio lands were the Miamis' or belonged to the English either, and that the French meant to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio. The Ohio Company complained loudly to Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and he did not disregard the appeal. He was him-

self a stockholder in the company. He sent a commissioner, Capt. William Trent, to expostulate with the French. Capt. Trent went to Logstown, and thence to Piqua. He found the place in ruins and the French flag flying above it. He lost heart and came home, his commission not discharged. Dinwiddie now selected George Washington to do the important errand. Washington was in the militia; he was a surveyor of experience, though only twenty-two years old, and he was familiar with the affairs of the Ohio Company, of which his brother Lawrence, just deceased, had been managing director. His instructions were chiefly to find out what the French were doing in Ohio, and what forces they had there. He was also to communicate with the friendly Indians, and renew relations with them as allies of Virginia. Washington set off at once, being joined at Wills' Creek by the pioneer, Christopher Gist. Both the journal of Washington and that of Gist in relation to this expedition have often been published, and there is no need to recite their contents over again. Washington found out that the French on the Ohio were receiving reinforcements from New Orleans as well as from Canada. After a conference with the Indians at Logstown, Washington passed on to Venango, where he was entertained by Joncaire in a jovial way. The French claimed the whole Ohio country in virtue of La Salle's discovery, and vowed that they would prevent it from being settled by the English. After a visit to the French post at Presqu'isle, and encountering numerous delays from the French and dangers from the Indians, Washington and Gist were enabled to return home. They had not accomplished much in the way of diplomacy, but had gathered information such as left no room for doubt of the formidable character of the French forces in Ohio, and their determination to prevent the Virginians and Pennsylvanians from making settlements there. It was evident, also, that they were preparing to occupy the Ohio River in the spring. Capt. Trent was ordered by Governor Dinwiddie to the frontier, to occupy and fortify the site in the forks of the Ohio. Washington was to raise a company and go out to take command of the new and important post. Dinwiddie besought the other colonies to aid him in resisting the French invasion, but New York sent only money, and Pennsylvania debated whether it really was invasion or not. Meantime, before the Virginia troops could take the field, the French were active. They mustered in force at Venango in April, 1754, descended the Alleghany in their bateaux, and captured the new fort at the mouth of that river, with its puny garrison. This was the first act of the war, which ended only with the end of New France and French rule in America. Capt. Contrecœur, who demanded the surrender of the fort, claimed that the country upon the Ohio had been confirmed to his king by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. He also accused the English of employing Indians in the beginning of the struggle for supremacy. The war which ensued was certainly as much an Indian war as it was an intercolonial struggle between France and Great Britain for the control of the North American continent. It was attended with a thousand atrocities, and the deep hatreds engendered by the massacres of settlers on the borders of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania still subsist among their great-grandchildren, who are to-day the pioneers of the far West. The capture of Nova Scotia was a substantial fruit of the early English operations, but the defeat of Braddock brought the tomahawk and scalping-knife into regions which had been exempted from Indian raids for fifty years, and sent a thrill of horror through every British colony. The Shawanese raided the valley of the Blue Ridge, and the Cherokees broke up the settlements on the Clinch and Holston Rivers, while in Pennsylvania the Delawares, at their headquarters at Kittaning, overawed the whole State, and compelled forts to be erected at the pass of the Swatara, at the forks of the Schuylkill, at Shippensburg, Carlisle, and Gnadenhütten.

The next year was one of disaster to the British army and of misery to the British colonies. But in 1757 William Pitt became Prime Minister of Great Britain, and proceeded to organize victory on sea and land and in three continents at once. By the end of 1758 England had recovered all she had lost and acquired a new prestige. Fort Frontenac and Fort Du Quesne both fell after the capture of Louisburg by Boscawen, and Christian Frederick Post, the brave and devoted Moravian missionary, after a perilous journey in the heart of the savage wilderness, succeeded in paving the way for the pacification of the Indians. In 1759, Wolfe captured Quebec, while Amherst occupied Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and Sir William Johnson, successor to Prideaux, received the surrender of Fort Niagara. On Sept. 8, 1760, M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, capitulated in form, and the English were given undisturbed possession of every French post and town in the province of New France. The war was still prosecuted, however, in Europe until February, 1763, when the peace of Paris was negotiated. England restored Havana to Spain, but received in return East and West Florida. France ceded to Spain, by a secret article of the treaty,

all of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi, while England took from France not only the whole of Canada, but also all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, the boundary being "fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea," including also Mobile and every place on the east side of the Mississippi except the city of New Orleans and the island on which it stands. The navigation of the Mississippi was made free to both nations.

By this treaty sixteen French posts and towns north of the Ohio River were surrendered to the English, including Vincennes, mouth of the Ohio, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Fort Chartres. There were also in this "Illinois country," as the region west of the Wabash was called, the villages of St. Charles and Ste. Genevieve on the west side of the Mississippi, and Prairie du Rocher on the east side. But, in fact, at first the cession was only nominal. The French were loyal in the extreme to their ancient government, and the Indians were the allies and the friends of the French, with whom they had always lived on the best terms of intimacy. The British garrisons in the various posts which had been surrendered by Vaudreuil's capitulation were only sure of the ground inside their ramparts, and not always safe even within these narrow limits. The Indians looked upon the British as their natural foes, and did not consent to believe themselves obliged to submit either in consequence of the capitulation or the treaty. The French traders and *coureurs des bois* hated the English bitterly, and encouraged the Indians in their hostile attitude. The results of this were soon seen in the conspiracy of Pontiac, when nearly every post in Canada and the West was surprised and captured by the Ottawas and their allies, who, however, invariably spared and protected the French, while murdering and torturing the English. This conspiracy broke out only two months after the ratification of the treaty of Paris, and, when Pontiac could no longer maintain the war, he fled, broken and dispirited, to the Illinois towns, and took refuge there and in St. Louis among his friends the French.

When George Croghan, the famous pioneer and scout, now the commissioner of Sir William Johnson, went west in 1765 to learn the disposition of the French and secure their aid, if possible, in preventing a recurrence of Indian wars, he was not prepossessed by what he saw at Vincennes, where he was taken by a party of Indians who had made him their prisoner. "On my arrival there," he wrote, "I found a village of about eighty or ninety French families settled on the east side of this river, being one of the finest situations that can be found. . . . The French inhabitants hereabouts are an idle, lazy people, a parcel of renegadoes from Canada, and are much worse than the Indians. They took a secret pleasure at our misfortunes, and the moment we arrived they came to the Indians, exchanging trifles for their valuable plunder. . . . The French have great influence over these Indians, and never fail in telling them many lies to the prejudice of his majesty's interest, by making the English nation odious and hateful to them. I had the greatest difficulties in removing these prejudices. As these Indians are a weak, foolish, and credulous people, they are easily imposed on by a designing people, who have led them hitherto as they pleased. . . . The Indian (Twightwee) village consists of about forty or fifty cabins, besides nine or ten French houses, a runaway colony from Detroit during the late Indian war; they were concerned in it, and being afraid of punishment, came to this post, where ever since they have spirited up the Indians against the English. All the French residing here are a lazy, indolent people, fond of breeding mischief and spiriting up the Indians against the English, and should by no means be suffered to remain here." Croghan is a prejudiced witness, but his facts are valuable. They are corroborated from other sources, all going to show that the French in the Illinois settlements were impelled to seek the other side of the Mississippi not only by their dislike of the English and their attachment to French institutions, but also by the dislike and suspicion manifested by the English towards them.

The Illinois settlements at the time of the treaty of Paris were under the government of M. de St. Ange de Bellerive, commanding at Fort Chartres. He was subordinate to M. d'Abadie, Director-General of Louisiana, who lived in New Orleans. The secret of the surrender of the country west of the Mississippi to Spain was not known or suspected by the French authorities, and, as soon as they knew of the treaty of Paris and that the Illinois country had been abandoned to the English, both D'Abadie and St. Ange exerted themselves to extend and increase the French settlements on the west bank. D'Abadie, in June, 1763, had granted to Pierre Laclede Liguest and his associates a charter, giving them power to trade with the Indians in Missouri and establish the necessary posts among them. Laclede, with his party, including Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, ascended the Mississippi River for New Orleans, and reached Ste. Genevieve on November 3d. It is here that the history of St. Louis properly begins.

There were only two French settlements at that time on the western bank of the Mississippi above the post of Arkansas. One was a trading-post on the present site of New Madrid, the date of the establishment of which, according to doubtful tradition, was 1740. The place was simply a resort of traders and hunters, who killed great numbers of bears and manufactured bear's grease for sale, shipping it to New Orleans by the Kaskaskia traders. The creoles consequently called the bend of the river on which the settlement was established *L'Anse de la Graisse*, or Greasy Bend. The old village of Ste. Genevieve, the other settlement within the limits of Missouri at this time, was founded about 1755. Here it was that Laclede landed, and here he might have established himself, except for the fact that the beautiful plateau on which the town stood (three miles below the present town) was too far from the mouth of the Missouri River to suit his purposes. He crossed to Fort Chartres, and, wintering his party there, explored the western bank of the river for a site for his town.

In 1765, Captain Stirling, of the British army, came to the Illinois settlements by way of Detroit, and received the surrender of Fort Chartres from St. Ange, the latter retiring with his garrison of twenty-one men to the western side of the river. Stirling demanded the allegiance of the people of the French settlements, and guaranteed to them the protection of the British government for their persons, estates, and religion. This did not, however, reconcile them to the English rule, and so many crossed the river to the French settlements on the west bank that Fort Chartres lost seventy out of eighty families, and Cahokia very nearly in proportion. It was the disbanding of a happy people, not overly rich nor prosperous; not enterprising at all, except in the hunt and the adventurous long voyage of canoe and flat-boat, but kindly, merry, hospitable. Their villages, built in long, narrow streets on the margin of a prairie or the wood-fringed bank of a stream, were made compact and crowded, so that each might hear his neighbor's voice and have the chance to vie with him in volubility. Their houses were simple, plain, uniform, but solidly built, of stone or adobe, and each with its porch and garden. Every village had its "common-field" and its "commons," in which each householder had an equal fee-simple property, and the "common-field," essentially a communal estate, was tilled by municipal regulation, for the joint benefit of all the community. The "common," in the same way, afforded pasturage for the stock of the village.

"Care," says the compiler Monette, "was a stranger in the villages, and was rarely entertained many days as a guest. Amusements, festivals, and holy days were frequent." All danced alike, the patriarch and the infant, the matron and the priest; all had the same faith, the same forms of worship; all dressed alike, and had the same simple manners and the same round of domestic tradition. All spoke the same *patois*, a soft and bastard French, lacking the verve and elasticity of the French of Paris, and pervaded by the genuine creole languor and drawl. The men wore the blanket capote, with hood and cape, long vest, blue shirt, and short breeches. In winter the hood of the capote protected the head; in summer, a blue cotton handkerchief was worn about it. The women dressed in the short jacket and petticoat which is so common a garb of the peasantry; in winter they wore stout moccasins and clogs, but in summer went barefoot.

The government was mild and paternal; the commandant had both civil and military jurisdiction and despotic power, but he lived among his people like the father of a family; he treated them kindly, they obeyed, respected, and loved him. They had few schools, little learning, no science. Education was of the simplest; its limits were what the village cure permitted and what the parish clerk was capable of imparting. Their courts were void of form and technicalities, and the many delays, uncertainties, and formalities of the English and American courts, when first introduced into this "terrestrial paradise" of Illinois, became a source of much annoyance and inconvenience, and often of grievous loss, to the unsophisticated *habitans*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOUNDING OF ST. LOUIS.[1]

"It was nearly two centuries and a quarter after the brilliant but ill-fated expedition of De Soto before any systematic effort was made for the settlement of the valley of the Upper Mississippi. In 1673, M[arquette]

[1] [The present chapter is given in full from the manuscript of Prof. Sylvester Waterhouse, of Washington University. The notes are his also, except in cases where it was thought expedient to amplify the text from other sources—manuscript or printed. In these cases the addition is indicated by the author's initials or by reference to the authority in the case. Of Mr. Waterhouse it is needless to speak, as he is so well known in this community. He himself says of the manuscript furnished by him to the author of the present volumes, that the facts contained in it "are derived largely from original manuscripts of the period, which are in the French and Spanish languages, the latter being that of the inhabitants of the country, nearly all of whom

quette and Joliet sailed down the Wisconsin in birch canoes, and then with their frail craft explored the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas. In 1680, Hennepin traced the Upper Mississippi from the confluence of the Illinois to the Falls of St. Anthony. In 1682, La Salle, starting from Illinois, descended the Mississippi to its mouth. These intrepid and heroic pioneers revealed to the world the magnitude of the Mississippi and the richness of the valley which it drained. But so gradual was the progress of settlement, that it was more than eighty years after the explorations of La Salle had made known the wondrous wealth of the Mississippi valley before the trading-post of St. Louis was founded.

"But at length the resources of Upper Louisiana began to attract the attention of commercial enterprise, and in 1762 the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Co.[1] obtained from the Governor-General[2] of Louisiana an exclusive control of the fur trade of the Missouri and other tribes of Indians as far north as the river St. Peter.[3] This monopoly was a guarantee of wealth, and the company immediately took steps to avail themselves of the valuable privileges of their charter. Liguest was the youngest member of the firm, and to him was assigned the task of selecting a site for a trading-post in Upper Louisiana. Nature had spe-

were descendants of that nationality, and the banish the official language of the government from the year 1770. For the use of many of these documents I am indebted to my friend Augustus de Lassus, the only son of the last of the Spanish lieutenant-governors of this upper portion of Louisiana, residing as he has for many years past in St. François County, who sent me a large mass of his father's official and private papers; to my old friend, G. S. Chouteau, the last surviving son of the original Col. Auguste Chouteau, who had much to do with the founding of the place, and who lived with us a period of sixty-five years, until his death in 1829, at the ripe old age of seventy-nine. To Dr. Charles Gratiot and sister, of Cheltenham, in this city, grandchildren of the first Charles Gratiot, a prominent personage of the little village from the year 1780 until his death, at the age of sixty-five years, in 1817, and others to whom I am largely indebted for the invaluable aid I derived from the use of their documents."]

[1] "The style of the firm varies. But the above is the form of the signature attached to several documents in the office of the St. Louis recorder of deeds.

"There were five or six partners in the firm.

"Maxent is written in a variety of ways. Even Laclede himself sometimes spells the word Maxan. But doubtless Maxent is the correct form. In all probability it is the same name that was borne by many families in France under the ancient régime. The full name of Laclede's partner was Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent. [St. Maxent is named by Gayarré as a leading merchant of New Orleans.]

"In fourteen instances in which the name of Laclede occurs in the archives it is written 'Pierre Laclede Liguest.' In the body of legal instruments, whether drawn by himself or by a notary, this is the almost uniform orthography. But whenever Laclede signed his name to a document, the signature is invariably 'Laclede Liguest.' In several grants of land his name is written without the 'Pierre.' By his associates Pierre Laclede Liguest was always called 'Laclede.' The given name, so familiarly known to the first settlers of the little trading-post, has become the historic title of the founder of St. Louis. In social life the use of the surname was infrequent. The following examples illustrate the early French preference for brief names:

"Antoine Vincent Bouis was generally called Antoine Vincent. Baptiste Lamie Duchouquette was popularly known as Baptiste Lamie. The address of Benito Vasquez was simply Benito. The common designation of Charles Fremon Delaurière was Fremon. The signature of the last Spanish Governor of St. Louis was Charles Dehault de Lassus, but the full name of the father was Pierre Charles Dehault de Lassus de Luzière. In the village of New Bourbon, where the Governor's father held command at the time of the transfer, he was always called De Luzière. 'Pierre de Luzière was known in France, and by the Baron de Carondelet, by the name of Dehault de Lassus, and during the French Revolution he took the name De Luzière.'

"Albert Tison and Fremon Delaurière, Nov. 27, 1832.—*Commissioners' Minutes*, vol. vi. p. 55.

"Two own brothers of the Governor bore the respective names of Camilius de Lassus and Jacques Marcellin Ceran Dehault de Lassus de St. Vrain. The interminable title of the latter was shortened in common address to St. Vrain.

"Laclede also exemplified the French habit of abbreviating proper names. Undoubtedly his full name was Pierre Laclede Liguest, but probably the illustrious pioneer will be best known in after-time by his middle name.

"Still, in personal address, French custom permits the separate use of Christian or surname; accordingly, in the following pages, either title has been employed to designate the founder of St. Louis."

[2] "It is generally stated that the company's charter was derived from Governor d'Abadie. Col. Auguste Chouteau asserts that the license was secured in 1762. (Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107.) His statement is strongly corroborated by circumstantial evidence.

"M. d'Abadie was appointed commandant March 16, 1763, but he did not reach New Orleans till June 29, 1763. (Gayarré's History of Louisiana, vol. ii. p. 96.) It is obvious that he did not perform any official acts prior to his arrival. But the date of his actual assumption of office was only five weeks before the departure of Laclede to found a trading-post in Upper Louisiana. (Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107.) This short interval, barely sufficient to afford the members of Laclede's firm an opportunity to get acquainted with the new magistrate, was quite too brief for the slow formalities that delayed the grant of so important a privilege. Besides, many of the goods which formed Laclede's outfit were purchased in Havana. In those days of slow transportation, several months must have been consumed in procuring the necessary merchandise. In 1763, such an enterprise as Laclede contemplated was an undertaking of great difficulty and slow accomplishment. It is probable that the preparations for so arduous an expedition occupied not less than a twelvemonth.

"These facts and presumptions seem fully to justify the inference that the charter of Laclede's company was obtained not from Governor d'Abadie, but from his predecessor, Governor Kerlerec."

[3] Auguste Chouteau, April 18, 1825. (Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107.)

cially fitted him for this service. He was fortunately endowed with the attributes of bravery, sagacity, and love of adventure, which insure success in pioneer enterprises.[1]

"Under the royal license and the instructions of his firm, Liguest at once began active preparations for his northern expedition. With a few hardy men, attracted by their fondness for wild adventure, he left

[1] Of Pierre Laclede Liguest, the founder of St. Louis, but little of his personal history is known, further than the fact that he was a native of France and a partner in the commercial house of Maxent, Laclede & Co., of New Orleans, for some years prior to his adventure to this Upper Louisiana in 1763–64. Nor have we much to relate concerning him during the fourteen years of his residence in this his "village of St. Louis," as whatever documents there might have been in possession of himself or family, at the period of his death in 1778, that might have enlightened us in relation to his personal history, went into the possession of Auguste Chouteau, his principal business companion and clerk during these fourteen years (surviving him for more than fifty years, and succeeding him in the title of founder of the place, as having witnessed the erection of the first house here), and doubtless have been lost or destroyed, as none are to be found at this day, either in the possession of the last survivor of Chouteau's sons, still living in the place, or the numerous descendants of Laclede in these parts [these papers were entrusted to Nicollet, and destroyed by fire while in his possession]; consequently whatever we may have to say of Laclede is derived mainly from the meagre facts concerning him that are to be found in the archives, etc., and from tradition.

Laclede having completed his arrangements for his voyage to this upper country, sailed from New Orleans in his barge, with his family and outfit of merchandise for his Indian trade, on the 3d day of August, 1763, and arrived at Fort Chartres, some twenty miles above Ste. Genevieve, on the 3d of November following. In leaving New Orleans he had contemplated landing at Ste. Genevieve, the only settlement at that period on the west bank of the river in this upper country, but arriving there and finding no place in which to store his goods for the winter, the village being some two miles back from the river, at the suggestion of the commandant at that post he proceeded on to Fort Chartres, where he was kindly welcomed by the commandant, M. Neyon de Villiers. Here he landed his goods and prepared to spend the winter, in the course of which he rode upon horseback with a small party to Cahokia, the uppermost village and settlement, crossed to the west side, explored the country to the mouth of the Missouri, and up that stream for some distance, selected the spot for the location of his trading-post, marked it by blazing the trees, and returned to Fort Chartres to await the spring opening of the river.

It was while spending the winter at Fort Chartres that news reached there of the cession of that side of the country to Great Britain, and the consequent determination was formed by many of the inhabitants to leave the country rather than to become subjects of that power. This suggested to Laclede the idea of laying out a village around his contemplated trading-post, and inducing them to come over to the west side and settle themselves around him; for otherwise it is evident, that had that side remained under the subjection of France, but few of those who did come over, the most of them natives of the soil where their fathers had been established for a period of eighty years, and where they lived in comfort and ease, would ever have dreamed of abandoning their homes simply for the purpose of crossing to the west side (which they might have done long previously had they been so disposed), and in a measure begin life anew. Consequently it follows that the sudden springing up of St. Louis into a village in the brief space of a year or two was the effect of the cession of the east side to England; otherwise it would in all probability have been but a trading-post, with perhaps a few families scattered around it in the progress of time, for the next forty years. This is made manifest from the fact that, in that long period, the increase was so slow that the place numbered but nine hundred and twenty-five souls at the date of the transfer to the United States in 1804.

We find but little more to add to this brief notice of Laclede. His residence of fourteen years in the village of his projection was mainly devoted to the prosecution of his business affairs. On his return from a voyage to New Orleans, in the spring of 1778, he died on his boat, near the mouth of the Arkansas River, on the 20th day of June, and was interred in the wilderness at that point. If anything was done at the time to mark the spot where his remains were laid, it was soon obliterated, as in searching for the place, but a few years thereafter, a trace of the spot could be found.—From MS. notes of F. S. Billon.

The doubts and discrepancies in regard to Laclede seem to be partly removed by the following sketch of his life and history which was furnished by the indefatigable Margry to Hon. E. B. Washburne, while United States minister to France. It seems to cover some of the facts necessary to a full understanding of the case.—J. T. S.

"MINISTERE DE LA MARINE ET DES COLONIES,

"Friday, Sept. 7, 187[illegible]

"MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,—On my return home yesterday I hastened to look up the documents which are to be published by Congress, and in the sixth volume I have found those which I had gathered concerning Pierre Laclede.

"I am all the happier for having had the occasion of conversing with Mrs. Washburne on that subject, inasmuch as I shall be able to indicate the connections of the founder of St. Louis, which are not such as stated in a newspaper of that city, 1845, according to the report of Mr. Nicollet.

"I shall be thankful to you for all the information you may be pleased to give me concerning Laclede and Mr. Gratiot, one of the founders of Galena, if I have understood rightly. I will begin by giving you myself all the information I have collected about the pioneer of St. Louis.

"Pierre Laclede Liguest was a native of the parish of [illegible] Valle d'Aspre, diocese d'Oloron en Bearn, about fifteen leagues from Pau (Basses-Pyrénnés). He was the younger brother of Mr. Laclede, *maître particulier des Eaux et Forets* of the province of Bearn, pays de Soule et Basse Navarre. (I do not think this has ever been published.) Pierre Laclede went to Louisiana in 1755, and founded a commercial establishment in New Orleans.

"The war of 1756 having involved him in great embarrassment, he obtained in 1762, as a reward for the services which he had rendered, the exclusive privilege of the fur trade. He went up to Illinois, accompanied by two young men, one of whom was called Pierre Etienne Auguste Chouteau, when the treaty of 1763 put an end to his privilege. He did not lose courage; he bought from his partners their share of the [illegible] and leaving Fort Chartres, he crossed over to the west side of the Mississippi and selected the spot where St. Louis now stands as the site of his future establishment, which he left Auguste Chouteau to start, on the 15th of February, 1764. It was several years in building it up. Having returned to New Orleans, he again left that place in May, 1778, although

New Orleans Aug. 3, 1763.[1] His boats, unshapely in structure and heavily laden with goods destined for the Indian trade, were ill adapted to encounter the impetuous current of the Mississippi. It required an exertion of the utmost strength of the oarsmen to force the unwieldy craft up the stream. Even on the lower river there were at that time very few villages, but from Natchez to the settlements in the Illinois country—a distance of about seven hundred miles—the wilderness was peopled only by savages. At length, after months of weary toil, Laclede reached Ste. Genevieve. This village was then the only large French settlement on the west side of the Mississippi. The exact year of its foundation is not known, but there is legal evidence of its existence in 1754. Tradition ascribes its origin to the proximate date of 1735.[2] But in 1763, though a place of commercial importance, it had no room for the storage of Laclede's goods, or for the entertainment of his men. At this time M. de Neyon de Villiers was commandant of Fort de Chartres. Informed of the difficulties which beset Liguest, De Neyon relieved his embarrassment by an invitation to store his merchandise at Fort de Chartres until he had erected his own warehouse at the trading post which he was about to establish. After a brief rest from the fatigues of his voyage, Laclede resumed his journey, and reached Fort de Chartres in just three months from the day he left New Orleans.[3]

Placing his goods in the custody of the fort, he again set forth to accomplish the object of his mission. With a few companions he ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri, carefully observing all the natural advantages of situation. On his return, with a full knowledge of the merits of the several localities, he promptly chose the spot on which St. Louis now stands as the site of his trading-post. Its local superiority relieved him of the embarrassment of a doubtful choice. High, salubrious, and central, the situation possessed the twofold excellence of fitness for healthful residence and of matchless facilities for commercial exchange. Liguest expressed his delight at the attractions of the place in a prediction whose fulfillment has rendered it historic. Upon his



Aug. Chouteau

return to Fort de Chartres, in the fullness of his enthusiasm, he assured the commandant that "he had found a situation where he intended to establish a settlement which might become hereafter one of the finest cities of America."[4]

"Auguste Chouteau," then a lad of thirteen, had ac-

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stick, and died on the way, within one day's march of the post of the Arkansas. He was said to be fifty-four years of age; he was, therefore, born about the year 1724.

"Allow me, Monsieur le Ministre, to renew to you the expression of my respect, and my best wishes for you and yours.

"PIERRE MARGRY,
"11 Rue de Mont Thabor."

[1] "Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107."

[2] Pittman, who is accurate and had good sources of information, says (writing in 1769–70), "The first settlers of this village removed about twenty eight years ago from Cascasquias." This would make the settlement about 1741–42. The people of St. Louis, he adds, get all their flour from this place. This would explain why the people of Ste. Genevieve called St. Louis "*Main Court*." The St. Louisians retorted by attaching the nickname of "*Misère*" to Ste. Genevieve.—J. T. S.

[3] "Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107."

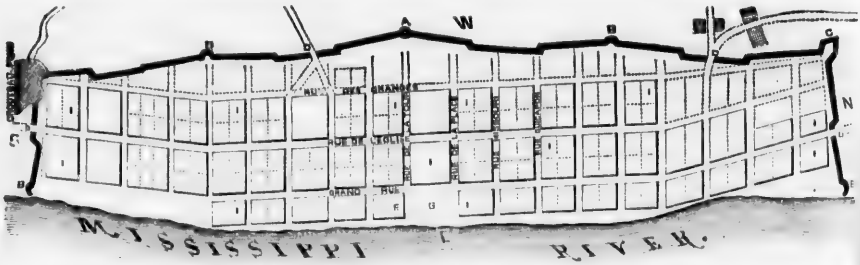
[4] "Chouteau's Journal."

[5] "Auguste Chouteau was born in New Orleans, Aug. 14, 1750. This date was furnished by his son, Gabriel S. Chouteau, who, born in St. Louis, Dec. 31, 1794, still survives. Through the courtesy of Mr. John N. Dyer, of the St. Louis Mercantile Library, several important facts have been obtained from Mr. Chouteau which could not be derived from any other source."

Note of Mr. Billon: "Chouteau was in his youth esteemed as an unusually intelligent lad by Laclede, who had great confidence in his business capacity, so that when he attained his manhood in the year 1771 he became the junior partner of the St. Louis branch of the New Orleans house of Maxent, Laclede & Co.; and at the death of Laclede in 1778, he was a large creditor of the house, and eventually succeeded to the business established by Laclede.

"He made several voyages to New Orleans in 1779 and 1780 for the purpose of closing its affairs with Col. Maxent, the senior of the house in that city.

companied Laclede on his voyage. Bright and active, he won the confidence of his patron and was promoted to trusts beyond his years. In the events which attended the founding of St. Louis his name occupies a place of historic prominence. Before leaving the site which he had selected, Laclede marked the trees for the future identification of the locality, and informed young Chouteau that as soon as the Mississippi was free from ice he must return to this spot, fell the forest, and put up cabins for his men. The winter months were spent in active preparations for the future settlement. An open spring permitted an early resumption of the work of colonization. Acting under the direction of Liguest, young Chouteau[1] left Fort de Chartres with about thirty men, and arrived at the selected site on the 14th of February, 1764.[2] Early on the morning



ST. LOUIS AS PLANNED IN 1764. (Description in chapter on Topography.

"Mr. Chouteau was very methodical and systematic in all his business affairs, and particularly careful in preserving and filing away all his papers, of however trivial a nature, so that at his death in 1829 they filled a large chest, and passed into the possession of his son Henry, the only one of the four who was a business man,—numbering several thousand, and equal in number and bulk to the whole of the papers in the archives of the Spanish days; the accumulation of the sixty years he had been engaged in business, comprising bills, receipts, deeds, leases, letters, and multifarious papers, with those of a dozen or more estates of deceased persons that he had closed up as executor,—viz.: Robidou's, Clamorgan, Loosêl, Alex. Clark, Hortiz, Verdon, and others, all assorted according to their nature, and labeled by himself. Of these, the letters alone amounted to several hundred, labeled under the initial letter of the alphabet. Mr. Chouteau, during his residence in the place through the whole of the Spanish domination of forty years, had no other title than plain Mr. Chouteau, engaged in his legitimate business of merchant, Indian trader, and running his water mill, the only one in the country; but after the country had passed to the Americans in 1804, at which period he had attained the age of fifty-four, he was constantly in office in some capacity or other,—judge of the Common Pleas Court, justice of the peace, colonel in the militia, town trustee, United States agent for Revolutionary pensioners, president Bank of Missouri, commissioner to treat with Indians, etc., etc., which, together with his own private business, and that of several large estates, for example, his father-in-law, Mr. Cerré, seldom left him an idle moment.

"I have spent much time in looking through these voluminous papers, with the hope that I might find something relating to the private history of Laclede, such as his nativity, age, etc., or something relating to the history of the times, but in this I was much disappointed,—the only documents relating to Laclede [illegible] were his title deeds to a few concessions and purchases of lands and lots in the village, which subsequently became the property of Chouteau, and his final settlement of the estate of Laclede with Col. Maxent in the city of New Orleans, in July, 1[illegible]. The inventory of Laclede's estate, taken shortly after his death, with the public sale of his effects, is on record as it should have been, and doubtless with whatever papers there might have been, and no doubt were, relating to his past life and history, must have been taken down to New Orleans by Chouteau, and delivered over to Maxent as the settlement; and it is an annoying fact, and a source of profound regret, that at this day so little is known of the antecedents of the man who founded our St. Louis,—of all others, he whose history should be in the hands of all our people." But there will be occasion to say much more about Mr. Chouteau as the history progresses.

[1] His brother Pierre was not one of the original four. He arrived a few months after the settlement had been made. Nov. 24, 1825, Pierre Chouteau deposed that 'he came to St. Louis about six months after the foundation of the same.' *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. iii, p. 85; *Commissioners' Minutes*, pp. 282, 283.

[2] "The time of this occurrence has been a subject of controversy. The date of an event so striking could scarcely fail to impress itself upon the memory of the leading actors, and presumably no man in the world knew the day of his arrival better than Mr. Chouteau himself, and he, with possibly one exception, always asserted that he reached the selected site in February, 1764. This is the date originally given in the document called 'Chouteau's Journal.' With a view to establishing the authenticity of the writing, the Journal was taken to the venerable G. S. Chouteau, the last surviving son of Auguste Chouteau, Sr. In the presence of the writer he carefully inspected the manuscript with a powerful magnifying glass, and then unhesitatingly affirmed that the handwriting was his father's.

"The explicit and positive statements of the following letter settle beyond further question the date of Chouteau's arrival:

"'St. Louis, Jan. [illegible]

"'Professor S. Watertown:

"'My dear Sir.—My father came to the place where St. Louis now stands February 14, 1764. In telling his children of the part which he performed he always said that the 14th of February was the date of his arrival. The origi-

of the 15th his men began the humble labors which subsequent events have rendered memorable. They cleared a space in the primeval forest and sheltered themselves with temporary scaffoldings. They then put up a tool-shed and a few log huts. These first buildings, the rude beginnings of a metropolitan greatness, were erected on the block on which Barnum's Hotel now stands. Laclede selected a site for his own residence, and laid out a plan for the future village.[1]

in the Journal was February, but somebody afterwards substituted March for the preceding month. In the French, in which the Journal was written, the "Fevrier" was not erased, but "Mars" in larger and heavier letters was written over it. The original word, unobliterated by the alteration, is still legible. I know my father's handwriting as well as I do my own, and I am sure that the Journal was written by him. The letters bear the unmistakable peculiarities of his style. After my father's death the manuscript was found among his papers. It remained for a while in charge of my brother, Henry Chouteau, and then, after his decease, was placed in my hands by his widow. The Journal was in my possession for more than twenty-five years before it was transferred to the custody of the Mercantile Library. While it was in my keeping I often looked over the pages and examined the writing, and I am as certain as I can be without having seen him write it that the word "Fevrier"—as well as the rest of the Journal—is in my father's handwriting. If he himself changed the date, he must have done it in a moment of forgetfulness. But a single contradiction, even if genuine, cannot be allowed to outweigh the uniform and oft-repeated declarations of a lifetime. If my father made the substitution that is found in his Journal, it was simply a lapse of memory, and, so far as is known to me, the only time in his life in which he ever mentioned March as the date of his landing at this place. He must be a bold man who will venture to assert that during a very long career Col. Chouteau only once correctly remembered the most remarkable event in his life.

"'The few pages that exist are not all that my father wrote upon the history of St. Louis. He kept a journal for twenty years. It contained a full account of the leading events of our early history. It was replete with important information. When N. J. Nicollet was gathering materials for a work on the West, he solicited the privilege of consulting my father's Journal. The diary was sent to him at Baltimore, and was burned while in his custody. The fragment that remains, having been written in an old account-book that was not sent to Mr. Nicollet, escaped the fire.

"'Very respectfully, your humble servant,

"'GABRIEL S. CHOUTEAU.'

"The view expressed in the preceding letter is confirmed by other facts.

"In his deposition before Recorder Hunt, in 1825, Mr. Chouteau asserts twice that he arrived at the site of St. Louis on the 15th of February, 1764. A sworn statement made with the emphasis of a repetition is certainly entitled to consideration. This deposition was taken only a few years before his death, and his mind dwelling probably upon the more important date upon which the work of founding St. Louis was actually begun, might naturally make a mistake of one day, but not of a whole month.

"The Journal must have been written while Col. Chouteau was still in full physical vigor, for his letters are firm and clear cut. The deposition was taken about four years before Mr. Chouteau died.

"Here, then, are three statements that are in substantial accord agreeing in the month, they differ only by a day. The declarations made under oath show that the memories of a vigorous old age virtually coinciding with the recollections of mature manhood, sanctioned not the substituted date, but the original entry.

"Again, Mr. Chouteau states in his deposition that he left Fort de Chartres on the 10th of February. He came by boat. The distance from Fort de Chartres to St. Louis is about fifty miles. A boat driven by such a large and powerful crew as Chouteau had could easily make the trip in three or four days. But the assumption that he landed here on the 14th of March implies that it took him one whole month to make a voyage of fifty miles.

"That Chouteau came here in February is also confirmed by a deposition of Baptiste Riviere. (Hunt's Minutes, vol. ii. p. 109.) Riviere states that

"'He came to St. Louis in the first boat that came to this town with Auguste Chouteau. This deponent says his father left Kaskaskia (at the same time he left Fort de Chartres) with a cart in which was Mrs. Chouteau and her children, and this cart was accompanied by Laclede Liguest, who arrived about the same time the boat did from Fort de Chartres.'

"Kaskaskia and Fort de Chartres are about the same distance from St. Louis. Even an ox-team could make the journey in three or four days. Consequently, if the above statement of Riviere is trustworthy, it is certain that Chouteau came to this place in February.

"Auguste Chouteau died Feb. 24, 1829. The inscription on his tombstone states that he arrived at the site of St. Louis Feb. 14, 1764. The epitaph was written by his son-in-law, Mr. Gabriel Paul. It is fair to presume that an inscription of such moment was not adopted without the consultation and sanction of the family. Therefore this date, which could only have been originally derived from Mr. Chouteau himself, expresses the belief of his children and kinsmen that the 14th of February was the day of his arrival at this spot."

[1] On the 16th of February, 1764, Auguste Chouteau, with thirty picked men, nearly all mechanics, disembarked at the selected place, and on the following morning commenced work on sheds for the protection of the tools and provisions; immediately after a few cabins were built. At this time a fine growth of timber skirted the river, generally extending as far back as what is now known as Fifth Street, but it varied in width, with occasional openings, leaving the margin of the river entirely free from timber. The heaviest growth was on the square now occupied by Barnum's Hotel, and this was the place where the first buildings were erected.

A bluff, some twenty or thirty feet above the river, extended the whole length of the intended village: back of this was a gentle swell, upon which they built their cabins, and still beyond them were two other swells, the last bounded by what is now Fourth Street, and then came what was long known in the records as La Grande Prairie.

"July 29, 1825, Baptiste Riviere testified that 'he came to St. Louis in the first boat that came to this town with Auguste Chouteau. This deponent says his father left Kaskaskia at the same time he left Fort de Chartres, with a cart in which was Mrs. Chouteau and her children, and this cart was accompanied by Laclede Liguest, who arrived about the same time the boat did from Fort de Chartres.'—*Hunt's Minutes*, vol. ii. p. 109.

"St. Louis owes its title to a mingled sentiment of piety and patriotism.[1] Under the illusion that the vast domain lying west of the Mississippi was still a French possession, Liguest named the newly

"From this deposition it appears that Chouteau and Liguest reached the spot at about the same time. It is indeed scarcely probable that Liguest would intrust the exclusive control of so important an undertaking to a youth of only thirteen. The presence of Liguest is attested by Chouteau himself. In a deposition dated Nov. 16, 1825, he says that 'when he first came to the recent St. Louis, and laid out the town *under the directions of Laclede Liguest, they* established the warehouse where the market now stands.'—*Hunt's Minutes*, vol. iii. p. 72.

"Doubtless the foundations of St. Louis were laid under the personal supervision of Laclede Liguest, and the part which the youthful Chouteau performed was limited to an intelligent execution of his instructions. But such a service was a high honor for so young a lad."

[1] "'Mr. Laclede, on his arrival, named the town St. Louis, in honor of the King of France.'—Auguste Chouteau, April 18, 1825, *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. v. p. 107.

"Many persons have wondered that a city deriving its title from a dissolute monarch should be called *Saint* Louis. The surprise springs from a misapprehension. Louis XV. was not canonized. If the place had been named directly after the king it would have been termed Louisville, or Louisbourg. According to French custom it requires the addition of 'ville' or 'bourg' to convert a personal into a local designation. St. Louis was named after the patron saint of Louis XV. The member of the Catholic Church has a patron saint. The veneration of the saint was an 'honor' to the king. Every christening of the child designates its patron. The saint bearing the same name as that given to the child becomes its patron. Therefore, as the baptismal name of the French monarch was Louis, his patron saint was Saint Louis. Hence the title of this place combined loyalty and piety. It 'honored' the king by reverence of the saint. It blended in itself a recognition of royalty with the consecration of religion. This explanation, so familiar to every intelligent Catholic, and so little known to Protestants, is due to the suggestion of Mr. O. W. Collet, keeper of the Museum of the St. Louis Historical Society."

King Louis IX. of France was canonized and placed on the calendar of saints by Pope Boniface VIII., in the year 1297. The anniversary of the death of St. Louis occurs on the 25th of August. When the pioneer emigrants from France commenced to build on the site now covered by the city of St. Louis, they selected as the patron saint of the embryo city the monarch whose name commences this paragraph, and bestowed his name upon the infant colony. The Cathedral Parish, commonly so called, but more correctly the Parish of St. Louis, was organized soon after the commencement of the settlement here by Laclede in 1764, and St. Louis' day has ever since been observed as a festival in the parish.

Louis IX., or St. Louis, was born in Poissy, April 25, 1215, and succeeded his father, Louis VIII., in 1226, being then in his eleventh year. During his minority his mother, Blanche of Castile, a woman of great talent and deep piety, acted as regent. This lady bestowed upon her son every care in his education, and especially gave great attention to his religious training. The celebrated Neander, in his "Kirchengeschichte," draws a most interesting picture of the religious side of the character which the assiduous care of his mother had formed for her son, but which we have not the space to reproduce here. On reaching his majority Louis engaged in a war with Henry III., King of England, and defeated the English at Taillebourg, at Saintes, and at Blaye, in 1242. Soon after he concluded a peace with the English king. At a subsequent period King Louis fell dangerously ill. During the critical time he made a vow that if he recovered from the sickness he would go in person as a crusader. He did recover, and in accordance with his vow he appointed his mother, Blanche of Castile, regent, and sailed, August, 1248, with an army of forty thousand men, to Cyprus, whence in the following spring he departed for Egypt,[2] thinking by the conquest of the country to open the way to Palestine. He succeeded in capturing Damietta, but was afterwards defeated and taken prisoner by the Saracens. The price of his ransom was named at one hundred thousand marks of silver, which was paid by captors, and Louis was released May 7, 1250, with the fragments of his army, reduced in number to six thousand men. He proceeded by sea to St. Jean D'Acre, and remained in Palestine until the death of his mother, which event happened November, 1252. Louis was then compelled to return to France to assume the government.

He applied himself with great assiduity to the task of governing his kingdom, united several provinces to the crown by the lapse of feudal rights or by treaty, and made many important changes in the administration, the general tendency of which was to increase the royal power. During this time a code of laws was brought into use, now known as the "Etablissements de St. Louis." July 1, 1270, Louis embarked upon a new crusade, and sailed for Tunis. Here a pestilence broke out in the French camp, by which the greater part of the French army was destroyed. The king himself was attacked, and died at Tunis, Aug. 25, 1270. Such in brief are the important events in the life of the monarch whose name has been bestowed upon the city, and who is the patron saint of the oldest parish in the city.

Louis IX. of France, Saint Louis, combined the religious fervor of his father, Louis VIII., with the distinguished traits of his grandsire, Philip Augustus. He was, says the Abbé Gayarré, "the incarnation of virtue, and what is more extraordinary, of virtue born on the throne and preserving its native purity in spite of all the temptations of royal power. In vain would history be taxed to produce a character worthy of being compared with one so pure. Among heroes, he must certainly be acknowledged as one of the greatest; among monarchs he must be ranked as the most just; and among men, as the most modest." He was a great warrior, of the most undaunted personal courage and the ablest generalship. He was a great king, for "he sought the welfare of his people more than the aggrandizement of his territories: he formed the best laws that could be adapted to the time, administered them often in person, and observed them always himself; he was a good man inasmuch as he served God with his whole heart, and considered all his communion with his fellows to do his duty according to his sense of obligation." This is high praise, but it is well deserved. The code of laws framed by this monarch, who was as brave and reproachless as Bayard and devout as St. Martin of Tours, was as remarkable in its way as the capitularies of Charlemagne or the Code Napoléon. He never did a wrong act, and he even went upon his crusades, not for his own glory or his own salvation, but because he deemed himself bound by a solemn vow. When he was taken prisoner at Damietta he could readily have escaped, but disdained to fly and left his companions in arms in captivity. In the hands of the Saracens he was threatened with the torture because he refused to

founded post in honor of Louis XV., the reigning sovereign of France.[1]

"According to tradition, his companions, in grateful recognition of his services, desired to call the place Laclede, but the founder[2] modestly declined the justly deserved distinction.

"The arrival of the English troops at Fort de Chartres, to take possession of the territory which the treaty of Paris had ceded to the British crown, was daily expected. In anticipation of this event, Laclede deemed it important to remove his merchandise to St. Louis prior to the occupancy of the country by the English. But a singular incident detained him for a time in St. Louis. The growing settlement, menaced by an unforeseen danger, demanded his presence and protection. It was a fortunate accident that there were no Indian villages in the immediate neighborhood of the new post.[3] Possibly this fact may have been one of the reasons that led to the selection of the site. Jealousy of an invasion of their heritage might have incited the natives to hostilities fatal to the helpless colony.

"The Illinois Indians claimed to be the owners of the ground on which St. Louis stands.[4] But they never disturbed the French settlers, and never demanded remuneration for the occupancy of their land.

"Yet even the remoteness of the Indian villages did not wholly exempt the colonists from savage annoyance. Having heard of the presence of Frenchmen in their country, a band of about one hundred Missouri warriors, with several hundred women and children, came down to the settlement. The date of their arrival was Oct. 10, 1764. The ostensible object of the visit was to procure a supply of provisions. The food given for the purpose of conciliating the savages proved a dangerous gift. The visitors were so delighted with the hospitality of their reception that they avowed a determination never to leave their generous entertainers. For a while Liguest tried by pacific measures to rid himself of his troublesome guests. He was then digging a cellar for his new house.[5] The squaws were employed in making the excavation. They carried away the dirt in wooden platters and baskets.[6] It was hoped that their aversion to steady work would induce them to leave the place, but the wages which they received reconciled them to their labor. The warriors would not work. Larceny was their only regular industry. The temptation for them to steal whatever they could lay their hands on was too great for successful resistance. At length the patience of Liguest became exhausted. Seeing no probability of their voluntary departure, he tried the virtue of intimidation. He threatened, in the event that they did not at once retire from the village, to bring over the French troops that were stationed at Fort de Chartres and expel them by force of arms. The menace proved effective. Reluctantly the Indians withdrew, and never again molested the settlers. Relieved at last of this source of solicitude, Laclede at once returned to Fort de Chartres to superintend the removal of his merchandise. A de-

ransom. On this we have the authority of Joinville and of Matthew Paris. The remarkable character of St. Louis is evidenced by the strong and durable impression it has made upon men ever since his death. No name is more frequently borne by the Frenchman than that of Louis. St. Louis has become the patron saint of France, and we can trace the extent of the French settlements in America by the places which bear the name of Louis, in compliment at once to the saint and to his descendant and successor, Louis XIV., a *grand monarque* as selfish, greedy, and sinful as St. Louis was the reverse. Besides the St. Louis of which we write, Louisiana, Louisville, Louisbourg, Bay St. Louis (named by Iberville), and St. Louis des Illinois and St. Louis de Texas (named by La Salle), there are over a dozen other St. Louises and still more Louisvilles in the United States. There was an order of knighthood of St. Louis, created by Louis XIV. in 1693, of which a member or two may still survive. The last knight of the order was created in 1830.—J. T. S.

[1] "The cession of this territory to Spain was not proclaimed in New Orleans till October, 1764."—*Martin's History of Louisiana*, vol. i. p. 346.

[2] "In the following paragraph the foundation of St. Louis is strangely ascribed to St. Ange: 'Civil government being established under the authority of Great Britain, a few months after, in the post, St. Ange, the French commandant there, crossed the Mississippi with a number of his countrymen, who were desirous to follow the white flag, and laid the foundation of the town of St. Louis, which, with that of Ste. Genevieve, was the first settlements of the country now known as the State of Missouri.'"—*Martin's History of Louisiana*, vol. i. p. 350.

[3] "A few years after the foundation of St. Louis a band of friendly Indians was permitted to settle at the lower end of the village.

"Some few years after (1766), a band of Peoria Indians obtained permission to build a village, and they did build one immediately where Judge Bent's house now stands; and in after-times this prairie or common field was called 'Prairie du Village Sauvage.'—Auguste Chouteau, June 3, 1825, *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. ii. p. 7.

"Baptiste Riviere also speaks of 'the Indian village where Judge Bent now lives.'—July 29, 1825, *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. ii. p. 39."

[4] "Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107."

[5] "For several years Laclede's was the only house that had a cellar."

[6] "Having remained here fifteen days, in the course of which I had the cellar of the house which we were to build dug by the women and children. I gave them, in payment, vermilion, awls, and verdigris. They dug the largest part of it, and carried the earth in wooden platters and baskets, which they bore on their heads."—*A. Chouteau's Journal.*

sire to insure the safety of his goods was not his only motive in making this transfer. He disliked the English, and did not wish to be the recipient even of their favors. This aversion to the British fostered the growth of the infant settlement. The Seven Years' War in Europe had recently closed, but the bitterness of feeling which it excited still pervaded the colonies of the New World. The Peace of Paris changed the bounds of empire in America as well as in Europe. By this readjustment of imperial limits all of Louisiana lying on the east side of the Mississippi, with the single exception of the island of New Orleans, became a dependency of Great Britain. But the French residents of Eastern Louisiana indignantly resented the transfer. They preferred to abandon their homes rather than become subjects of the British crown. When, in June, 1764, in accordance with the instructions of Governor d'Abadie, M. de Villiers, the last French commandant of the Illinois country, withdrew from the province in anticipation of the arrival of the English forces, many French families from Fort de Chartres, St. Philippe, and Prairie du Rocher accompanied him to New Orleans. Others, entertaining the erroneous belief that the west bank was still a part of the French empire, went to St. Louis.[1]

"It is stated that the immigrants from Illinois were so alarmed by the visits of the Missouri Indians in the fall of 1764 that they fled to the east side of the Mississippi. Their flight reduced the colony to its original number. But after the withdrawal of the Indians the settlers, reassured of safety, returned to St. Louis.

"The Indians also hated the stern and imperious character of the English, and consequently transferred to St. Louis a large part of the fur trade which they had formerly carried on with Fort de Chartres, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia. This combination of circumstances so materially increased the population and business of St. Louis, that the village became in the first year of its life one of the most important places in Upper Louisiana.[2]

"St. Louis soon became the germ of other settlements. Carondelet, St. Charles, Bonhomme, Florissant, and Portage des Sioux are the offspring of the fruitful young colony.

"In a letter dated the 21st of April, 1764, the King of France officially announced to M. d'Abadie the Governor-General of the province of Louisiana that by the secret treaty of 1762 the island of New Orleans, and all of the French territory on the west side of the Mississippi, had been ceded to Spain. When, in the following October,[5] this change of allegiance was proclaimed to the people of Louisiana there was a sudden and violent outburst of public indignation. The citizens denounced with bitter execration the dastardly impolicy of the French monarch who had, by this inglorious act of surrender, alienated loyal subjects and relinquished a magnificent empire. When, in the course of time, the news reached Upper Louisiana, this feeling of public dissatisfaction was equally intense. An active opposition to the change of domination was organized. Spain, fearing armed resistance to its authority, resorted to amicable measures, and deferred the exercise of its sovereignty. Governor d'Abadie died Feb. 4, 1765, and it was said that mortification at his inability to execute the commands of his royal master hastened his death.[6]

[1] Mr. Billon's note: "It was not until the news of the cession of the east side to the English was made known to this upper country, and a few persons had crossed from the other side in 1764 on his invitation, that Laclede began first to conceive the idea of a village springing up around his trading-post (as was the case with all the other villages in this western region at that early day, they originated either in trading-posts or missionary establishments). He prepared his plat for his village late in 1764 (perhaps 1765). There were at that time but some ten or twelve individuals that had possession of lots, so marked on the plat

"But in the following year (1765) so large a number came across from the other side and built on lots assigned them verbally by Laclede, that in the early part of the following year, 1766, the system of recording concessions was established, and the first one issued April 27, 1766.

"So that in these two years the place sprung, as it were, almost at once into quite a village."

[2] "The statement of Gayarré (History of Louisiana, p. 23) that St. Louis contained only fifty one inhabitants in 1769 is clearly wrong.

"In his 'History of Louisiana,' vol. ii. p. 2, Judge Martin says, 'One of the first acts of O'Reilly's administration was an order for a census of the inhabitants of New Orleans. No census was taken in the rest of the province, but from circumstances to the *preceding* and succeeding years, the following statement is believed to be correct.'

"In the table appended by Gayarré eight hundred and fifty-one is given as the approximate population of St. Louis.

"It will be observed that the conflicting estimates are for the same year.

"From the list of only those inhabitants whose names tradition has preserved, and from the number of lots assigned and cabins known to have been built in 1765 and 1766, it is certain that the population of St. Louis in the latter year could not have been less than five hundred."

[3] "Gayarré's History of Louisiana, vol. ii. p. 110."

[4] "Martin's History of Louisiana, vol. i. p. 339."

[5] "Gayarré's History of Louisiana, vol. ii. page 114

[6] Mr. Billon's note: "The cession from France to Spain was from Nov. 3, 1762, and the arrival of Ulloa at New Orleans to receive possession, March 5, 1766, three years and eight months after the cession. Why this long delay of the Spanish? It would seem as if he were in no hurry to accept his elephant.'

"At first no organized form of civil government existed in St. Louis. The few mechanics and hunters who accompanied Laclede were bound to each other by the ties of personal friendship and common interests. The restraints of law were not needed to preserve public order.

"His imperial charter doubtless vested in Liguest discretionary powers of government. But, unwilling to transcend the express privilege of his royal license, Liguest preferred to devote his attention exclusively to his mercantile interests. Indisposed to assume political responsibility, he exercised only those civil functions that were essential to the welfare of his infant colony. It was indispensable that the settlers should have a title to the ground on which they built their cabins. Accordingly Laclede granted allotments of land, with the right of use until the inchoate claim was confirmed by an authority competent to confer a full title.

"But the accession of immigrants was gradually changing the condition of the young settlement. When M. De Neyon evacuated Fort de Chartres, June 15, 1764,[1] he confided to St. Ange de Bellerive the important duty of surrendering the country to the English authorities. The principal forts to be delivered to the British were Peoria, on the Illinois River; Marsiac,[2] on the Ohio; and Vincennes, on the Wabash. A fort on the Osage River and another on the Kansas, about four hundred miles from the mouth of the Missouri, though not comprised in the territory ceded to the English, were also included in the order of evacuation.

"St. Ange, with one captain, two lieutenants, and a company of forty men, remained in charge of the post until the arrival of the British troops. On the 10th[3] of October, 1765, St. Ange, in the name of the King of France, delivered to Capt. Sterling, the accredited commissioner of his British majesty, formal possession of the Illinois country. Soon after the act of transfer St. Ange withdrew his command to St. Louis.[4] The presence of an indolent soldiery

[1] "D'Abadie was not Governor. He was appointed by the French king *after* he had ceded the country to Spain, simply as director-general to supersede Governor Kerlerec, who was ordered to France to give an account of his administration, and hold the country until the arrival of the Spanish to receive possession, and to reduce the military establishment to four companies *ad int. im.*

"It was naturally supposed that the Spanish, imitating the example of the British, who lost no time in taking possession of their portion of the cession below, and were only prevented by the hostility of the Natchez tribe of Indians from ascending the river to receive their portion of this upper region, would take early possession of New Orleans and the district of country ceded to them below, but it seems they were in no hurry to do so.

"While awaiting their arrival, Mr. d'Abadie, a European Frenchman, fell a victim to the climate, and died Feb. 4, 1765, after a residence in the place of but twenty months, and Captain Aubry, of the French regulars, the senior officer in the place, succeeded to the command.

"In the mean time, the delay of the Spanish in taking possession tended largely to strengthen the popular belief of the inhabitants below, that the cession to Spain was but a temporary measure for political reasons, and that before long they would be retroceded to France; and when eventually, after exceeding three years' delay, Ulloa did appear, although no opposition was made to his landing with his two companies, yet the French declined to make to him a formal transfer of the place as is usual in these cases, and Ulloa would not assume the responsibility of endeavoring to take a forcible possession. This delay led to the subsequent troubles below, which resulted so disastrously for the French population of the place."

[2] "Fort Marsiac (not Massac, nor Massacre)." —*Nicollet's Report*, p. 79.

"Chouteau (in his journal) calls it Marsinque. Stoddard, History of Louisiana, p. 234, says the fort was named Massac in commemoration of an Indian massacre. Martin's 'History of Louisiana,' vol. i. p. 333, asserts that the fort was styled Massac in honor of its commander."—*Monette's History of the Mississippi Valley*, vol. i. p. 180.

[3] Capt. Pittman states that the surrender took place on the 20th of October. But the 10th of October, given on the authority of Davidson and Stuvé, "History of Illinois," p. 162, is probably the correct date. Aug. Chouteau states that St. Ange and his troops reached St. Louis July 17, 1765. —*Hunt's Minutes*, vol. i. p. 107.

[4] "According to Davidson and Stuvé, 'History of Illinois,' p. 163, St. Ange retired from Fort de Chartres with only twenty one men, but the several garrisons under the charge of De Villiers comprised about one hundred men. When this officer evacuated the Illinois country sixty-three soldiers escorted him to New Orleans. The rest of his troops, numbering about forty men, temporarily guarded Fort de Chartres, and after its surrender to the English accompanied St. Ange to St. Louis."

Mr. Billon's note: "Capt. Louis St. Ange de Bellerive was a Canadian by nativity, and was about sixty years of age at the date of the transfer at Fort Chartres, October 10, 1765. He had been in the military service of France, in the Canadas and in Illinois, for some forty years, and had only attained the rank of captain, promotion in these Western wilds being very slow.

"After giving possession of the c[illegible]r side to Capt. Sterling on the above date, he came over to St. Louis, bringing with him Capt. François de Volsay, Lieuts. Louis Belestre and Lefebvre Desbruisseau, Sergeants Auguste Nicholas Vincent and Pierre Mortardy, Corp'ls Jean de Lage, Claude Tuion, Lambert Bon Varlet, Damours de Loubièrres, Jean Comparios, Jean Oliver, and other soldiers to the number of about twenty men.

"The wives of De Volsay and Belestre were nieces of St. Ange, daughters of his brother-in-law, Governor Neyon de Villiers, and were married at Fort Chartres prior to the transfer. It does not appear whether St. Ange was ever married. I think not, as no mention is found on record of any wife or

[1] "D'Neyon de Villiers, who had the command of the Illinois district, abandoned it on the 15th of June, 1764, and arrived at New Orleans on the 2d of July with six officers, sixty-three soldiers, and eighty of the inhabitants, including women and children."—*Gayarré's History of Louisiana*, vol. ii. p. 115.

did not improve the morals or tranquillity of the colony. The need of an organized government to repress the growing tendencies to disorder and to punish violations of the law became urgent. Under the stress of a felt necessity, and without the sanction of Spanish authority, the people unanimously vested in St. Ange the powers of civil government until the arrival of his legally appointed successor. It was reasonably presumed that Spain would promptly imitate the example of England in taking possession of its newly-acquired territory. It was not at all anticipated that years would elapse before the assertion of the Spanish right of sovereignty.

"St. Ange was now over sixty years of age. A veteran in military experience, he held the rank of captain in the French service. He was well fitted for the trust which the public voice had summoned him to administer. His practical wisdom, fair dealing, and natural tact alike endeared him to his countrymen and to the Indians. His powerful influence among the natives was not at all diminished by the knowledge of his strong attachment to Pontiac, the famous chief of the Ottawa Indians. The popular authority temporarily conferred upon St. Ange all the powers that legitimately belong to a Governor. But personal preference restricted the executive functions of the new magistrate to the maintenance of public order, concessions of land, and the direction of the military department of the government. If St. Ange had performed the civil duties of his office, the public records would bear evidence of the fact. But the archives contain no legal documents attested by St. Ange as acting Governor. But the civil functions which M. de Bellerive declined to exercise were discharged by Judge Lefebvre[1] and Joseph Labuscière. Lefebvre, a native of France, had sought his fortunes in the New World. During his stay in New Orleans, he obtained from M. de Vaudreuil, the Governor-General of Louisiana, the grant of an exclusive right of trade with the Indians of the Illinois district. He came to Fort de Chartres in 1744. During his residence at that post he held the office of judge.[2]

"Joseph Labuscière came to the Illinois country from Canada. At Fort de Chartres he followed the vocation of notary and scrivener.

"These Frenchmen, sharing the antipathy which

child, and as by his will he left his property to the children of De Villiers. St. Ange died Dec. 27, 1774, aged about seventy years, at the house of Mrs. Therese Chouteau, southwest corner of Main and Chestnut Streets."

[1] "His full name was Joseph Lefebvre d'Inglebert Desbruisseau."

[2] Mr. Billon's note of the establishment of the first government:

"After Laclede had established himself in his new trading-post of St. Louis, by the erection of his buildings in 1764, during the progress of which he had extended a general invitation to all those on the other side dissatisfied at the idea of being transferred to a nation they had for long years look... upon as their hereditary enemies, and heretics in religion, ... come over and settle on this side, and had laid out his plat ... his prospective village, a large number from the settlements ... that side, as well as a number from Ste. Genevieve and N... Orleans, came to the place in 1765, in which year it sprang ... almost at once.

"Laclede, by virtue of the license granted him by the Fre... authorities below to select his own point for his Indian tra... was considered by all those who came to settle around him ... the legal proprietor of the new place, and all grants of lot-w... made by him for a time verbally.

"Among the first of those who came over from Fort Ch... were Joseph Lefebvre d'Inglebert Desbruisseau and J... Labuscière. The former had been a prominent man in ... day. A native of France, he had come up from New Orl... in the year 1744, with full authority from Governor Vaud... for the exclusive trade with the Indians of the Illinois coun... and for a number of years subsequently had served in the ... pacity of judge at Fort Chartres. Died Aug. 15, 1766.

"Joseph Labuscière was a lawyer and notary, styling h... self the king's procureur (attorney), and appears to have ... a very important personage in the incipiency of the villag...

"After Capt. St. Ange had transferred the country on ... other side to Capt. Sterling of the British army, on Oct... 1765, he crossed over to this side with his remaining men, ... bering about twenty, discharging the various functions of ... retary, notary, scribe, etc.

"It is stated in some of the annals of the other side ... after the death of Captain Sterling, less than three mo... after he was placed in possession of Fort Chartres, St. A... at the request of the people there, went over and took ... porary command in December, 1765, until the new B... commandant, Major Frazer, should arrive. There is n... to doubt the correctness of this statement, for the reason ... although many crossed over to this side in 1765 as state... a much larger number yet inhabited the other side, and s... Ange had been for so long a period their military comman... they entertained for him kindly feelings of affection and ... respect for his authority.

"Again, St. Ange's name does not appear on any doc... as commandant for some time after the *government* was ... motion, in April, 1766. Lefebvre, who styles himself ju... St. Louis, having been such at Fort Chartres, and Labus... who had been the royal notary and attorney on the other ... appear to have taken charge of the civil affairs of the ... place, as all the early papers found in the archives appe... have been executed in the presence of one or the other ... last two parties.

"Labuscière appears to have been the custodian of the ... papers during this temporary government under St. Ang... he delivered them over to the first Spanish Governor, Pi... St. Ange contenting himself with simply affixing his sig... to the land grants as commandant.

"Up to this time, the winter of 1765–66, Laclede had ... cised the only authority in the place, which, having now to ... a village of several hundred souls, it became necessary fo... good order and security of the inhabitants, while awaiting ... advent of the new owners of the soil, that there should ... temporary government of some kind established, to frame...

their countrymen felt towards the English, came to St. Louis shortly after its settlement, and were soon associated with St. Ange in the administration of affairs. Some papers relating to private business were executed before Labuscière, acting in the capacity of notary, early in 1766. The first of these papers, dated Jan. 21, 1766, is the oldest document recorded in the archives of St. Louis. The system of registered land grants was commenced in April, 1766. The first concessions bore the signatures of St. Ange as acting Governor, and of Joseph Lefebvre as former judge. Presumably it was De Bellerive's object to lessen, by this association of another name with his own, his personal responsibility for granting lands which no longer belonged to the French crown. Lefebvre died in August, 1766. After his death all legal documents were executed by Labuscière, and kept in his custody. Though the land grants were all drawn by Labuscière, they were signed by both the acting Governor and the notary. When, in May, 1770, the Spanish authorities took possession of St. Louis, Labuscière delivered to Governor Piernas one hundred and ninety-four legal documents. The accuracy of the papers was attested simply by the signature of the notary.[1] The acting Governor did not indorse

regulations as might be necessary for the village *ad interim*. For this purpose St. Ange, with the unanimous approbation of the inhabitants, was vested with the functions of temporary Governor; but, not choosing to assume the sole responsibility of making concessions to individuals of lots and lands now the possessions of their new sovereign, Lefebvre, who had been judge on the other side, was associated with him for that purpose in the temporary civil governments of the place, and Joseph Labuscière, a man of legal knowledge, who had filled the position of the king's attorney, was assigned to the position of acting secretary and executed all the official writings of the temporary government.

"Under this arrangement, the temporary administration of acting Governor St. Ange and his colleagues went into operation on April 27, 1766, that being the date of the first recorded grant on file in the archives.

"Judge Lefebvre filled his position less than four short months. He died on Aug. 15, 1766. Labuscière then assumed his place as the associate in the government of Captain St. Ange, and appears to have discharged the functions of that office almost exclusively until the assumption of the Spanish authority, in May, 1770, as all the official documents are in his handwriting, or executed in his presence, the signature of St. Ange appearing but rarely.

"Joseph Labuscière came from Canada to the Illinois, and was married at the little village of St. Philippe, on the other side, now extinct, to Catherine Vifvarienne, born in that village of Canadian parents; possessing some education, he claimed to be the king's attorney, and acted in the capacity of notary and writer.

"He was among the first to come over to the west side, and his grant of block No. 13 is the first recorded in the Livre Terrien (land book). He participated for a time with St. Ange and Lefebvre in the temporary government.

"After the establishment of the Spanish authority by Capt. Pedro Piernas, May 20, 1770, he had nothing further to do with the management of public affairs, but continued to exercise the calling of notary and scrivener for many years. I think he died elsewhere, as his death is not found on record either in the archives or the church register. He left three sons, Joseph, Jr., Louis, and Francis. His first document in the archives is of date January, 1766, and the last, May, 1770.

"After the temporary government was set in operation by Laclede, St. Ange, Lefebvre, and Labuscière in 1766, and the doings of the same made a matter of record, the work was all done by Labuscière. The land-grant books and nearly all the original documents in the early archives are in his handwriting, and only the first fifteen grants of village lots are signed by St. Ange and Judge Lefebvre until the death of this last in August, 1766, but a few months after the establishment of the temporary government, and from that date by St. Ange and Labuscière.

* * In January, 1766, the first document found registered in the archives is the sale of a lot and house (northwest quarter of Block 35) by Jacques Denis, a joiner, to Antoine Hubert, merchant, dated Jan. 21, 1766, and the first recorded grant of a village lot (Block 13), April 27, 1766, previous to which date parties had received possession of their respective localities with the sanction of Laclede in the capacity of original proprietor under his authority from the Governor below."

He appears to have been the factotum of the village, at first officially associated in the government, and then as legal adviser, notary, and general writer, for some twenty-five years.

"There was no letter 'x' in his name, but from his general carelessness in his signatures, the letters 's' and 'c' were so nearly joined together that his name when it first appeared in print after the transfer to the United States was taken to be 'Labuxière,' and always so printed.

"Judge Joseph Lefebvre Desbruisseau. Of this gentleman we know but little. He was a native of France and in New Orleans prior to 1744, in which year 'Governor de Vaudreuil granted him the exclusive privilege of the Indian trade in the upper country or Illinois district.' (Gayarré.)

"He came from France with or about the time of Governor Marquis de Vaudreuil, in 1743. He had married in France Marie Ursule Diacre.

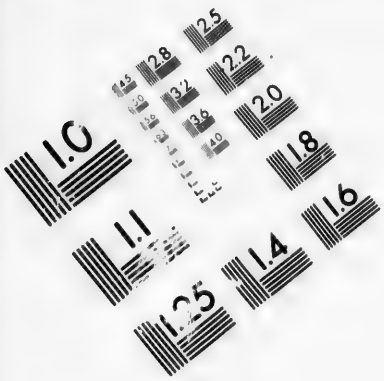
"He settled at Fort Chartres, or Kaskaskia, where he became the judge, and came over in 1765, in which year he built a small house of posts at the southeast corner of Main and Locust, on the lot assigned him by Laclede, and died here in August, 1766.

"Their son,—the only one mentioned was born in 1743,—Pierre François Branot Joseph d'Inglebert Lefebvre, became a lieutenant in the French service. He was married in St. Louis, Nov. 10, 1768, to Miss Margaret, daughter of Bardet de Laferne, surgeon in the king's service. Lieutenant L. died in New Orleans in 1770; no children; his widow subsequently became the wife of Jos. Segond, a merchant of the early day from France. She died there in 1844 at a very advanced age, leaving a numerous posterity."

[1] Mr. Billon's note, *Archives of* 1766:

A full catalogue of all the documents found in the archives, written by, and in presence of, Joseph Labuscière, from April, 1766, to May 20, 1770, the day that Piernas commenced his administration. Copied from the original in the handwriting of Labuscière.

Deeds for sales of lots and lands	61
Sales made under execution	11
Bond and obligations	30
Bargains or trades	24
Marriage contracts	16



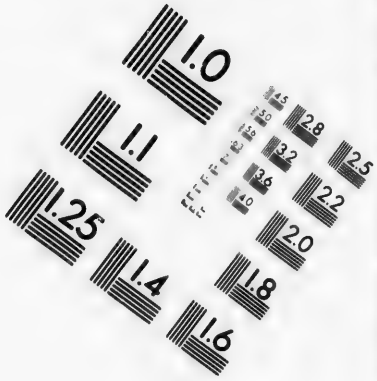
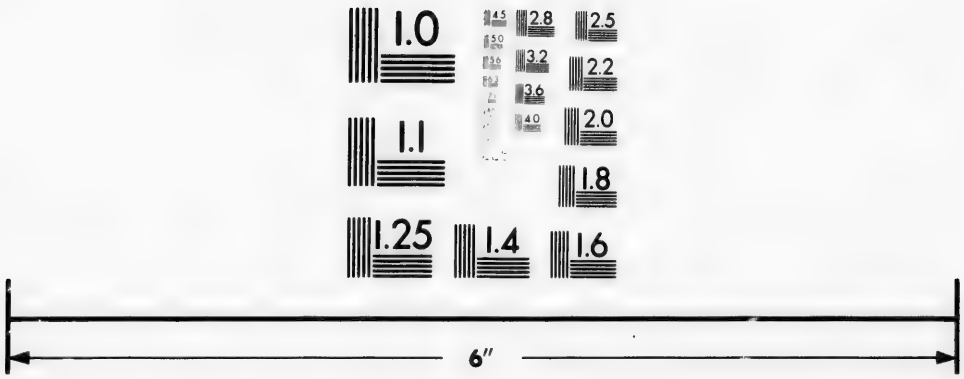
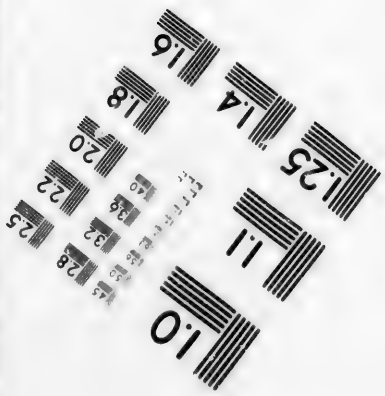
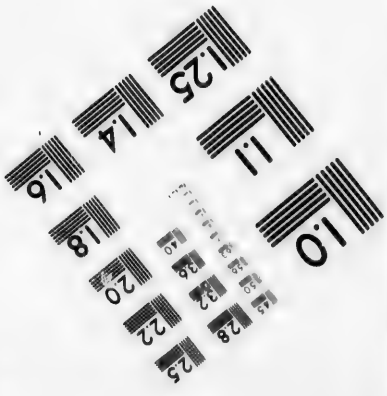


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the certificate of correctness. These facts justify the inference that St. Ange did not administer the civil functions of the government.

"It is a singular incident in the history of St. Louis that its first form of government, though instituted in a period of rigid imperialism, was distinctly republican in character. The authority under which De Bellerive ruled was conferred by popular action.

Exchanges of real estate	8
Engagements for services	11
Acquittances, being receipts	5
Donations or gifts of property	5
Inventories of deceased persons' property	3
Inventories of merchandises	4
Indentures	1
Copartnerships	2
Agreements	2
Emancipations	2
Affidavits	2
Ordinances or decrees	1
Powers of attorney	1
Wills	1
Leases	2
Miscellaneous	2
Documents, in all	194

All the above-enumerated papers were executed by Labuscière as notary and *ex-officio* secretary of the temporary government, in whose custody they were held until handed over by him to Governor Piernas, May 20, 1770.

Of the above one hundred and ninety-four documents, the only one executed in presence of St. Ange as commandant was that of Roussel to Vifvarenne, April 20, 1769.

Lefebvre was associated with St. Ange in the concessions from April 27 to Aug. 12, 1766, and died shortly after that. After his death, Labuscière executed the papers alone, being associated with St. Ange in the concessions only.

Catalogue of the papers executed in the presence of the several Governors, and deposited by them in the archives during the French and Spanish dominations, copied from the originals in their respective handwritings.

(The original from which I copied these appears to be simply a list of the official and printed papers executed in the presence of each of the Governors successively, who appears to have made, at the end of his administration, a list of his official acts, and passed it over to his successor in office, and after the close of the administration of Capt. Stoddard they were stitched together, making some two hundred pages of foolscap in a dilapidated condition, ragged and mouse-eaten.)

These papers, which had never been recorded in the French and Spanish days, were long after the transfer to the United States recorded in their original language in six large volumes, which, after being translated into English, were copied with the originals into fourteen large volumes, now known as The Archives.

Translation.

A list of the official papers executed in presence of Labuscière, former attorney of the king, and notary under the French government, from the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six to the 20th of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy.

To Mr. Don Pedro Piernas, Captain of Infantry, Lieutenant-Governor of the establishments of the Illinois and dependencies belonging to his Catholic majesty.

Year 1766.

Trial, judgment of the council, and other documents relating to the sale of the effects of the salt-works of Mr. Datchurut, St. Gene.

Sentence to death of Michael Degoust.

Indenture of Lorina, a negro girl of Miss Laferne, to Mr. Laderoute.

Marriage contract of Toussaint Hunaud and Marie Josepha Beaugenou, April 20.

Do. of Paul Kiercereau and Marie Josephe Michel, May 10.

Do. of Louis Marchetand and Veronica Panisse, Nov. 7.

Engagement (obligation to work) of Jean Bap. Tessier to Jean Bap. Hamelin.

Do. of a little girl by Jacq. Quevedo to Giles Chemin.

Do. of Michael Audilier to Bartholomew Blondeau.

Do. of one Bouquet to Mr. Toulouze.

Inventory of the effects of Mr. Cazeau.

Do. of The. Laville, *alias* St. Germain, Fort Char., 1764.

Bargain between Jacques Denis and Mr. Hubert, Nov. 2, 1766.

Do. Thomas Blondeau and Peter Roigeau, Aug. 7, 1766.

Do. Louis Ride and Alexis Marie, Aug. 27, 1766.

Do. Mr. Valleau and Mr. Lefebvre in the king's name.

Do. Martigny and Tessier.

Do. Mr. Hubert and Jno. B. Langevin and Joseph Deschenes, February.

Bond of Peter Bergner to Francis Latour, Sept. 29.

Receipt of Mr. Gonde to Mr. Carpenter for the guardian of Miss Laferne.

Copartnership between the Brothers Desgagnès.

Sale by Jacques Denis to Mr. Hubert, Jan. 21, 1766.

Do. by Mr. Lefebvre to Francis Eloy, June 27.

Do. by Louis Desfends and Peter Rougeau to John Campanios, Aug. 6.

Do. by Joseph Leonvine Martigny to Nicholas Royer, Sept. 23.

Do. by James Denis to Mr. Hubert, March 15.

Do. by same to Mr. Anté Hubert, July 31.

Do. by James Denis, and bargain for an extension to Mr. Hubert.

Do. by Lambert Bonvarlée to Jacques Denis, March 15.

Do. by Laurent Trudeau to Louis Deshetres, of the running-gear of a horse-mill.

Do. by Louis Desnoyers to Francis Dissonnet, Oct. 28.

Year 1767.

Marriage contract of Francis Moreau to Catharine Marechal, September.

Do. Pierre Rougeau and Theresa Hebert, Feb. 28.

Do. Pierre Lacroix and Helen L'Arche, June 25.

Do. Charlotte Louvierè and Joseph Gamache, May 3.

Contract between Joseph Deschenes and Michael Piehet.

Cession of a little girl named Magdalene Laville by Claud Tinon and Josepha Quebedo, his wife, to Jno. Bap. Langoumois.

Do. of one named Francois Laville by the widow of St. Germain and her husband, Claude Tinon, to Alexis Marie.

Donation from Jno. B. Vien and Joseph Franchville, Aug. 21.

Do. by Joseph Dubé to Louis Beor and his wife, Oct. 7.

Engagement of Louis Desfonds to Mr. Laclede.

Inventory and invoice of merchandise and Mr. Laclede and Maxent, relating to the seizure of the Missouri trade.

Do. the stores . . . [mice-eaten] . . . the death of Mr. Lefebvre, Gi . . .

Do. of the stores at Fort St. Charles after the flight of bankrupt Barera.

Do. of the effects of the bankrupt Barera after he absconded.

Emancipation of Marie Margaret, Indian slave of Mr. Dubé.

In its methods of creation this self-constituted government was purely democratic. The King of France could not legally appoint the lieutenant-governor of a province that had ceased to be a part of the French empire. Still less could the vice-regent in New Orleans do an act which his sovereign was not empowered to perform. But though the Governor-General could not confirm the action of the St. Louis

Bargain between Thoulouze and Francis Thibault, June 26.
Do. between Laclede and René Buet, Aug. 6.
Do. between John Pepin, *alias* Lachance, and Joseph Labrosse, July 13.
Do. between Mr. Laclede and John Hamilton.
Do. between Louis Marchetand and Mr. Lefebvre, Aug. 14.
Obligation by Mr. Laclede to Mr. Viviat, May 25.
Do. by Honorè to Duchouquette, at Fort Chartres, 1763.
Do. Gigaire to Pierre Montardy, Aug. 31, 1767.
Do. by St. Pierre and Blondeau, attorney for Mr. Dutillet, to Laclede and Bearn, June 3.
Do. Messrs. Honorè and Desnoyers to Eugene Pourè, June 3.
Do. by Mr. Laclede to Mr. Datchurut, May 25.
Do. by Toulouse and Montardy, Feb. 15.
Sale by Joseph Taillon to Mr. Laclede, Dec. 2.
Do. by Francois Delin to Mr. Laclede, Jan. 7, 1768.
Do. by Joseph Leroy to Joseph Picote, Oct. 8, 1767.
Do. by Gilles Chemin to Joseph Blondeau, June 15.
Do. by Mr. Daniel Bloine to Mr. John Datchurut, Ste. Gene.
Do. Jno. Bap. Prevot to Julien Leroy.
Do. by Julien Leroy to Mr. Lefebvre, Jan. 23.
Do. by John Comparios to Pierre Pesq, April 2.
Do. by Joseph Hebert to Anté d'Aunis St. Vincent, Sept. 8.
Do. of a tract by Julien Leroy to Mr. Laclede, Jan. 23.
Do. by Joseph Dubord to Joseph Tellier, St. Gene.
Do. by Pierre Montardy to Martin Barain, Oct. 14.
Do. by François Eloy to Jean Bap. Vien, Aug. 9.

Year 1768.

Adjudication, sale under judgment of Calvé's house, Sept. 16.
Marriage contract of Mr. Lefebvre Dubruisseau to Margaret Laferne, Nov. 14.
Do. Alexis Cotte and Elizabeth Dodier, Aug. 15.
Do. Jno. B. Durand and Marie Josephe Marchetand, Nov. 11,
Do. Nicholas Barsalou and Madelaine Lebage, Aug. 13.
Agreement between Mr. Montardy and John Perin, *alias* Boucher.
Donation, gift by Mr. Laclede to the children of Mrs. Chouteau, May 12.
Exchange between Mr. Laclede and Pierre Noisé, *alias* Jacques Labbé, Dec. 10.
Do. between Mr. Laclede and Ignatius Laroche, May 4.
Do. of house between Lachance and Beor, Dec. 14.
Do. between Mr. Laclede and Gabriel Dodier, July 1.
Do. between Cotin and Ortes . . . [mice-eaten] . . . Feb. 20.
Engagement of Alexander Langlois to Mr. Hubert.
Do. of Ma . . . [mice-eaten] . . .
Information or accusation in the name of Joseph Barela, a cadet Spanish engineer, against Don Fernand de Gomez and Charles Covos, Aug. 3.
Do. against Michael Trilla, Spaniard, June 16.
Emancipation of Maria Henrion, granted by Mr. Metivier.
Bargain between Joseph Mainville Deschenes, and Francis Durey, Nov. 25.
Do. between Mr. Valleau and Tousignau.
Do. between Pierre Lupien, *alias* Baron, and Mr. Hubert, Dec. 14.
Bargain between Louis Deshetres and Ante Sans Souci, for a building.
Do. between Mr. Belestre and Becquet, Dec. 29, 1767.

Obligation (bond) by Marie to L'Ambrement, June 17, 1768.
Do. of Mr. Beaujeu to Mr. Poupast for Mr. Sarpy, April 29.
Do. of Mr. Beaujeu to Mr. Foucault, May 19.
Do. of Antoine Malet to Mr. Lambert, Sept. 27.
Do. by Mr. Eugene Poure *towards* Mr. Datchurut.
Do. of Montardy & Boucher to Mr. Lambert, June 17.
Do. of Michael Rolet Lacreonte to Mr. Lambert, June 17.
Do. of Mr. Beaujeu to Mr. Perronte, Aug. 19.
Ordinance prohibiting the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians.
Power of attorney of Mr. Lambrelont to Mr. Wm. Lecompte, for the estate of Fran's Eloy.
Verbal process of the land of Mr. Valeau to Mr. Lecompte, Dec. 14.
Do. of the house and lot of the same to Mr. Lachance, Dec. 14.
Acquittance of Mr. Pierraute, in charge of estate of dec'd Mr. Dutillet, to Mr. Berard.
Do. of Isidore Peltier to Louis Bloin, May 18.
Will of Mr. Valeau, Nov. 23.
Sale by Francis Marchetand Desnoyers to Jean Comparios, Nov. 28.
Do. by Mr. Valeau to Mr. Lachance, Oct. 20.
Do. by Mr. Francis La Chapelle to Mr. Durey, Nov. 26.
Do. Marie to Mr. Laclede, July 1.
Do. by Mr. Dubreuil to Pierre Lupien, *dit* Baron, May 14.
Do. by Mr. Joseph Denoyers of a negro to Mr. Laclede.
Do. by Mr. Julien Leroy to Mr. Laclede of a tract in the Big Prairie, June 6.
Do. by Gille Henrion to Mr. Laclede, Dec. 5.
Do. by Mr. Roy to Mr. Lambert, June 15.
Do. by Mr. Lachance to Mr. Dubois, Dec. 16.
Do. by Mr. Julien Le Roy to Mr. Hubert, Oct. 14.
Do. by Mr. Bizet for Mr. Hubert to Fran's Lepage, March 15.
Do. by judgment of the houses of Mr. Hubert to Mr. Bizet.

Year 1769.

Adjudication of the land of Dubé to Langamois, Oct. 15.
Public sale by execution of a tract of the heirs of Beaugenou to Mr. Laclede, Oct. 15.
Do. of a tract of Dubé to Guion . . . [eaten by mice] . . . Oct. 15.
Do. a tract of . . . do. to Fran's Henrion, Oct. 15.
Do. of the house of . . .
Do. of the house of Mr. Dorienconrt to Mr. Berard, Nov. 12.
Survey of the lands of Mr. Laclede.
Lease by Deshetres to Mr. Hubert, Feb. 22.
Contract of marriage by Mr. Nicholas T. Dion and Theresa Hervieux, April 3.
Do. of Philibert Gaignon and Marie Newby, English, Dec. 26.
Do. of Jno. Bap. Savoie and Louise Ladurantaie, Oct. 13.
Do. of Antoine Sans Souci and Marie F. Vifvarenne, April 20.
Gift by Joseph Marchteau to Francis Bissonnet, March 10.
Engagement of Peter Durey to Bason.
Do. of Louis Butand to Mr. Hubert, Feb. 14.
Exchange between Mr. Hubert and Mr. Barsalou, Feb. 2.
Inventory of Maltais Tauner (copy), Sept 1.
Bargain (or trade) between Paul Sigle and Anthony Sans Souci, Feb. 26.
Obligation (or bond) of Martin Barim to Mr. Dubreuil for a negro.
Do. of Anthony Degngne to Perraute & Parin, Sept. 8.

colonists with the full sanction of law, he yet sustained the popular choice by his personal approval,—the appointment of officers whose purely ministerial functions did not involve the grant of lands vested in the Director-General of Louisiana, until Spain assumed control of its possessions. In the exercise of this right, Governor Aubri completed the organization of the civil government of St. Louis by the appointment of two judges, an attorney-general, and a notary.

"Several events, interesting from the novelty of their first occurrence in the little colony, took place in 1766. The first marriage recorded in the archives was celebrated on the 20th of April, 1766. In the following May the rite of baptism was first administered. No church having yet been built, Father Meurin performed the ceremony in a tent.

"The first recorded mortgage was executed on the 29th of September, 1766. The first grist-mills of St. Louis were probably built in the same year.[1]

"In the summer of 1767, the hopes of a reunion with the mother-country—which the loyal Frenchmen had never ceased to cherish—were effectually extinguished by the announcement that Spain had appointed officers to take possession of Louisiana. After the terms of the treaty of 1762 had been proclaimed to the residents of Louisiana the people were unremitting in strenuous endeavors to prevent the surrender of the ceded province. They remonstrated

Do. of Jean Parin, *alias* Butcher, to Peter Montardy, Aug. 17.
Do. of Louis Latraverse to Mr. Papin, Sept. 9.
Do. of René Buet to Mr. Paul Segond, July 15.
Do. of Nicholas Royer to Jean Comparios, Dec. 5.
Do. of Joseph Labrosse to Paul Segond, July 3.
Do. [eaten off] av Poillot to Du Choquet.
Do. " Philip Laflamme to Mr. Segond, July 10.
Do. of Mr. Hubert to Louis Chamord, July 5.
Do. of Bazile Desnoyers to Peter Montardy, Aug. 17.
Do. of same & Jean Perrin to Pierre Montardy, Aug. 17.
Receipt and order of Mr. Dubreuil to Mr. Hubert, on Baron.
Do. by Mr. Perraute for Mr. Durand to the Widow Languedoc.
Relinquishment of the estate of Jos. Marchetand, by his children, Feb. 2.
Do. of Louisa Ladurantaie, Widow St. Vincent, to his estate, Oct. 13.
Copartnership between Labbadie and Martin Baram.
Sale by Anthony Valiere to Anthony Sans Souci, May 8.
Do. by Francis and Charles Thibaute to Nich's Fran's Dion.
Do. by Thomas Blondeau to Mr. Sarpy, June 10.
Do. by Jas. Labbé dit Noissé of 2 arpents of land to Mr. Desbruisseau, Aug. 23.
Do. by Louis Deshetres to Mr. Motard, April 8.
Do. by Mr. Marie to Mr. Desbruisseau, Aug. 28.
Do. by Mr. Joseph Chartrand of a 2-arpent tract to Desbruissean, Aug. 19.
Do. by Gilles Chemin to Louis Dufresne, May 17.
Do. by Peter Lacroix to Lambert Bonvarlet, July 5.
Do. by Mr. Sarpy to Mr. Roy, April 20, 1770.
Do. by Francis la Chapelle to Philibert Gaignon, *dit* Laurent, Feb. 2, '67.
Do. by Fran's and Chas. Thibaute . . . [eaten off] . . . Langoumois, Oct. 20.
Do. by Mr. Tinon to Francis . . . [eaten off] . . . Feb. 17.

Year 1770.

Adjudication, of the house of Beor by Dubé, Oct. 7, 1767.
Agreement between Mr. Segond and Labrosse.
Indenture of Barribaute to James Denis.
Lease of a billiard-table by Mr. Vien to Mr. Vigé, Feb. 7.
Contract of marriage, of Joseph Mainville Deschenes to Ann Chancellier, Feb. 9.
Cession by Mr. Hubert to Mr. Condé, March 14.
Do. of a note by Mr. Segond to Mr. Fanché or Fanthé.
Gift and relinquishment by René Kiercereau to Paul Kiercereau, Jan. 7.
Exchange between Francis Larche and Mr. Jno. B. Sarpy, Jan. 20.
Do. between Mr. Chauvin and Denis, April 18.
Bargain or trade between Mr. Chauvin and Jacques Denis, April 12
Obligation or bond by Mr. Louis Chamard to Mr. Voise, April 28.
Do. by Philip Laflamme to Mr. Segond, July 10, 1769.
Sale by Mr. Philip Laflamme to Mr. Segond, Feb. 17, 1770.
Do. by Mr. Berard to Mr. Segond, March 9.
Do. by Mr. Dubruisseau to Joseph Mainville, *alias* Deschenes.
Do. by Mr. Jean Papin, *alias* Lachance, to James Denis, July 24.
Do. by Mr. Laclede to Mr. Condè, April 5.
Do. by Mr. Choret to Hebert Lecompte, April 10.
Do. by Mr. Alexis Marie to Mr. Sarpy, a house and lot, March 2.
Do. by same to same, a two-arpent tract, Feb. 18.
Do. by Jean Bap. Cois to Sarpy, a barn & lot, Feb. 20.
Do. by Jean B. Langoumois to Sarpy, a 1-arpent tract, Feb. 20.
Do. by same to same, a 2-arpent tract, Feb. 20.
Do. by Jean B. Langoumois to Antoine Morin, Feb. 15.
Do. by Isidore Peltier to Mr. Jno. B. Sarpy, Jan. 15.

Also the register of the concessions of lands and lots of the village of St. Louis, filled up as far as folio 35 on the back,—said concessions granted by Messrs. St. Ange and Lefebvre, and Mr. Labusciève.

I certify the present statement to be true, containing all the deeds, etc., that I registered while in charge of them at the post of St. Louis, of which I retain a duplicate copy. St. Louis, this 20th August, 1771. LABUSCIERE.

[1] "Mortars and hand-mills were first used. (Reynolds's My Own Times, pp. 66, 77.) The unsuccessful experiment of windmills was tried. 'About 1784 or 1785, Joseph Motard erected a windmill on the lot claimed, and the mill remained on the lot at least ten years, and occasionally went.' (Commissioners' Minutes, vol. iii. p. 272.) For the location of this mill see the following reference: Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. pp. 169–171.

"'Antoine Roy built his windmill about ten years ago.'—Louis Brazeau, Nov. 28, 1808, *Commissioners' Minutes*, vol. iii. p. 374.

"Before 1800, mills were erected beyond the limits of the village.

"'Ezekiel Lard built a saw- and grist-mill in 1798 on his land in Missouri Bottom, between Cold Water and Bellefontaine. (Commissioners' Minutes, 1808, vol. iii. pp. 241 and 244.) These references define with sufficient precision the situation of the mills."

against the transfer to Spain, and petitioned for a retrocession to France. But protests and supplications were alike unavailing. The treaty of 1762 imposed humiliating duties upon the French king. But Louis XV. did not shrink from the fulfillment of his inglorious obligations. It is certainly creditable to the monarch that he did not aggravate an ignoble policy by a violation of his plighted faith. But when the colonists found that their prayers had been unheeded and that Spain was actively preparing to enforce its authority, the popular resentment threatened to culminate in open revolt. What could not be accomplished by entreaty it was resolved to effect by force.

"Meanwhile, the King of Spain had appointed Don Antonio de Ulloa the Viceroy of Louisiana, and sent him with a body of troops to establish Spanish authority in the province. De Ulloa reached New Orleans March 5, 1766.[1] Rios, the Spanish officer sent to take military possession of Upper Louisiana, arrived at St. Louis Aug. 11, 1768.[2] Both of these officers found the temper of the people so hostile that they did not venture to establish the government which they had come to administer. They were unwilling to incur the responsibility of exercising an authority which could only be enforced by an effusion of blood. Though Rios went through the formality of taking military possession of Upper Louisiana, he did not venture to assume any civil functions. During the whole period of his stay in St. Louis, St. Ange still continued to administer the government. The futility of peaceful efforts to inaugurate Spanish supremacy constrained De Ulloa to relinquish an office whose duties he was not permitted to discharge. It is probable that De Ulloa, in view of his intended evacuation[3] of the province, instructed Rios to retire from Upper Louisiana. At all events, on the 17th of July, 1769,[4] this officer withdrew his forces from St. Louis, and the province was again free from the presence of foreign soldiers. The departure of the Spanish troops was hailed by the French settlers with acclamations of joy.

"The inclemency of the winter of 1768–69 was extraordinary. It was so cold that orange-trees were killed on the borders of the Gulf, and ice was formed on the banks of the Lower Mississippi.[5]

[1] "Gayarré's History of Louisiana, vol. ii. p. 132."

[2] "Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107."

[3] "This contemplated departure was hastened by an act of violence. De Ulloa was expelled from New Orleans Nov. 1, 1768.—*Gayarré's History of Louisiana*, vol. ii. p. 211; *Martin's History of Louisiana*, vol. i. p. 359."

[4] "Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107."

[5] "Martin's History of Louisiana, vol. i. p. 356."

"One of the memorable incidents of 1769 was the arrival of Pontiac in St. Louis. He came to visit his friend, St. Ange de Bellerive. He was received with a hospitality highly gratifying to the illustrious chieftain. The public curiosity was delighted with the opportunity of seeing a warrior who had shown such conspicuous evidences of greatness. His patriotic devotion to the interests of his race, his grasp of mind and power of military organization, his skill in planning campaigns, and his exploits on the field of battle, had rendered his name justly famous in the annals of Indian warfare. A chief whose martial prowess had caused the slaughter of two thousand Englishmen was naturally an object of interest to the French, but the appearance of the warrior disappointed expectation. He had become a sot. Thwarted in his great ambition to expel the English and unite all the Indian tribes in one powerful confederation, he had sought to drown the memory of his blighted hopes in the forgetfulness of inebriation. While the guest of St. Ange he received an invitation to visit his French friends in Cahokia. The danger of venturing into the presence of English foes was imminent, but all efforts to dissuade him from accepting the perilous hospitality failed. In spite of friendly remonstrance he went to Cahokia, and, after partaking too freely of the bounty of his French hosts, wandered away into the woods in the helpless stupor of intoxication. While in this defenseless condition Pontiac was murdered by a Kaskaskian Indian, whom an English trader had bribed to kill him. St. Ange deeply regretted the death of his friend. In accordance with his instructions, the body was brought to St. Louis and buried with military honors; but as no stone was erected to mark the place of interment the spot was in the lapse of time forgotten, and now the tread of myriad footsteps passes daily over the unknown grave of the illustrious chieftain.

"It was during this period that St. Louis received the nickname of 'Pain Court.' In the early times but few of the French settlers devoted themselves to farming. Hunting and trading with the Indians were more attractive pursuits. The limited village did not always produce an adequate supply of grain. The sobriquet probably owes its origin to a spirit of good-natured raillery. St. Louis, with a jocular reference to the poverty of its inhabitants, had called Carondelet 'Vide Poche.' The frequent scarcity of bread in St. Louis afforded an opportunity for retaliation, and 'Vide Poche' avenged its comical insult by applying to St. Louis the nickname which for many years supplied its rivals with a fund of derisive allusions.

"Trifling incidents sometimes suggest startling com-

parisons. The contrast between the little village with its scanty supply of breadstuff and the metropolis which is now one of the great grain centres of the world is impressive. That a mart whose manufacture is now more than two million barrels of flour, and whose yearly receipts and shipments of grain exceed eighty-three million bushels, ever felt a lack of bread seems incredible."

CHAPTER V.

CLIMATOLOGY, GEOLOGY, AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

ST. LOUIS is the central point of the greatest river system on the globe. The valley of the Amazon embraces a broader area of territory, but that of the Mississippi is still the greatest of all valleys in every respect which concerns man and the sustenance, progress, and development of the human race; and St. Louis is situated at the controlling-point of this valley. In variety, extent, and utility of productions the Mississippi exceeds all other rivers. Unlike any other of the great rivers which span continents in the course of their progress, the Mississippi flows from the north to the south. The Nile, its nearest parallel, descends from south to north. The Amazon, the Orinoco, the St. Lawrence, the Plate, the Yangste, the Hoangho, the Danube, move in a general direction from west to east, thus failing to embrace that great extent of latitude of climate and of productions which their immense areas of water-shed would otherwise entitle them to. But the Mississippi, while its headwaters are cooled by the trickling rills and the clear lakes denoting the beds of ancient glaciers, and its stalwart body is invigorated by the strength of the temperate zone, bathes its tawny and impetuous feet in the tropics. The pine and the hemlock crown its head, the oak and the walnut give robustness to its middle, and it rests amid the regions of the cypress and the palm. If we should conceive the river, indeed, under the image of a tree, rooted in the Gulf of Mexico, we would find the great city of which we write situated precisely at the most convenient and eligible point to the three great branches which unite to make the trunk stream: the Missouri, the Upper Mississippi, and the Ohio.

This point is not only the geographical and hydrographical centre of the Mississippi basin; it is also the centre of greatest production. We have shown already[1] how all the various streams of immigration and population seeking settlements and homes converge upon St. Louis. In the same way, St. Louis is the point of gathering for market of the products of the wheat region of the Northwest, the cereal plain lying between Lakes Michigan and Superior and the headwaters of the Missouri, extending north from the Missouri, the Illinois, and the Wisconsin Rivers into the higher parts of Manitoba. It is the centre also of the great corn and wheat country of the thirty-eighth to forty-first parallels, which begins in Western Kansas and extends to Western Virginia. It is the distributing point of the products of the elevated grazing plains of Texas and the far West, and its control of coal, iron, and wood, the materials of cheap manufacturing production, are making it the point to which the cotton crop of the Southwest necessarily gravitates. The upper and lower waters of the valley tributaries, both of them, bring to St. Louis the woods used in all manufactures in which timber, lumber, and their components are factors. The city is just upon the western edge of the Illinois coal-basin and upon the eastern edge of the Missouri coal-basin. It is adjacent to two great deposits of lead, and the largest masses of iron ore in the world are immediately convenient to its furnaces and foundries.

This valley of the Mississippi, and especially the part of it nearest to St. Louis, has always been recognized peculiarly as a centre of prolific agricultural production. When the French first explored the river they found "the great American bottom," on the opposite side to St. Louis, the seat of numerous and prolific Indian tribes, who cultivated corn and raised large crops, the prairies around covered with herds of bison and the river teeming with fish. These Indians had planted themselves among a great collection of mounds, the vestiges of a still older but entirely extinct civilization, of which not even a tradition survived. The plain from Cahokia to Kaskaskia and the banks of the river opposite, from the mouth of the Missouri to Ste. Genevieve, bear conclusive evidence of having been at one time the site of a great city, the centre of an agricultural people, who had fixed habitations and constructed gigantic public works. These works did not consist merely of mounds and the lines of fortifications; they comprised also works of civil engineering, of vast conception, executed on the largest scale. The Mound-builders not only built levees, protecting their fields from inundation, and enabling them in times of drought to irrigate wide spaces; they adopted besides a vast system, similar to that developed in Italy during the last century under the intelligent supervision of Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, for preventing inundations

[1] Chapter I.

and restoring swamps and marshes to cultivation by intercepting the silt brought down by floods, and with it at once raising the level and increasing the fertility of their lands.

This system, which was applied on a moderate scale in ancient Egypt, was brought to great perfection by the Mound-builders, and some vestiges of the extensive works constructed by them may still be traced. The plan of these works was, by means of a succession of dams and waste-weirs, to intercept the muddy flood-waters, retain them until their earthy contents had been precipitated, and then drain off the clear water. The deposits of alluvium thus secured would, in a succession of years, suffice to raise the surface of the country above flood-mark and convert swamp into dry and solid ground. A race which is competent to promote agriculture by a comprehensive system of civil engineering must be very far advanced in the scale of civilization. Now, St. Louis and the opposite plain was the site of the Memphis of this elder race, and they owed their civilization to the surpassing fertility and the wonderful climatic advantages of the place where they had planted themselves, just as the Nile made Thebes and Memphis, and Nineveh and Babylon were the products of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Rivers create a loess of population quite as fully as they pile up a loess of fertile soil.[1]

The basin of the Mississippi, of which St. Louis is the key, comprises an area of 2,455,000 square miles. It extends through thirty degrees of longitude and twenty-three degrees of latitude,—an area greater than

[1] On this subject, of such great archæological interest to St. Louis, we do not suppose we can do better than call attention to the subjoined article from the thoroughly competent pen of Louis J. Du Pré, of Memphis, Tenn., which was published in the *Southern Magazine* of June, 1874. The title of the article is "Archæological Aspects of the Lowlands of the Mississippi," and it was written soon after one of the great periodical overflows and inundations of that stream. The writer, it must not be forgotten, has a theory not only as to past conduct, but also as to the efficacy of expedients and possibly remedies in the future. This may have biased his conclusions, but we are sure has had no effect upon the statement of facts adduced by him.

"Just below Cape Girardeau, Missouri, on the western shore of the Mississippi, there is a deep fosse more than one hundred feet wide. It extended, at an unknown period in the world's history, westwardly, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles, to the headwaters of the White and St. Francis Rivers. Its obvious purpose was the diversion of a large volume of the superabundant water of the Mississippi into smaller tributary streams. At intervals of twenty or thirty miles other canals, still plainly defined, parallel with the first, and in many places filled with water, and designed to lessen the flood-tide of the mighty river and render overflows harmless, traverse the lowlands. I have traced these ancient canals many miles. Palpably enough they were not only designed to render calamities such as now desolate rich plantations from Cairo to the Gulf impossible, but the internal commerce of wide districts and of dense and mighty populations was most cheaply conducted by means of these highways. For long distances towing-paths, lifted above the banks of these canals, may be plainly discerned, and not far from Osceola, Arkansas, brick abutments of a bridge have been unearthed. In many localities there are *aguadas*, or artificial lakes paved with adobe. These were constructed perhaps as fish-ponds, or designed to subserve the purposes of the reservoirs dug by Egyptian monarchs along the shores of the Nile. From these and from the canals opened by the wisest masters of Egypt the farms during the dry season were irrigated. Herodotus tells that after these artificial lakes and canals were dug the recurrence of famine in Egypt was wholly impossible. When the Mound-builders reared earthen pyramids and worshiped the sun in the lowlands of the American Nile, they too made canals, and paved great lakes and broad threshing-floors, and made brick, as did the Israelites of old, even here in the valley of the Mississippi; and mounds were here upheaved, as were nilometers of stone that measured the height of floods in Egypt and in the valley of the Euphrates.

"Each land-owner's selfishness lends to the construction of dykes or 'levees' along the shores of the great river. Forty years ago each planter in the lowlands built his own levees. Then all land within five miles of the river was taxed for this purpose. Later, counties and parishes assumed the growing burden. It became greater each year, and the task of protecting the country more and more intolerable, till at length States found the costliness of the work enormous, and to-day the intervention of Federal power is asked, and a vast sum proposed to be invested in earthen walls designed to hedge in the turbid, resistless, ever-murmuring flood-tide of this stupendous, restive, untamed 'inland sea.' Xerxes sought to fetter the waves of the deep, and lashed with chains the impatient billows that balked his purposes of vain ambition. They are hardly wiser than the Persian king who would lift up earthen walls to imprison the resistless current of the mightiest river of the continent; and how infinitely wiser that extinct race which utilized for commercial purposes the floods whose capacity for mischief levees or dykes only aggravate!

"Cotton is the leading product of the lower valley of the Mississippi, as was wheat when the Mound-builders constructed broad, paved threshing-floors, above which bins made of adobe were everywhere uplifted. These paved floors, covering many acres, are often found in the lowlands. Leaves and trees decaying through forty centuries constitute a superimposed loam, and patient observations of the annual growth in thickness of this deposit will tell with proximate accuracy how many ages have elapsed since the patient, toiling, primeval race reared its tombs and temples along the shores of the great river. If the wisdom of those that ruled the mighty toiling multitudes had approved, great walls, heightened each year, would have confined the river to its proper channel. If this object had been effected the area of water-surface exposed to the action of the sun's rays would have been lessened certainly twenty times, and the quantity of moisture lifted up by evaporation and diffused from clouds diminished in the same ratio. Wet and dry seasons would have supervened to curse the lowlands, and the cotton-fields of this magnificent valley would be no more valuable than those of India. Whether the Mound-builders grew cotton or flax there may be no means of ascertaining. Skeletons unearthed from the base of a mound at the slightest touch become an impalpable powder, and on their surfaces are only

that of all Europe when Russia, Sweden, and Norway are left out of the account. The basin of the Upper Mississippi has an area of 169,000 square miles, and a height of 1680 feet above the sea-level. The river, at 1330 miles above its mouth, has a width of 5000 feet, and a mean discharge of 105,000 cubic feet per second. The Missouri is 3000 feet wide at the mouth, with a mean discharge of 120,000 cubic feet per

marks of threads and interstices of fine cloth in which the corpses of these Adams and Eves of this oldest world were enwrapped. In future explorations of mounds this inquiry as to the materials of the Mound-builders' clothing may be determined. The mounds on the heights at Memphis, at their base one hundred feet above the river's surface, surely contain bodies which have never been submerged. If these be exhumed, and, as is commonly found in the sepulture of these people, rosin has been used to prevent decay of flesh and bones, it will be known whether flax or cotton were cultivated to make winding-sheets more enduring than the unnumbered years that invest the very word 'Mound-builder' with vague, shadowy memories.

"The average width of the lowlands, from west to east, between Cairo and the Gulf of Mexico, is forty-five miles. The river's channel is of the average width of one mile. Now and then, as at the heights of Memphis, it is narrower, and at such points very deep, and the current swift and strong. At other places it is expanded into an open sea, and this is very shallow. In these facts we find an explanation of another which the Mound-builders comprehended, and we practically do not. Where the stream is wide and shallow, its mud in suspension is rapidly deposited, and the channel rapidly filled. When the river rises, shallow little streams begin to steal very slowly over and out of the banks into the lowlands. They move out very lazily, and therefore deposit mud very rapidly. In fact, the alluvium is most rapidly deposited at the river's very edge. The stream thus upheaves perpetually its own banks, and, as every traveler on steamers has observed, occupies a ridge from the Chickasaw Bluffs at Memphis to the Balize. In truth the Mound-builders were too nearly sane to aid the river in upheaving its banks, thus rendering crevasses doubly ruinous. This process of up-building the banks is often continuous through a series of months and years. At length an extraordinary flood or force in the current, or its slight diversion by a fallen tree, or the caving of the natural or artificial levee, or an aperture made by crayfish, furnishes an exit for the pent-up volume of uplifted waters. The crevasse is steadily and rapidly enlarged, and the uplifted current, defying all obstructions, overwhelms everything in its path. Houses, cattle, 'piecaninnies,' and people, and the richest estates are swept away, and the escaped flood-tide of the 'inland sea' carves out for itself a new channel in the lowest possible portions of the lowlands. By the same processes as before the banks of this new channel are uplifted and again broken down, and thus within a given period there is not a point in the valley between the hills, forty-five miles apart, over which the river's current has not rushed angrily, or moved placidly or sullenly to the sea. It actually vibrates as a pendulum from the eastern to the western hills, which constitute the only barriers it recognizes as impassable and indestructible.

"Not many years ago, just below Memphis, on the western shore of the river, and opposite the great mounds on the heights at Fort Pickering, there stood another lofty mound. The river, ever changeful in its course, broke down old barriers, and from a southern was diverted to a western course. The great mound slowly disappeared. It had certainly been erected after the river selected for itself its present channel at the base of the Chickasaw Bluffs. How long does the Mississippi pursue the same narrow path? May not observations persistently made through a series of years determine the time in which these changes certainly and regularly occur? May we not thus learn, at least proximately, the date of erection of the mound which recently disappeared? It may be well to explain that while the river is uplifting its banks it is also elevating its bed. Wherever the volume of water is widely diffused the force of the current is lessened, and alluvial matter deposited at the bottom and on its banks. The river thus absolutely 'levees' itself, and at the same time renders other levees seemingly indispensable. Thus we find that the average annual maximum height of the water at flood-tide along the whole length of the river is now seven feet above that of 1830.

"There is a rude drawing carved on the face of a flat piece of sandstone dug, I am told, from a mound near Fulton, Tenn., a little village on the river-shore seventy-five miles above Memphis. The carved lines are here reproduced, and letters and figures supplied that the strange hieroglyphics may be utilized. Evidently it was sought to be shown by some Mound-building mathematician that levees were worse than useless. The drawing presents a 'leveed' cross-section of the channel of the Mississippi. I can make nothing else of it. As every intelligent dweller in the lowlands knows, the average rate of descent of the shore from the river is fourteen feet in five thousand. The nearer the water's edge the lower the levee essential to the country's security; and as the river is constantly elevating its banks and its bed, the levees must be constantly uplifted. The rude drawing on the sandstone tells its simple story after this fashion (Fig. 1):

Section of the Channel of the Mississippi as drawn by a Mound-builder.

FIG. 1.



River-bed at Memphis ninety feet deep.

The nearer the levee to the water's edge, the more speedy its destruction by abrasion or by the falling in of the unsteady banks. Far beneath these the resistless current often carves its way. If the levee be erected a mile from the shore, of course it must be fourteen feet higher than if built at the water's edge, and of the same relative height at any given distance from the boisterous current.

"There is another wonderful process of uplifting the channel of the Mississippi, steadily progressive through all seasons and through all ages. I am not sure that the Mound-builders were cognizant of the facts to which I refer. These will be more readily comprehended by reference to the appended diagram. Cairo is about four hundred feet, civil engineers say, above the water-level of the Gulf of Mexico, as shown by the perpendicular line in Fig. 2. As the river annually and rapidly lengthens itself, encroaching each year, by depositing vast quantities of mud at the Balize, upon the domains of the Gulf, it also lifts up its bed, as illustrated in this diagram:

second, and the area of its basin is 518,000 square miles. The Lower Mississippi has a width of 2470 feet at its mouth, and its basin comprises an area of 1,244,000 square miles. Its mean discharge per second is 675,000 cubic feet. The Mississippi and its tributaries afford an internal navigation of 9000 miles for steamboats. The main stream is navigable from its mouth to St. Paul, 1944 miles, and from St.

FIG. 2.



A. Water-level of Gulf.
B. Cairo, 400 ft. above level of Gulf.
BF. Water-level of river 1800 years ago.
BG. Water-level of river A.D. 1874.
BH. " " A.D. 3600.
C. Height of water at site of New Orleans 1800 years ago.
D. Present height of water at New Orleans, 14 ft. above level of Gulf.
E. Height of water at N. O., A.D. 3600, 28 ft. above level of Gulf.
F. Balize 1800 years ago.
G. Balize to-day.
H. Balize A.D. 3600.

It will be readily observed that as the mouth of the river is removed from Cairo, the straight lines from Cairo to the Balize, one thousand miles long and representing the river's surface, are constantly elevated. The rise and fall of the river at New Orleans is now fourteen feet. If the mouth of the river be farther removed, the rise and fall of the water at the city will be steadily increased, and *pari passu* forever with the extension of the river's length. Not only is the bed of the river thus constantly elevated at all points below Cairo, but the river now rises, from this and other causes hereafter explained, six feet higher at Cairo than thirty-eight years ago. As new farms are rapidly opened, forests swept away, and boundless plains and hill-sides cultivated along the shores of the interminable river, its channel becomes shallower and more rapidly filled when forests no longer obstruct the country's drains. Overflows through each successive year will be more sudden, and rising to unprecedented heights unless outlets be made, as by the Mound-builders, will render this magnificent valley almost uninhabitable.

"There is no evading the necessity. If Lowell and the East would have cheap cotton, and grow rich as never before, it is only needful that the scheme of leveeing the Mississippi, a scheme as absurd as its perfect achievement is impossible, be abandoned, and the wiser policy of the Mound-builders adopted. The river Po, like the Mississippi, as the Hudson and Connecticut do not, brings down vast quantities of detritus from mountain-slopes; and like the Mississippi, the Po upbuilds its own banks, and the people have aided until its bed is above the summits of church-spires in towns and villages along its course. Armies, as negroes once did the Mississippi, watch the river and the walls that uphold and hedge it in, that the charming valleys after the snows melt in the Alps and Apennines may not be overwhelmed and desolated. Infinitely better for the hapless Italians if the river's superabundant waters were diffused and utilized in countless canals. Unhappily, the Italians never learned lessons of practical wisdom at the hands of the Chinese, or at those of the Mound-builders, a people who knew the use of canals as well as the Chinese and Egyptians. The Ganges is restricted to the narrowest possible confines, and India is striated by railways instead of canals. The costlier mode of transporting heavy products of Indian agriculture seems to be preferred, and the country's wealth-producing capacity is greatly lessened. The fires lighted by sun-worshiping Parsees still blaze perennially and undimmed, as in forgotten ages, upon a great mound's summit in Calcutta; but along the shores of the Mississippi and in cities that crown its banks, the light of the Mound-builders' genius, like the sacred fires that illumined their temples and watch-towers, have gone out, and incorrigible folly reigning everywhere in the lowlands, lifts up earthen walls to hedge in the mightiest drain of the continent. Wendell Phillips, with pleasing alacrity, has mounted the rostrum once a week through a quarter of a century to tell mankind that 'there is nothing new under the sun.' Very certainly it is now discovered that the proposition—supposed not long ago to be wholly new—to construct canals connecting rivers of this magnificent valley with one another and with the great lakes and Mexican Gulf was partially effected by a race of men older than Cyrus or Solomon or David.

"Whether the Mound-builders dug other canals than those that connected the Mississippi with the sources and confluent streams of the St. Francis and White Rivers, I am not prepared to say. If as wise as clodhoppers, who would control flood-tides of little streams, always draining first the lower side of the farm, they surely connected the Mississippi with other outlets farther south. Very certainly there was no such absurdity practiced by the Mound-builders as that contemplated by the bill considered at this hour by the American Congress, involving a vast expenditure of money in improving the river between St. Louis and Cairo, when there is no exit at the Balize for the country's wealth. Moreover, the Mound-builders never would have constructed a railway spanning half the continent, to reduce rates of transportation, when a ship-canal from New Orleans to deep water in Barataria Bay would cost infinitely less, and transfer freights in conjunction with the river at one-fourth or one-fifth the cost of railway carriage between the same commercial points. Quite as stupid as the proposition of St. Louis, a reanimated Mound builder would assert, is that of the New Orleans Towboat Company, coming through the Chamber of Commerce of that city. Congress must dig a ship-canal, quoth the tugboats, but not such a canal as will obviate the necessity for the employment of those delectable tugboats. This canal must leave the river eighty miles below New Orleans. It would be ruinous (to the tugboats) if a locomotive towed the 'Great Eastern' from Fort Livingston, on Barataria Bay, forty miles through a slack-water canal, at a cost of fifty dollars, to the foot of Canal Street. New York would then control the cheapest and most abundant grain crops of the world. Western farmers would save enough, because of cheapened transportation, in a single year to pay for four such canals, costing forty millions each. Unhappily, the towboats would lose five thousand dollars on each ship of twenty-five hundred tons that came through and went out of such a canal; and therefore ships, as Congress proposes to provide, must still be consigned to the tender mercies of tugboats employed to resist the strong current from Fort St. Philippe eighty miles to the city's wharves.

"Drains for the lowlands, constructed by Mound-builders, suggested the necessity for the diversion of rivers wholly or in part from their present channels. If a canal, its volume of water regulated at will by locks and dams, connected Red with Atchafalaya River, and the Arkansas, through Bayou Bartholomew, with Red River, and the Missouri from its farthest point of southern deflection with the Arkansas, we would have practically two Mississippi Rivers parallel with one another. Inundations would be impossible. When icy barriers are swept

Anthony to Sauk Rapids, 80 miles. The Missouri is navigable at ordinary water to a point sixty miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone, 1894 miles, and at high water to Fort Benton, 2644 miles. The Ohio is navigable to Pittsburgh, 975 miles; the Monongahela to Geneva, 91 miles; the Tennessee to Muscle Shoals, 600 miles; the Cumberland to Burksville, 370 miles; and there is slack-water navigation amounting to 550 miles on other Ohio tributaries. The Minnesota River is navigable to Patterson's Rapids, 295 miles; the St. Croix to St. Croix, 60 miles; the Illinois to La Salle,

away from beds of mountain torrents, and snows accumulated through dreary winter months come down to overwhelm homes and farms everywhere in the valley of the Mississippi, as did the Mound-builders of old at Cape Girardeau, we would open the gateways of great canals, and footprints of desolation could be seen no more along the shores of the majestic river. The flood that left the Missouri through a canal extending from Kansas City to the Neosho would induct water into the Mississippi at the mouth of the Arkansas before it would have reached by its present route the mouth of the Ohio. Floods from melting snow and ice in the Rocky Mountains, that reach the lowlands annually in June, have cost Lowell and Manchester and Leeds countless millions; and yet no adequate means are even *proposed* either to unfetter the commerce of this valley by opening a ship-canal from New Orleans itself to the sea, or to double the exportable wealth of the United States, by perfecting, by means of canals, those systems of drainage and of transportation employed by a race of men that preceded the 'aborigines' in the possession of these plains, capable of producing unexampled wealth.

"It was a sad fate that befell a people who suggested by their wisdom and deeds most beneficent measures of public policy cursorily discussed in these pages. The primeval race might furnish, if proper researches were made, other lessons in practical statesmanship. No adequate means have been employed to ascertain the character or value of the contents of the magnificent mounds everywhere in the lowlands in the vicinity of Memphis. The great mound near Blackfish Lake, twenty miles west of Memphis, is hollow. From an opening near the base countless rattlesnakes are evoked by warm sunbeams of spring-time, and nothing less reckless or potent than nitro-glycerine would dare encounter hissing reptiles whose downy bed is the dust of nameless generations. Peaceful in habits of life were the Mound-builders. Their industry and practical skill were as remarkable as the indolence and shiftlessness of the Red Indians. Instead of *leveling* their farms, these in many places were uplifted by incalculable toil. Levees prevent the outflow of water behind them. It stands there till evaporation removes it, and people sicken and die who breathe an atmosphere polluted by this levee system, on which Congress proposes to expend thirty millions or more. Infinitely wiser, if the purpose be to enrich all these States, to employ the convict labor of all on a great canal from Memphis, situated, as this city is, just below the point at which American rivers and canals freeze, to the southeastern Atlantic coast.* The execution of this task would cost very little compared with its inestimable value. Having derived these reflections from facts incident to the conduct of the Mound-builders, and from suggestions made by living evidences of their toil and genius, it is to be deplored that so little of what might be known of their conduct and modes of life is ascertained. Money is wanting. Without it excavations cannot be made; and strangely enough, though the industry of this peculiar race was tireless as their numbers must have been countless, nothing more valuable than copper and bronze implements, and in one instance an idol of bronze, with urns and vases of terra-cotta, have been found. Tartar mounds along the northern shores of the Black Sea contain vast quantities in value of golden ornaments of the dead. Bodies of chieftains or kings have been exhumed wrapped in sheets of gold. Strange if these people, who within a recent geological period redeemed the lowlands of Arkansas from floods at the cost of unexampled toil, had no money, and only zinc and copper and bronze implements. The assumption is seemingly so absurd, that however often I have failed, I have never opened a mound without consciousness of keen anxiety and eager expectations. If the Mound-builders had durable valuables, they will surely be discovered in the vicinity of the great battle-field on which not only an army, but a race was exterminated. From a point on the Mississippi seventy miles above Memphis, along a line west from the river, there is a series of defensive earth-works. There are earthen walls defining parallelograms and ditches and circular forts and long defensive lines. From these the Mound-builders were steadily driven back until the final struggle for the mastery of the country, and for national and personal existence, was fought five miles above the point of confluence of Little Red and White Rivers. A broad deep ditch connects the two streams, and buried within it is said, are myriads of Mound builders' skeletons. I am credibly informed by one who traversed this battle-field and scanned it closely, and dug into the deep receptacle, that a million men may have fallen there. It was the ditch which my 'rebel' fellow-countrymen never found,—'the last ditch,'—and in it I am persuaded fell the last of the Mound-builders of the lowlands. It left no survivor. No whispering tradition recites their deeds, no monumental marble recounts their triumphs or defeats. A more fearful than Noachian deluge, the silence of utter oblivion swept over them, over their homes and tombs and cities. The same black cloud that blinded the eyes of American tradition drifted around the globe, and they who builded Egyptian pyramids, and dug canals to utilize superabundant waters of the Nile and Euphrates, and excavated aguadas in Mexico, and reared massive temples in Arizona and Central America, or lifted up tumuli along the shores of the Caspian and Black Seas,—all these were stricken down and palsied at the same instant by some lightning's shaft of annihilation. Did the world begin life afresh from the date of the extermination of the Mound-building races? Was there another creation? and is there no bridge to lead research and vague curiosity, that is stalking blindly among wonderful remains of unknown peoples, over this fathomless, measureless chasm separating books, men, history, and traditions of our age from those of the Mound-builders? We deplore the fortune of those who fill unnamed graves, of those whose fame is attested by no enduring stone; but here, in all this matchless valley,—matchless in exuberance of its products as once in its density of population,—there lived a mighty prehistoric race who have left monuments alone, and there are no names or deeds or virtues on record. Tradition is speechless, and Memory, on the shores of a narrow sea, gazes backward with lack-lustre eyes into mists of black oblivion."

* The Missouri at Kansas City is 725 feet above the water-level of the Gulf. The Arkansas at Fort Gibson is 560 feet above the Gulf; Fulton, on Red River, 242 feet; and the Arkansas at Pine Bluff 240 feet, and Bayou Bartholomew 93 feet above the Gulf.

220 miles.[1] "At the mouth of the Missouri the Mississippi first assumes its characteristic appearance of a turbid and boiling torrent, immense in volume and force. From that point its waters pursue their devious way for more than thirteen hundred miles, destroying banks and islands at one locality, reconstructing them at another, absorbing tributary after tributary without visible increase in size, until at length it is in turn absorbed in the great volume of the Gulf."[2] The course of the lower river is in a series of curves, from ten to twelve miles in diameter, with a very regular sweep around near to the point of departure. These loops, or horse-shoe bends, where the river sometimes cuts through in a straight course at high water, form bayous, crescent-shaped lakes, shut out from the current by sand-bars. The bluffs are the only properly habitable parts adjoining the stream, and, along the lower river, these nearly all occur on the east side. They are beds of river or ancient lacustrine deposit, resembling and similar in character to the Rhenish loess, consisting of beds of yellowish loam, sand, and clay, resting upon still more ancient beds of lignite.

The delta of the Mississippi River properly begins at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, where the superfluous waters first seek an outlet, through the St. Francis, White, and other rivers, into the Red River. Below these are found the Atchafalaya, supposed to be the original outlet of the Red River, and the bayous called Manchac, Plaquemine, and Lafourche. Above Cape Girardeau the stream loses gradually its exclusively alluvial river character and begins to admit the confinement of regular banks. The upper river is clear as the Rhone, and even at St. Louis the sediment-laden current of the turbid Missouri has not yet commingled with the clear blue of the upper stream, nor reduced it to the apparent color and consistency of tar, boiling and bubbling in some mighty caldron.

The geology of the river-bed is peculiar. From Cairo to the Gulf the bed does not contain any of the river's own alluvium. The alluvium is found abundantly in the overflowed bottom-lands on each side of the stream, but where the current flows a trough has been hollowed out deep down in a tough blue clay, which the force and volume of the mighty body of water keeps always scoured out and clean. From the mouth of the Ohio to that of the Missouri the same trough is found, but the bed is St. Louis limestone to a great extent. The blue clay is cretaceous in origin, the remains of the bed of a vast cretaceous sea that once extended from the base of the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic coast. At the time this deposit was formed the Mississippi River had no existence. In the tertiary epoch, which succeeded this upper cretaceous, the oceanic lake was narrowed to an estuary, banks of loess being formed on either side. Inside this range of bluffs another deposit of recent alluvium was formed, and the river, thus contracted, cut its trough down through the alluvium, the loess, and the tertiary, until it had made a bed for itself in the cretaceous clay. The river was thus subsequent to the tertiary period, but it had begun to flow as at present, only with a much greater volume of water, previous to the deposition of the loess. The fossils found in the different strata prove this chronology with clearness and accuracy. In the tertiary none but marine fossils are found; in the loess are many fresh-water shells and the remains of quadrupeds allied to existing genera.[3] The present position of the loess or bluff formation presupposes, however, a vertical movement or upheaval of two hundred and fifty feet. The alluvium deposit varies from twenty-five feet deep at Cairo, Ill., to forty feet at New Orleans, and its breadth at Napoleon, Ark., is seventy-five miles; this, however, is the widest point. The sediment from which this alluvium deposit continually falls down is in the proportion of one to fifteen hundred by weight, and one to twenty-nine hundred by bulk in suspension in the water. The mean annual discharge is assumed at 19,500,000,000,000 cubic feet; consequently, 812,500,000,000 pounds of sediment, equal to a deposit of one square mile two hundred and forty-one feet deep, are yearly emptied into the Gulf of Mexico.

Humphrey and Abbot's tables show that the maximum depth of the Mississippi is 118 feet, at Natchez; the mean depth between the Red and Arkansas Rivers is 96 feet. The least low-water depths on the bars are: at St. Louis, 2 feet; Memphis, 5 feet; Natchez, 6 feet. The range between high and low water is, at Rock Island, 16 feet; at the mouth of the Missouri, 35 feet; at St. Louis, 37 feet; at Cairo, 51 feet; at Carrolton, 14 feet; at the head of the Passes, 2.3 feet. The fall of the Lower Mississippi is $\frac{3.2}{100}$ of a foot per mile; of the Ohio, $\frac{4.3}{100}$ of a foot; of the Missouri, below Fort Union, $\frac{9.5}{100}$ of a foot; of the Upper Mississippi, below St. Paul, $\frac{4.2}{100}$ of a foot.

A portion of the valley of the Mississippi has a

[1] These and subsequent facts and figures are derived from the standard work of Humphrey and Abbot, the United States topographical engineers, on the "Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River."

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] J. W. Foster, "The Mississippi Valley." Dr. Foster notes among the quadrupeds identified by Prof. Leidy a lion, two bears, two species of megalonyx, two tapirs, a horse, an elephant, and a mastodon, all extinct, as well as fossils of the existing *Cervus Virginianus*.

volcanic character, and is subject to earthquake disturbance. New Madrid is the centre of this region of disturbance, the waves of which, however, have more than once extended in a milder form to St. Louis. In the end of the year 1811, and from that time on to 1813, a series of severe shocks was felt at New Madrid, sufficient in violence to modify the surface of the country materially, and to destroy forever its prospect, which was then excellent, for becoming a trade and business centre of importance. H. M. Brackenridge, the intelligent and agreeable author of "Views of Louisiana" and "Recollections of the West," visited the place in 1811, just previous to the telluric outbreak, and his description is that of an exceptionally good witness. The district had three-fifths as great a population as that of St. Louis, and it was an objective-point of considerable immigration both from the East and from New Orleans. Vessels descending from the Ohio River regularly made it their stopping-place, and Brackenridge says that "though in a low state of improvement at present, it ought to become important. It will be the store-house of the produce of an extensive and fertile country; and from the St. Francis, and the lakes which lie southwest, it may derive important advantage. New Madrid was laid out twenty-four years ago, by Col. George Morgan, on an extensive scale and an elegant plan. It was chosen as one of the best situations on the river. The town contains four hundred inhabitants, one-third Americans, living in a scattered way, over a great space of ground." One of the largest mounds in the Western country, twelve hundred feet in circumference and forty feet high, was here, and Brackenridge found traces of a great ancient population. The country in the vicinity comprised a vast plain of the richest soil, "handsomely diversified with prairie and woodland;" it was esteemed healthy and was beautiful in appearance.[1]

The earthquakes desolated it, "creating yawning fissures, and converting dry land into lakes, some of which are fifty miles in circumference." The shocks occurred in connection with a telluric activity dis-

[1] In confirmation of this, we present the following curious original document from the manuscript collections of F. L. Billon:

"Enumeration of the
Inhabitants of New Madrid,
Their Slaves, Cattle, and Crops,
1796.

[1] To Mr. Charles Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant-Colonel admitted into the stationary regiment of Louisiana, and military and civil commandant of the post and division of New Madrid.

"Sir the Commandant,—Before handing you the first census of New Madrid under your commandment, I have ventured upon a sketch upon the origin of the settlement of this post, and the causes which have retarded its growth and chiefly its cultivation. If former defects have kept it until this time in a species of stupefaction, your sagacious views and the zeal you exhibit to second the good will of Mr. the Governor-General of this province towards this settlement can in a little while efface the trouble it experienced in its birth.

"I was present, Mr. Commandant, when you pronounced with effusion these words which I wish that all the inhabitants might have heard,—words which depicted so frankly your kind intentions and the interest which Mr. the Governor takes in us.

"'The Governor,' said you, 'is surprised at the languor exhibited by this settlement, and its little advance. He desires its prosperity. I will reflect upon its failure,' added you, 'and will endeavor to remedy it; I ask your assistance. If the inhabitants need encouragement, if they stand in need of help, let them inform me of their wants, and I will convey them to the Governor-General.'

"This offer was appreciated by those near you. Little accustomed to hear the like, they wondered at you, admired you, and appeared to rest content.

"Nevertheless, different statements were spread among those who heard you. Why so long a silence since your generous offer? Is it distrust on their part? Is it profound reflection to better further your views? Or may it not be self-interest that induces some to remain silent? I am ignorant of their motives, and limit myself to the hope that they will eventually break their silence and make known to you their salutary reflections.

"If my knowledge equaled my desires, I would hasten with all my power, Sir the Commandant, to tender you the homage of my services; but they fall too far short to allow me to hope that they could be of any utility to you. I will confine myself solely to communicate to you such knowledge as I have acquired, and my reflections thereon, since I have been at this post, and may a series of these reflections assist in your benevolent heart some happy idea that may tend to the advantage and prosperity of this colony.

"Some traders in pursuit of gain came to L'Anse à la Graisse* (cove of fat or grease), a gathering-place of several Indian nations, and where as tradition tells they found abundance of game, and especially bears and buffaloes; hence the name of L'Anse à la Graisse. A first year of success induced them to try a second and to this, others. Some of them determined to establish their homes where they found a sure trade and unlimited advantages, divided there among themselves the lands. The bayou named since St. John was the rallying-point, and the land the nearest this then became settled. Therefore we find that Messrs. Francis and Joseph Lesieur, Ambrose Dumay, Chatoiller, and others divided among themselves this neighborhood,—property which M. Fouché, the first commandant, considered as sacred, and which he did not disturb. The profits of the trade of L'Anse à la Graisse having been heard of as far as the post Vincennes, the St. Maries, the Hunots, the Racine, the Barsalous, etc., of that place accomplished for some years very advantageous trips. They flattered themselves, moreover, that the Indians at L'Anse à la Graisse traded with them amicably, whilst those of America were treacherous towards them,

* Abounded,—you might say the fat of the land.

tributed over half a hemisphere; an island was elevated three hundred and twenty feet above the sea in the Azores; the city of Caraccas, in Venezuela, was destroyed, with ten thousand of its inhabitants; the volcano of St. Vincent broke into eruption, and subterranean noises of a frightful character were heard on the llanos of Calabazo, which shocks were distinctly felt, and their character noted, at Cincinnati.

and made them averse to inhabit a post where their lives were in constant danger.

"Nevertheless, an unfortunate anarchy, a singular disorder prevailed at L'Anse à la Graisse; all were masters, and would obey none of those who set themselves up as heads or commandants of this new colony. A murder was committed by an inhabitant on another. Then their eyes were opened; they began to feel the necessity of laws, and some one at their head to compel their observance. They bound the culprit and sent him to New Orleans. Everything tends to the belief that the commandants of the posts of Ste. Genevieve and of St. Louis had during these transactions apprised the Governor-General of what was occurring at L'Anse à la Graisse. But a new scene was in preparation.

"One Morgan, having descended the Ohio, the first year that traders settled at L'Anse à la Graisse, he examined, in passing, the land, and found it suitable to fix here a settlement. Returning to America (U. S.), he removed and succeeded in bringing down to this post several families. He selected for the village the elevated ground where are at present the habitations of Jackson and of Waters near the Mississippi. They built some houses on the land; and full of his enterprise and the success he expected from it, Morgan descended to New Orleans to obtain, not encouragement simply in his plans, but proprietary and honorary concessions beyond measure. He was baffled in his pretensions, and did not again set his foot in the colony.

"These various occurrences determined the Governor-General to send a commandant to this post, and M. Fouché was selected. Men are not gods, they all possess in some respects the weaknesses of human nature. The predominant one of the first commandant was self-interest; and who in his place would not have been? Sent to a desert, in the midst of savages, to introduce the laws of a regulated government to new settlers as barbarous as the Indians themselves, what recompense would he have received for neglecting his personal interests? What obligation would the new colony have been under to him? None.

"M. Fouché was the man that was wanted for the creation of this colony, busying himself at the same time with his own interests as that of those of the inhabitants, with his own amusement as well as others, but always after having attended first to his business; and by a singular address, if he sometimes plucked the fowl, he not only did it without making it squall, but set it dancing and laughing. M. Fouché remained but a very short time at this post, and done a great deal; in eighteen months he divided out the country, regulated the land necessary for the village and that of the inhabitants; he built an imposing fort, promulgated the laws of the king, and made them respected; he was the father and friend of all, lamented, regretted, and demanded again from the Governor-General by the unanimous voice of all the inhabitants. In all his labors, was M. Fouché assisted by any one? Had he overseers at the head of the works he prescribed? Not at all. He alone directed everything; he laid out the work; penetrated the cypress swamps to select the useful trees; he walked with the compass in hand to align the streets and limit the lots; he demonstrated by his example to the perplexed workmen how much men with but little main strength, but with intelligence and dexterity, can multiply the extent of the same and surmount obstacles.

"His administration was too brief to ascertain the good he might have done had it continued the ordinary period. What is certain is that during the eighteen months that he was in command there came to New Madrid the largest portion of the families that are still there, and it was he that attracted them there.

"M. Portell, successor of M. Fouché, commanded this post during five years. The population did not increase under his administration, and the growth of agricultural labor was but slightly perceptible. [*Note.*—M. Portell, a man of distinguished merit, equally in the military as in the cabinet, was superior to his position, and if he failed, it was because he did not place himself on a level with the sort of people he had to govern.—P. A. L.]

"M. Portell did not value the inhabitants sufficiently to do them a substantial favor, nor did he use the proper means to improve the condition of the colony. He was not a man of the people, and when by chance his interest required him to assume the character, he was extremely awkward in it. They perceived that he could not play his part, and that a residence at court would have infinitely better suited him than one in a new settlement ill-composed. M. Portell had a good heart; he was by nature noble and generous, but his mind was somewhat mistrustful and suspicious, and his age placed him in a position to be influenced by his surroundings. I am convinced that if M. Portell had come alone to this colony, he would have exhibited much less weakness, and that his time would have been much more taken up for the public good than it had been. The little progress made by the colony must not, however, be attributed to the apparent indifference which seemed to form the base of M. Portell's character,—physical and moral causes retarded its advancement.

"At the period when M. Portell assumed his command he found the inhabitants at this post made up of traders, hunters, and boatmen. Trade was still pretty fair for the first two years of his residence here, so that nearly every one, high or low, would meddle with the trade and not a soul cultivate the soil. It was so convenient with a little powder and lead, some cloth and a few blankets, which they obtained on credit from the stores to procure themselves the meat, grease, and suet necessary for their sustenance, and pay off a part of their indebtedness with some peltries. Some of them, but a very few, seeded, equally well as badly, about an acre of corn, and they all found time to smoke their pipes, and give balls and entertainments. How often have I heard them regretting those happy days, when they swam in grease, and when abundance of every description was the cause of waste and extravagance, and the stores of fish from their drag-nets gave them whisky at four or five reaux (bits of twelve and one-half cents) a gallon, and flour at four or five dollars a barrel maintained and kept up these festivals and pleasures, which only came to an end when the purses were exhausted!

"M. Fouché, a young man, who during his command of the post never neglected his work or business for amusements, yet found time to be at them all, and often was the first to start them; but M. Portell was not so sociable in this respect; he found fault with this light-headedness and folly, and judged that a colony peopled by such individuals could not attain a very brilliant success.

"At last, game in these parts becoming scarcer, the Indians removed themselves farther off and were seldom here; the traders knew very well where to find them, but the inhabitants

New Madrid was one focus of this wide-spread disturbance, and the shocks were repeated almost hourly for so many months, that the inhabitants who remained finally became inured and comparatively indifferent to them. The district was sparsely settled, the log cabins in which the people dwelt were not easily overthrown, and this prevented the loss of life which shocks of such severity must otherwise have

waited for them in vain,—then grease, suet, meat, and peltries being no longer brought in by the Indians, it was only a few resident hunters and the traders themselves that provisioned the village; the unfortunate habit of not working had gained the day, it was too difficult to overcome it; so great distress was often seen in the country before they could snatch a few ears of green corn from a badly-cultivated field. Three or four Americans at most had as far back as 1793 risked the settlement of farms on large tracts of land; the creoles undervalued them, did not eat their fill of dry corn bread, and smoked their pipes quietly. They were, however, surprised to see that with several cows they often had not a drop of milk, whilst these three or four Americans gorged themselves with it, and sold them butter, cheese, eggs, and chickens, etc.

"By dint of looking into the matter, and waiting in vain for the Indians to supply them with provisions, it struck them that the most prudent thing they could do would be to become farmers. It became then a species of epidemic, and the malady spreading from one to the other, there was not a single one of them but who, without energy, spirit, animals, or plows, and furnished only with his pipe and steel, must needs possess a farm.

"It was towards the close of the year 1793 that this disease spread itself, and towards the spring of 1794 all the lands in the vicinity of New Madrid were to be broken up and torn into rags to be seeded and watered by the sweat of these new farmers. Who can tell how far this newly-awakened enthusiasm might have been carried? It might have produced a salutary crisis, but an unlooked-for occurrence calmed this effervescence. All were enrolled into a militia to be paid from Jan. 1, 1794, and they found it much pleasanter to eat the king's bread, receive his pay, and smoke their pipes than to laboriously grub some patches of land to make it produce some corn and potatoes. These militia-men were disbanded about the middle of 1794. Their pay was already wasted, they found it a great hardship to be no longer furnished with bread by the king, the largest portion of them had neglected their planting, they found themselves at the year's end in want, and clamored as thieves against the king, saying it was all his fault. M. Portell knew well his people and disregarded these outcries.

"In the mean time five galleys had come up in the course of this year, and had passed all the summer at New Madrid, and they had caused a great consumption of food. M. Portell found nothing in the village for their subsistence, and drew his supplies for them in part from Illinois and from Kentucky. He did not let pass the opportunity of making it felt by those of the inhabitants of long residence that they should have been in a condition to have furnished a part of these supplies, but the blows he struck came too late and made but little impression. The hot fever which had occasioned the delirium, where every one saw himself a farmer, had now subsided; none thought any more of it. Some of them who had made a trial of their experience at Lake St. Isidro had so poorly succeeded that the laugh was not on their side, and it needed but little for hunting, rowing, and smoking the pipe to resume their ancient authority over nearly all the colony.

"In 1795 a new fit of the fever struck the inhabitants. The settlement of Fort St. Fernando occasioned a hasty cleaning out of the little corn there was in the colony; Kentucky furnished a little, and Ste. Genevieve supplied a great deal even to New Madrid, that fell short after after having consumed her own supply. This example struck the inhabitants; they saw that if they had harvested extensively they could have well disposed of their surplus,—new desires to go on farms to raise stock and to make crops.

"During these occurrences several American families came to New Madrid. Some of them placed themselves at once on farms, and, like children, our creoles, from a sort of jealousy, clamored against the Americans, whom they thought too wonderful; jealousy stimulated them, and they would also place themselves on farms.

"It is in reality, then, only since the year 1796 that we may regard the inhabitants of this post as having engaged in cultivation, and that it is but yet absolutely in its infancy.

"The population of the years 1794, 1795, and 1796 is nearly about the same, but the crops have increased from year to year, and all tends to the belief that this increase will be infinitely more perceptible in future years.

"In the year 1794 the corn crop was 6000 bushels; in 1795 it was 10,000 bushels; in 1796 it was 17,000 bushels.

"It was in this posture of things that M. Portell left his command.

"It was perhaps impossible, from the foregoing facts, that the settlement at New Madrid could have made greater progress than it has up to this time. It was not husbandmen who came and laid the foundations, it was tradesmen, cooks, and others, who would live there with but little expense and labor, who, being once fixed there, having their lands and their cattle, the Indians having removed themselves to a distance and trade no longer within the reach of all the world, necessity taught them that to procure the means necessary to live they must resort to tilling the soil. The first attempts were difficult, but the inducement of disposing with ease of their crops determined them to labor.

"The first steps have been taken; nothing remains for a wise commandant but to manage everything with prudence, according to the views of the government, to firmly repel idleness and laziness, to welcome and encourage activity, and exhibit to the industrious man that he is distinguished above others, and has earned the protection of the government in giving him tangible proof, either by preference in purchasing from him, or some other manner of recompense. The honest man, the active and industrious man is sensible of the slightest proceeding on the part of his superiors, and it is to him a great expansion to reflect that his labors and fatigues have not been ignored, and that they give him a claim on the good will and benevolence of the heads of a province.

"What a vast field is open to a commandant who would reap advantage by these means, and gain the benedictions of all the worthy inhabitants of a colony!

"I stop here, Mr. Commandant. What I might say further would add but little to the good purposes you design for the progress and success of this place. I have made a concise narration of the origin of the post of New Madrid, and the reasons of its slow growth in agriculture; the census which follows will give you a correct view of its present position. It will prove to you that courage and emulation need but a slight support to emerge from the giddiness where they have so long remained; but for certain the creoles will never make this a flourishing settlement, it will be the Americans, Germans, and other active people who will reap the glory of it.

caused. There are several interesting accounts of the earthquakes by eye-witnesses, or by those who conversed with eye-witnesses, while the shocks were still fresh in their memories. The first tremor was felt on the night of Dec. 16, 1811, after a term of pleasant, warm, hazy weather, like that of the Indian summer. The gay French population was still at the dance

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"Observe, if it pleases you, sir, that among the habitations granted long since, those given in by Francis Racine, by Hunot, Sr., the Hunot sons, Paquin, Laderoute, deceased Gamelin, Lalotte, etc., have not yet had a single tree cut on them, that those of the three brothers Saint Marie, Meloche, and other creoles are barely commenced. You will see, on the contrary, that the Americans who obtain grants of lands have nothing more at heart but to settle on them at once, and improve them to the extent of their ability, and from this it is easy to draw conclusions.

"Another observation which will surely not escape you, sir, is that the total of heads of families amount, according to the census I exhibit to you, to one hundred and fifty-nine, and that in this number there are fifty-three who have no property. This, I think, is an evil, to which it would be easy for you to apply a remedy. In a country destined to agricultural pursuits and to the breeding of domestic animals, it is too much that one-third of its inhabitants should stand isolated from the general interest, and that the other two-thirds should be exposed to be the victims of a set of idle and lazy people, always at hand in their slightest necessities to satiate their hunger by preying on the industrious.

"I think, Mr. Commandant, that several habitations left by persons who have absented themselves from this post for a long time should be reunited to the domain.

"The following are of this class:

"One Emie Bolduc, absent for over two years, had a place at Lake St. Francis, No. 2.

"John Easton, absent over three years, had a place at Lake St. Eulalie; it is now abandoned. Mr. Walker says he has claims on it. What are they?

"One Tournay had a place at Lake St. Isidro; he associated with him to cultivate it one Gamar. Tournay returned to France, and Gamar has worked for two years at Fort St. Fernando.

"M. Desrocher, why has he not worked his place in the mill prairie which he holds for over four years? Has he not enough with the one he holds at St. Isidro?

"M. Chisholm holds three places; he lives on one he has just commenced to clear, a second is *en valeur*, and since over four years he has done nothing on a third near the village. Has he not enough with two? Why hold land uselessly, and above all near the village?

"The examination you will give the census and the information concerning the property of each head of a family will lead you probably to other reflections. I append to the whole a new map of the village and its environs, as taken after the last abrasion of lands by the Mississippi; this work claims your indulgence; it is not that of an artist, but of one of the most zealous subjects of his majesty; and the only merit it may possess is to demonstrate to you with correctness the number of places that have been conceded in the village, the houses that are built thereon, and the names of the proprietors on the general list, which corresponds with the same numbers as those placed on each conceded place.

"I pray you to believe me, with profound respect, Sir the Commandant, your very affectionate and devoted servant,

"PETER ANTHONY LAFORGE.

"NEW MADRID, Dec. 31, 1796."

	Heads of Families.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Slaves.	Horses.	Cattle.	Bushels of Corn.
1	Pierre Desrocher	1	...	1	...	5	18	350
2	Robert McKay	1	1	1	...	1	10	350
3	Pierre Saffray	...	...	...	...	1	5	350
4	Joel Bennet	1	3	2	...	...	...	50
5	James Mence	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6	Elisah Jacson	...	...	...	2	3	25	100
7	Geo. Ruddel	1	2	5	6	3	6	30
8	Geo. Robock	1	...	...	...	...	3	150
9	Jas Adams	1	1	3	...	...	4	100
10	William Mock	1	...	...	...	...	...	50
11	John Somers	...	...	...	...	...	...	80
12	Arthur Melon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	Robert Upham	...	...	...	...	1	10	400
14	David Gray	...	...	...	...	1	10	400
15	Jacob Meyers	1	2	4	...	...	8	...
16	Thomas Horsley	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17	Ant. Hibernois Meloche	1	...	...	...	3	7	250
18	Gabriel Hunot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19	Joseph Hunot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20	Francis Falconer	1	...	1	...	...	...	200
21	Joseph Storey	1	...	...	...	3	11	160
22	Jean Horner	1	...	...	...	...	2	150
23	Madelaine Hunot, ve Gamelin	...	2	3	...	...	1	50
24	Doct. H. M. Chisholm	1	1	3	2	2	25	1100
25	Geo. Wilson	1	...	1	...	...	4	800
26	Geo. Onrau	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27	Robert Wite	1	2	...	...	...	...	200
28	André Tousambroud	...	1	2	...	4	15	800
29	Philippe Lietrot	1	2	2	...	...	2	25
30	Samuel Dorsey	1	...	...	...	3	2	...
31	François Paquet	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
32	Geo. N. Reagan	1	2	2	10	2	3	...
33	Chas Bonneau, dit Lalotte	1	3	2	...	...	1	70
34	François Racine	1	2	3	...	1	7	60
35	Joseph Hunot, père	1	1	3	...	2	2	150
36	Jean Bapt. Barsaloux	...	...	...	...	3	7	900
37	Isidor Skerette	...	...	...	...	1	40	...
38	Sarah Mulatresse	...	...	1	...	...	2	...
39	Joseph Ste. Marie	1	3	1	...	1	8	80
40	Etienne Ste. Marie	1	5	2	...	1	12	300
41	Fran's Ste. Marie Bourbon	1	2	3	...	...	3	150
42	François Paquin	1	7	...	...	2	4	60
43	Paul Laderoute	1	1	1	...	...	2	30
44	Christophe Winsor	1	2	...	...	...	6	45
45	Isaac Thompson	1	...	...	1	2	8	200
46	Moise Langsford	1	1	3	...	2	30	1200
47	John Hart	...	...	...	...	2	25	500
48	John Laplaud Thifant	1	1	1	...	2	12	400
49	Jean Parquer	1	1	5	...	...	2	...
50	Jacob Beangard	1	4	4	...	1	4	1200
51	Azor Rees	1	...	1	6	...	9	600
52	Fardiveau et Comp	...	...	...	2	...	7	350
53	Louis Vandenbauder	1	...	...	4	...	3	...
54	Pierre Derbigny	1	2	...	1	...	8	...
55	Thomas Tuintiman	1	3	3	...	1	8	80
56	David Shelby	1	6	4	...	1	8	200
57	Mathieu McCormek	1	1	2	...	...	4	100
58	Jacob Crow	1	1	...	...	...	...	100
59	Rich'd J. Waters	...	...	...	3	12	100	2400
60	John Germey	1	...	3	...	...	3	100
61	Jaques Cottè, Chatoillier	1	...	...	...	6	8	25
62	André Wilson	...	...	...	...	...	6	60
63	Samuel Black	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
64	Francis Lesieur	1	...	2	...	6	12	300
65	Veuve José Lesieur	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
66	Louis Brouillette	1	2	...	...	1	8	50
67	Andre Godet	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
68	Andre Cokée	1	...	...	...	...	2	150
69	Moise Malbeuf	1	...	2	...	...	5	20
70	C. Fran's Riche Dupen	1	1	...	...	...	5	...
71	Veuve Cyrille Leduc	...	1	...	...	...	1	...
72	Claude Thirier	...	...	...	...	...	1	60
73	Henry Green	...	...	...	...	...	...	50
74	F. de John Biggs	...	1	...	...	...	4	...
75	Vadeboncœur	1	...	...	...	1	...	50
76	François Berthiaume	1	2	1	...	10	2	30
77	Jean Viot dit Gascon	1	2	3	...	...	1	30
78	Hyacinthe Berthiaume	...	...	...	...	1	2	60
79	Pierre Sabourin	1	1	1	...	...	2	25
80	Joseph Riendeau	1	4	1	...	...	3	30
81	Noel Berthiaume	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
82	Alex. Sampson	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
83	Jean B. Chandillon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
84	Charles Guilbaut	...	...	1	...	...	4	60
85	Girard Derlac	1	...	...	...	...	1	...
86	Jean B'te Racine	1	1	2	...	1	4	...
87	Jean B. Maisonville	...	...	...	...	...	...	30
88	Louis St. Aubin	1	2	3	...	...	3	40

when the first violent convulsion came, throwing down houses and fences. Great consternation prevailed, all

	Heads of Families.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Slaves.	Horses.	Cattle.	Bushels of Corn.
89	Veuve Chartier	...	2	1	...	...	1	30
90	James Rayen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
91	Joseph Michel	...	...	...	3	...	4	400
92	Ant. Vachette, St. Antoine	1	3	2	...	...	...	140
93	Joseph Guill	1	...	...	...	1	4	80
94	Suzanne Guill	...	...	...	...	...	2	40
95	Fr's Conteley Marchaterre	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
96	Joseph Legrand	...	...	...	...	1	...	30
97	Joseph Lamoureax	1	2	...	...	...	...	...
98	Tomas Jacob	1	...	...	...	...	...	50
99	Jean S. Guerin	1	2	1	...	...	2	...
100	Joseph Laferuay	1	...	...	...	1	1	...
101	Jean Lavallée	1	1	2	2	1	4	...
102	Femme de Phil Ducomb	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
103	Katy Hands, Chevanon	...	...	...	...	1	...	50
104	Tomas Power	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
105	Jacques Laderoute	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
106	Michel Clermont	1	2	...	...	...	...	...
107	Ant. Vachard, mimi Lardoise	1	1	...	...	...	7	40
108	P're Antoine Laforge	1	2	2	...	...	...	120
109	Veuve Davin	...	1	...	...	...	2	30
110	Marie Chéraquile	...	2	2	...	...	4	30
111	Pierre Poirier	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
112	Louis Denoyer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
113	Joseph Failf	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
114	Pierre Vandernailt	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
115	Pitre Egains	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
116	André Goder, le petit	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
117	Fany Hands	...	...	...	...	...	8	...
118	Le Dame Labussiere	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
119	Laurent Aveline	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
120	Isidor Dupins	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
121	Jean Bap. Dupins	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
122	François l'Anglois	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
123	James Gool	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
124	Femme Largillon	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
125	Joseph McCourtney	1	...	...	...	...	1	...
126	John Pritchel	...	2	1	...	...	...	...
127	Marie St. Pierre	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
128	William Hilton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
129	Nicholas Teper	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
130	Samuel Hill	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
131	William Davis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
132	Juan Wats	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
133	Joseph Douairon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
134	François Archambeau	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
135	Jean Ba. Gervais	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
136	Albert	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
137	Louise Lacroix	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
138	Anne Dorette, femme Scaler	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
139	Phil. Louvierre, D'amour	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
140	André Gireult	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
141	Nancy Foul	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
142	Joseph Nichols	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
143	Cath. Brown, femme Campbell	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
144	Jacquin Rels	1	2	3	...	...	...	...
145	John Guitmore	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
146	John Kang	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
147	Antoine Horlen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
148	John Dairmont	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
149	George Haur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
150	John Watson	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
151	Barnel Ovreby	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
152	François Hobson	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
153	Davis Laines	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
154	Jno. B. Lafleur, du tremble	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
155	Mathieu Raillé	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
156	Joseph Bomaugar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
157	Alexis Picard	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
158	Peter Johnson	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		77	116	105	42	96	608	17,435

RECAPITULATION.

Chef de famille	Heads of families—Male	140	
	Female	19	
		159	
Femmes	Women	77	
Fils	Boys	116	
Filles	Girls	105	
			457 souls.
Esclaves	Slaves	42	
Chevaux	Horses	96	
Bêtes à corne	Horned cattle	608	
Recoltes de mais	Corn product	17,435	bush.

NEW MADRID, 31 Fbre, 1796.

rushed out-doors, and all began to pray.[1] The shocks continued during twenty or thirty months, sometimes coming on gradually and increasing in force; sometimes the first shock the most violent and coming suddenly. The waves came from the west or south-west. Fissures six and seven hundred feet long and twenty or thirty feet wide were formed, through which water or sand was spouted forty feet into the air, attended with electric flashes and sparks. Great oaks were cleft in twain, and mighty walnuts and cypresses submerged forty feet under water, at the bottom of newly-formed lakes. Hon. Lewis F. Linn, United States Senator from Missouri, in a letter written in 1836, incidentally gave a graphic account of some features of this earthquake. He was trying to explain the origin of those hills in the St. Francis River country which the French call "*cotes sans dessein*," by ascribing them to telluric agitations. "In the region now under consideration," he wrote, "during the continuance of so appalling a phenomenon, which commenced by distant rumbling sounds, succeeded by discharges as if a thousand pieces of artillery were suddenly exploded, the earth rocked to and fro, vast chasms opened, from whence issued columns of water, sand, and coal, accompanied by hissing sounds, caused, perhaps, by the escape of pent-up steam, while ever

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"I find in these papers of Mr. Delassus a census of the inhabitants of Cape Girardeau, returned by the then commandant, Louis Lorimier, Nov. 23, 1803.

"It contains the names of one hundred and eighty-eight heads of families, the only French names are the following six, viz.: Louis Lorimier, Comd't; Barthéléme Cousin, Pierre Godair, Jean Losta, Louis Eustache, Francois Berthiaume.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whites	545	481	1026
Blacks	90	90	180
Population	635	571	1206

"*Note.*—I am inclined to think that this must have included the country for some miles around, as the population of St. Louis at that day was barely one thousand.

"F. L. BILLON."

(It included the whole district.)

[1] "A witness was in the midst of a great forest when the first great shock was felt. He was a field sportsman, and was accompanied in this hunt by a Frenchman of Little Prairie. He acknowledged that the frightful scene around effectually unnerved him. When the earth was rocking beneath his feet, and the tallest trees waving, like tempest-tossed spars on the ocean, over his head, 'his knees smote together' and gave way, and he found himself in the most devout attitude, imploring the Director of visible power to lend that protection no mortal could compass. The Frenchman, relying on human effort, exclaimed, with national vivacity, 'Monsieur Walkare! No time for pray! Sacré Dieu! Gardez-vous les branch.' And a shower of dried limbs from a tree-top overhead disturbed his devout exercises, and they saved their lives by flight to the nearest prairie."—*Wetmore's Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*. St. Louis, 1837.

and anon flashes of electricity gleamed through the troubled clouds of night, rendering the darkness doubly horrible. The current of the Mississippi, pending this elemental strife, was driven back upon its source with the greatest velocity for several hours, in consequence of an elevation of its bed. But this noble river was not thus to be stayed in its course. Its accumulated waters came booming on, and, overtopping the barrier thus suddenly raised, carried everything before them with resistless power. . . . The day that succeeded this night of terror brought no solace in its dawn. Shock followed shock; a dense black cloud of vapor overshadowed the land, through which no straggling sunbeam found its way to cheer the desponding heart of man, who, in silent communion with himself, was compelled to acknowledge his meekness and dependence on the everlasting God." Timothy Flint, the intelligent traveler, visited this region seven years after the earthquake, and has left the following graphic account of it:[1]

"From all the accounts," he says, "corrected one by another, and compared with the very imperfect narratives which were published, I infer that the shock of these earthquakes, in the immediate centre of their force, must have equaled, in the terrible heavings of the earth, anything of the kind that has been recorded. I do not believe that the public have ever yet had any adequate idea of the violence of the concussions. We are accustomed to measure this by the buildings overturned and the mortality that results. Here, the country was thinly settled. The houses, fortunately, were frail, and of logs,—the most difficult to overturn that could be constructed. Yet, as it was, whole tracts were plunged in the bed of the river. The graveyard at New Madrid, with all its sleeping tenants, was precipitated into the bend of the stream. Most of the houses were thrown down. Large lakes, twenty miles in extent, were made in an hour; other lakes were drained. The whole country, to the mouth of the Ohio in one direction, and to the St. Francis in the other, including a front of three hundred miles, was convulsed to such a degree as to create lakes and islands, the number of which is not known, and to cover a tract of many miles in extent, near the Little Prairie, with water, three or four feet deep; and when the water disappeared, a stratum of sand, of the same thickness, was left in the place. Trees split in the midst, and lashed one with another, are still visible over great tracts of country, inclining in every direction, and at every angle to the earth and the horizon. They described the undulations of the earth as resembling waves, increasing in elevation as they advanced, and when they had attained a certain fearful height, the earth would burst, and vast volumes of water and sand and pit-coal were discharged as high as the tops of the trees. I have seen a hundred of these chasms which remained fearfully deep, although in a very tender alluvial soil, and after a lapse of seven years. Whole districts were covered with white sand, so as to become uninhabitable. The water at first covered the whole country, particularly at the Little Prairie; and it must, indeed, have been a scene of horror, in these deep forests, and in the gloom of the darkest night, and by wading in the water to the middle, for the inhabitants to fly from these concussions, which were occurring every few hours, with a noise equally terrible to beasts and birds, as well as to man. The birds themselves lost all power and disposition to fly, and retreated to the bosoms of men, their fellow-sufferers in the general convulsion. A few persons sank in these chasms, and were providentially extricated. One person died of affright; and one perished miserably on an island which retained its original level in the midst of a wide lake created by the earthquake. . . . A number perished, who sank with their boats in the river. A bursting of the earth just below the village of New Madrid arrested the mighty stream in its course and caused a reflux of its waves, by which, in a little time, a great number of boats were swept by the ascending current into the mouth of the bayou, carried out, and left upon the dry earth, where the accumulating waters of the river had again changed the current. There were a great number of severe shocks, but two series of concussions were particularly terrible, far more so than the rest; and they remark that the shocks were clearly distinguishable into two classes: those in which the motion was horizontal, and those in which it was perpendicular. The latter was attended with the explosions and the terrible mixture of noises that preceded and accompanied the earthquakes in a louder degree, but were by no means so desolating and destructive as the other. When they were felt, the houses crumbled, and trees waved together, and the ground sank, and all the destructive phenomena were conspicuous. In the interval of the earthquakes, there was one evening—and that a brilliant and cloudless one—in which the western sky was a continued glare of vivid flashes of lightning and of repeated peals of subterranean thunder, seeming to proceed, as the flashes did, from below the horizon. They remark that the night, so conspicuous for subterranean thunder, was the same period in which the fatal earthquakes of Caracas occurred; and they seem to suppose those flashes and that event parts of the same scene."

The chasms had a general direction from southwest to northeast, and were of an extent to swallow up not only men, but houses. They occurred at intervals of less than half a mile, and the people felled tall trees across them, riding upon the trunks and in the branches to escape being engulfed. The destruction of property and values was so great that Congress was forced to come to the relief of the people, passing a law granting to each proprietor whose land was destroyed a section of land in the Boone-Lick country, the desolated farm being relinquished to the government. Some of the fissures still discharge gases and blasts of air, and earthquake shocks are occasionally felt in the section, but none of such severity as those described.

The fertility of nearly all the soils in the valley of the Mississippi is as phenomenal as its extent is great. This does not apply merely to the alluvium and lands produced originally or subsequently reinvigorated by inundation, but also to the yellow loam of the loess or bluff-formations and the deep, black soil of the prairies, both level and rolling. All are deep and seemingly inexhaustible. Volney made the discovery in the course of his travels, and subsequent observation

[1] Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley. 1826.

and experiment have confirmed it, that the productiveness and fertility of the valley of the Mississippi are due to the northeast trade-winds of the Atlantic Ocean, which, entering the Gulf of Mexico and crossing the peninsula of Yucatan, finally make their way, surcharged with moisture, up the valley of the great river as southeast and rain-bearing winds. The prairies, says Dr. Foster, are not due to the texture of the soil, nor to annual burnings, nor, as Lesquereux, the geologist of Illinois, supposes, to peat-growth, but to unequal supply of moisture and an alternating excess and deficiency of rain-fall throughout the year. That the prairies never were forest regions is evident from the fact that no entombed tree-trunks are found in the prairie sloughs, as they have been in all swamps and marshes of forest sections. The irregular and deficient supply of moisture, while it causes the disappearance of trees, does not materially affect agriculture until the highly-elevated plains of the West are reached; in fact, according to Dr. J. G. Cooper, "most crops will succeed much better with less rain than is necessary for most trees to thrive." The rains which water the Mississippi basin are unequally distributed as to the seasons of the year, those of spring and summer being largely in excess. In winter the mouth of the Mississippi is in the area of greatest precipitation, eighteen inches, this excessive amount declining, as we ascend and approach the confines of the densely-wooded region, to seven inches; in the prairies the condition of moisture varies from five to three inches; in the treeless plains, from two inches to nothing. In autumn the river-mouths are in the area of greatest precipitation, twelve inches, decreasing to eight inches on the edge of the forest; ranging from eight to five inches in the prairie, and from four inches to nothing on the plains. In summer the range is as follows: densely-wooded region, fifteen to twelve inches; prairies, twelve to eight inches; plains, eight to four inches. In spring the range is fifteen inches at mouth of river and Pensacola, ten inches at Fort Laramie, and Chicago and Cheyenne each eight inches. Dr. Foster remarks that "a region where the annual precipitation is slightly in excess of twenty inches, I infer from observation, is unfavorable to the growth of trees, even were that moisture equally distributed, but where three-fourths of it is precipitated during the spring and summer, the grasses flourish and mature to the exclusion of arborescent forms. The effect of this peculiarity of the climate is to extend the cultivation of the cereals much farther west than could be done if the moisture were equally distributed, and to afford rich pasturage to immense herds of buffalo, up to the verge of the Rocky Mountains, over a region which, if the rains were equally distributed, would present still more inhospitable features."

Of course, this motion of the atmosphere and mode of precipitation of its moisture has much to do with the climate of the country. Climate is a result of numerous and complex conditions. The geographical position of a country, and also its topographical configuration, must be taken into the consideration. The climate of Missouri is typical, in many respects, of the general climate of the "interior,"—a climate of extremes both in temperature and degrees of moisture. The altitude above the sea of that part of Missouri which binds upon the Mississippi River varies from two hundred and seventy-five feet in the southeast corner to four hundred and forty-five feet in the northeast,—a rise of only one hundred and seventy feet in five degrees of latitude, or not much more than six inches to the mile. Nothing can better prove the fact that Eastern Missouri lies within the great prairie plain of the interior. The Missouri River rises from four hundred feet at its mouth to over one thousand feet at the State line, a fact which shows that the true prairie begins to merge into the elevated plain before half the State has been traversed from east to west. These are all circumstances germane to any consideration of the climatology and geology of St. Louis. The accurate observations of thermometrical and barometrical variations at St. Louis extend over a period of more than forty years. The mean temperature of St. Louis is found to lie between 53 degrees 24 minutes and 58 degrees, or say about 55 degrees 30 minutes Fahr., and the range of extremes is from 22½ degrees below zero to 104 degrees above,—equal to an extreme fluctuation of 126½ degrees. Dr. Englemann has prepared a table illustrating the seranges, which is published in connection with Campbell's "Atlas of Missouri." It is as follows:

	Winter.	Spring.	Summer.	Autumn.	Whole Year.
Mean temperature.	33.3°	55.4°	76.8°	56.3°	55.6°
Highest mean.....	40.4°	62.2°	80.1°	60.5°	58.2°
Lowest mean.....	26.4°	48.6°	72.0°	51.3°	53.4°
Range of highest temperature.....	49° to 81°	85° to 97°	93° to 104°	82° to 102°	93° to 104°
Range of lowest temperature.....	—22 to +4°	0° to 28°	43° to 57°	—1° to +28°	—22° to +10°

No such ranges and fluctuations are known upon the seacoast. The extreme daily range of temperature in spring and winter is sometimes as great as 56 degrees, in fall and summer 40 degrees. The last frosts in spring occur between March 13th and May 2d, the average being April 5th; in autumn the earliest frosts set in between October 4th and November 26th, the mean being October 27th, the limits between the freezing-point

thus ranging from 184 to 252 days, with an average of 205 days. Dr. Englemann observes that "the progress of vegetable development can best be appreciated by the observation of common and well-known wild or cultivated trees and shrubs. Thus we find that the first in bloom is the alder and the hazel, next—not rarely retarded by intervening cold spells—the soft or silver-leaf maple; and a few days after this, our common white elm blooms, between February 24th and April 15th, on an average, March 19th. During the next following days roses, syringas, gooseberries, and many other bushes, and the weeping willows, show their young leaves. About two weeks after the elms—between March 18th and April 25th, on an average about April 2d—the peach-trees open their first blossoms, and are one week later in full bloom. Plum and pear-trees and sweet cherries blossom about the same time, or a few days later, and then the sour cherries, and the glory of our rich woods, the redbuds. Between March 21st and May 1st (mean April 14th) the early apple-trees begin to bloom; and between March 28th and May 10th (mean April 20th) may be said to be in full bloom. Syringas bloom about the same time, crab-apples five or six days later, and a few days after them the quince-bushes. The acacia, or black locust, native of our southeastern border, and cultivated everywhere about farms and in towns, begins to bloom between April 11th and May 23d, on an average May 1st, and six to ten days later is in its fullest fragrant glory. Ripening strawberries and cherries and blooming roses closely follow it, and the catalpa, a very singular bloomer, comes in full development generally between two or three weeks after the acacia. The maturity and harvest of the winter wheat immediately succeeds the catalpa, between June 10th and July 1st, usually about June 20th."

In connection with this branch of climatology, a very careful and intelligent observer, the late Hon. Thomas Allen, long ago (in 1847, in fact) furnished an interesting paper to the *Horticulturist*, then conducted by the lamented Downing. That eminent writer on rural affairs, almost the founder of landscape-gardening in the United States, could appreciate good things in his line, and was delighted with Mr. Allen's contribution, of which he said he had seen no account of the West so full of real information to those interested in rural affairs, and none in which that intelligence was conveyed "so concisely, justly, and correctly." We shall have occasion farther on to quote other portions of Mr. Allen's paper; what he says of temperature, and the germination, flowering, and ripening of plants, is as follows:

"The climate does not correspond with that of the same latitude on the sea-coast. It differs in respect to the prevalency of certain winds, in variableness, and in being perhaps not hotter, but drier in summer. Our spring seasons are often wet; our summers frequently dry. The autumn is often a perpetual 'Indian summer,' delightful as can be imagined. Yet frost appears sometimes in October, and November may bring severely cold weather. The consequences upon vegetation of a dry summer, succeeded by a fine and late-growing autumn, we may have occasion to advert to. The winters are generally mild: the average mean temperature of the winter months for several years being, for example, about 30°. Snow sometimes falls in various depths under twelve inches, but rapidly disappears. It not unfrequently happens that we can plow in every winter month, and for weeks together artificial heat is not required in our green-houses. Two winters ago ice was not formed in sufficient quantities to supply our ice-houses. Yet I have heard it said that the Mississippi has been known to be frozen over below the mouth of the Ohio. Last winter that river was firmly closed above and more than sixty miles below this city for more than a month. In the mean time there were many warm and sunny days.

"The month of February often tempts all vegetation by its genial warmth, and the horticulturist has to lament the premature swelling of his fruit-buds, doomed, alas! to repeated and killing frosts in March and even in April. Indeed, the month of January is sometimes as mild here as the month of March generally is in Philadelphia. For example, the mean temperature of that month in 1845 was 41°. Ducks and geese began to fly northward, bluebirds appeared, and several shrubs put forth leaves. Coldest point, 22°; warmest, 71°; range, 49°. The mean of February was 43°; of March 42°; but the range was greater in both these months than in January. Coldest point in March, 20°; warmest, 74°; range, 54°. In April the mean was 64°; coldest, 30°; warmest, 85°; range, 55°. And in all the months of the year we have sudden and great variations, the thermometer often ranging 20° within two or three hours. The frosts of early April generally find the apricot, the peach, the cherry, the plum, in full bloom. I have heard some of the older inhabitants insist that a *full crop* of peaches is not realized more than once in five years, owing to premature blossoming. My own experience is corroborative of the general fact, which also applies to apricots and nectarines. Yet some of our trees wholly escape, and are overburdened with fruit, as is the case the present year, notwithstanding severe frosts near the middle of April.

"In 1841 the greatest cold was 6° *below* zero, January 17th. The greatest heat 102°, July 13th. Variation, 108°. Greatest heat in February, 79°; greatest cold, 4°. We consider a cold February and March most favorable for our fruit. The mean of February, 1845, was 43°. We had very little fruit that year. The mean of February, 1846, was 32°. We have an abundant crop. The greatest heat of the present unusually hot year all over the country was 98° early in July. No rain of any consequence for more than two months.

"The average mean temperature of seven years prior to 1836, according to our late Association of Natural Sciences, was as follows:

January	29.5
February	34.5
March	42.7
April	58.6
May	65.2
June	73.1
July	78.1
August	74.6
September	66.9
October	55.8
November	49.2
December	33.7
Annual range, 108°.	55.2

This is 5.2° hotter than what is said to be the medium annual temperature of the whole earth. It is six or seven degrees hotter than the average temperature of London; two or three degrees *less* than that of Washington City; one or two degrees *less* than that of Cincinnati, Ohio, and New Harmony, Ind.; if the published meteorological statistics of those places are correct. Only two degrees hotter than that of Philadelphia, and eight degrees hotter than that of Boston. About eleven degrees less than that of New Orleans. Yet St. Louis has the reputation of being excessively hot.

"The annual and monthly range of the thermometer is much greater at St. Louis than at London or New Orleans. It is less than at Albany and Newburgh, and much less than at many other towns in New York. There is more uniformity and more humidity in the climate of London than in that of St. Louis. The thermometer will indicate as high a degree of 'greatest heat' at Albany in summer as it will in St. Louis; and in winter it will show the 'greatest cold' at Albany. But we have the greatest heat for the greatest length of time at St. Louis, and the sun's rays seem to be more direct and scorching. We have no mountains, except in the south interior part of Missouri, while the country is comparatively flat far off to the north and south, and vast prairies stretch to the east and west of us. The prevailing winds follow the general course of our Great Valley, modified at times by the blasts from the great plains in the west, and from the prairies and lakes to the east and northeast. Fortunately for us, the east wind does not often for many continuous days bring to us the epidemic effluvia which are generated in the great Senegambian Bottom, that stretches along the opposite shores.

"The average number of dry days of four years was 260 for each year; of wet days, 105; of sunshine, 314; of no sunshine, 51; of thunder-storms, 53.

"The summer of the present year has been unusually dry, favorable for insects injurious to fruit, and would have proved entirely destructive to corn and potatoes but for the rains of the last of August. But the year 1844 was more destructive from too much wet. I think, however, that, as we have no mountains, and the primitive forest is gradually disappearing, future observations will show that the average number of dry days will increase, and that the moisture of our soil and the waters of our streams and small lakes will diminish.

"The nights of summer often *feel* as oppressively hot as the days, but not always. The thermometer sometimes falls twenty degrees soon after sunset. There is, in bright moonlight nights, an extensive radiation from the surface of the fields. The thermometer will indicate eight or ten degrees lower temperature at the surface than it will at ten feet above. Dew is rapidly distilled. The night air is humid. Fogs sometimes arise, but they are not frequent. The commonest diseases of the country are bilious and remittent. New immigrants can scarcely labor in the field under the scorching sun of summer. Ague and fever is often found in the low grounds and along the river 'bottoms.' Where vegetation is most luxuriant there is the greatest decompositton. A vegetable diet is the most suitable for the summer months. Fruit also, in moderation, I believe to be better than animal food in warm climates. Fully ripe, and sound and healthy itself, it seems naturally adapted and intended for the use (not abuse) of man, but more particularly in that climate where the man and the fruit grow together.

"The following table is an approximation to the times of the flowering, etc., of the fruit-trees in St. Louis:

Apricots	March	2 to	March	10.
Peaches	"	17 to	April	1.
Cherries	"	30 to	"	5.
Plums	"	30 to	"	5.
Early apples	April	5 to	"	15.
Gooseberries	"	5 to	"	—
Pears	"	5 to	"	—
Winter apples	"	25		
Strawberries, ripe			May	15.
Raspberries, "			June	12.
Currants, "			"	12.
Cherries, "			"	12.
Apricots, "			July	4.
Blackberries, "			"	15.
Plums, "			"	17
Siberian crab, "			"	17.

"Peaches and Isabella grapes begin to ripen early in August, and are abundant the last of that month.

"The Red Juneating Apple, or Early Red Margaret, sometimes bears two crops in one season (the second inferior to the first), and I have seen it blooming the third time the same season.

"We sow seeds for early salad and cabbage under glass in January and February. Plant Irish potatoes for early crop in February. Sow parsneps, carrots, radishes, lettuce, onions, cress, and early peas in open ground last of February or early in March. About first of April, transplant broccoli, cauliflower, cabbage, lettuce, spinach, and plant sweet potatoes in hot-bed. Sow annuals (flowers) about the first of May. Begin to cut asparagus early in April, and green peas are on our table as early as the middle of May. We have had frosts, however, even after that time. Plant sweet potato sets about first of May. Dig early potatoes early in June. Corn of the Golden Sioux and Tuscarora kinds, and summer squash, eatable June 20th. Gather garden seeds about the last of July. Early planting is essential to get crops well set before the summer drouth.

"Animated Nature.—Crows stay with us all winter, and roost on the shrub-oaks of the rolling land back of St. Louis, in tens of thousands, flying to the east side of the river early in the morning. They are chiefly injurious to corn in the ear. Robins, larks, bluebirds, and buntings appear in the warm days of winter. Wild pigeons sometimes fly north as early as 1st of February. Ducks, geese, brant, and cranes fly north in February and March. Quails and pinnated grouse are abundant all the year. Sparrow-hawks are very numerous in autumn, and feed on large grasshoppers. Birds in variety appear in March. Bees are often tempted out of their hives in winter; some years begin to work in March, and I have taken full boxes of newly-made honey as early as the 5th of May. The same hive will, in favorable seasons, bear robbing three times, and throw off, perhaps, three or four swarms of young bees. Insects in countless number and variety flourish from early spring till November, attacking, some of them, every kind of shrub, tree, fruit, and animal. The red spider, the aphis, and the scaly insect infest our greenhouses. The striped bug and others attack the *Cucurbitaceæ*, often destructively. The curculio, the peach-grub, and the apple-worm are all numerous, and in some seasons overwhelming. The grasshopper, in summer, in dry seasons, is nearly as injurious as the locust. The army-worm occasionally mows our meadows for us. The gopher, or pouched rat, and the mole are injurious to our gardens; and the former sometimes burrows under the apple-tree and destroys the bark of the roots. But we are diminishing the number of these little animals. Rats and mice are also numerous. We protect the birds and the toads, and multiply ducks and turkeys to aid us in our warfare against the insects.

"You will observe, then, that our soil is good; our summers long, and our winters mild; that our climate is quite variable that we are liable to have warm Februaries and late frosts; wet springs and summers of drouth; late growing autumns, suddenly terminated, and myriads of insects in great variety. We have, therefore, our advantages and discouragements. Some years, then, we shall be blessed with great crops, while in others we shall be nearly destitute of any. Some of the evils to which we are exposed are susceptible of amelioration, others are beyond our control. The average results encourage us to persevere in planting orchards, cultivating gardens, and otherwise improving our estates."

The Mississippi at St. Louis freezes over about once in four or five years, partly in consequence of heavy

ice floating down from above. When frozen it remains closed to navigation from one or two to four, and even six weeks, the ice sometimes being solid enough to permit the passage of the heaviest teams.

The comparatively dry climate of Missouri is shown by the "relative humidity" of the atmosphere, which is only sixty-six per cent. of complete saturation, the driest season, as has already been shown, being the spring. There is a large percentage of clear weather, the autumn particularly being distinguished for the number of cloudless days. The average number of clear days in a year is 143; of partially clear days, 173; of days entirely cloudy, only 49. The average annual rain-fall at St. Louis, according to Dr. Englemann, is 41 inches, the variations between particular years, however, being as great as from 25 to 68 inches. Snow is not very frequent, nor are there many "laying" snows, though deep ones sometimes occur, obstructing travel. The earliest falls of snow known to meteorological observers were on October 5th, the latest on April 16th. The Mississippi is generally low in the fall and winter months, rising between April and June. The highest rise above low-water mark is about forty-four feet, the average about twenty-five feet.

Of the geology proper of St. Louis County there is not a great deal to say in a work of this character, which does not pretend to scientific fullness nor precision. There is a superstructure of rocks and soils of the quaternary system, embracing alluvium, bottom prairie, bluff, or loess, and drift. Immediately underlying this is the carboniferous system, the characteristic rock of which in St. Louis is the St. Louis limestone, which attains its greatest development and a depth or thickness of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet at this point. In some parts of the county a saccharoidal sandstone, one hundred and twenty-five feet deep, belonging to the magnesian limestone series, and the lower Silurian system, may be found beneath the St. Louis limestone; but, for all practical purposes, the latter may be assumed to be the foundation rock. Upon it rests a ferruginous sandstone, of the carboniferous or mountain limestone series, the normal thickness of which is 195 feet. The lower coal-measures, 140 feet, are above this; next succeeds drift, 55 feet thick; bluff, or loess, the normal thickness of which is 200 feet; bottom prairie, 35 feet thick, and alluvium, 30 feet thick. These maximum depths of strata are of course not all found at St. Louis, nor in St. Louis County. The bluff, or loess, at St. Louis, as measured at St. George's quarry and the site of the Big Mound, is fifty feet thick. This formation contains many fossils, and organic remains of lacustrine, amphibious and land species, indicating its origin in the deposits made by a fresh-water lake, surrounded by land and fed by rivers. In the words of Prof. Swallow, who first determined its character and gave its name to the bluff-formation (which Lyell had previously identified as similar to the loess of Europe and China), "These facts carry the mind back to a time when a large portion of this great valley was covered by a vast lake, into which, from the surrounding land, flowed various rivers and swollen streams. We see the waters peopled with numerous mollusks, the industrious beaver building his habitation, the nimble squirrel, the fleet deer, the sedate elephant, and huge mastodon, lords of the soil. There must have been land to sustain the elephant and mastodon and Helices; fresh water and land for the beaver; and fresh water for the Cyclas and Lymneas."

The important formation denominated St. Louis limestone is made up of beds of hard, crystalline, gray and blue cherty limestone, "interstratified with thin layers of argillaceous shale." Some strata consist of a bastard silico-magnesian limestone. Sometimes the fracture is dull and earthy, sometimes conchoidal. Often it shows changes in color, is alternately silicious and argillaceous, and has a peculiar jointed structure, like the sutures of the human skull. Its stratigraphical position is between the ferruginous sandstone and the Archimedes limestone; its range in Missouri is not extensive outside of St. Louis County, and its economical value is very great. Some forms, as those in which magnesia predominates, have excellent hydraulic properties; the calcareous strata yield a very pure and superior lime for general use, and the calcareous and silicious strata are good for building purposes, flagging and curbing, and macadamizing. The fossils found in the St. Louis limestone are numerous and characteristic, including *Lithostrotian Canadense*, *Syringopora*, *Echinocidaris*, *Terebratula Roisyii*, *T. Spirifer*, *Fenestella*, *Productus cora*, *Echinocrinus*, *Palæochinus*, *Crinoidea*, *Palæochinus multipora*, *Poteriocrinus longidactylus*, *Avicula*, *Pecten Missouriensis*, *Arca*, *Cardiomorpha*, *Actinocrinus parvus*, etc.

In the bluff or loess formation in St. Louis and vicinity the fossils found include *Amnicola lapidaria*, *Helix concava*, *H thyroidens*, *H. striatella*, *H. monodon*, *H. electrina*, *H. arborea*, *H. hirsuta*, *H. lineata*, *H. minuta*, *H. labyrinthica*, *Helicina occulta*, *Limnea fragilis*, *L. reflexa*, *Physa plicata*, *P. gyrinea*, *Planorbis trivolvis*, *Pupa armifera*, *Succinea obliqua*, *S. campestris*, *Valvata tricarinata*, etc. In the Archimedes limestone of St. Louis County the

characteristic fossils are *Pentremites florealis, P. laticrniformis, Productus punctatus, Euomphalus planorbis, Archimedipora archimedes*, and *Psammodus*.

Dr. Shumard gives what he considers a typical section of the strata and general lithological features of the St. Louis limestone, from a point on the Mississippi River about a mile and a half below the arsenal. Commencing ten feet above the water-level, the ascending series is as follows:

	Feet.
1. Bluish-gray, coarse-textured, sub-crystalline limestone, in thin strata, with characteristic fossils and fish-remains	13
2. Light-gray and bluish-gray silico-calcareous rock, with nodules and thin seams of chert	5
3. Buff and bluish-gray, hard, silicious limestone, finely granular in texture	6
4. Same as preceding, with much chert through it	8
5. Compact, light-gray, silicious limestone, thick beds, even fracture	7
6. Light-drab, compact, brittle limestone, with smooth, angular fracture	3
7. Gray, mottled limestone, fine granular texture, mottled with chert	44
8. Bluish-gray, sub-crystalline limestone, with cavities of brown calcareous spar	10
9. Light-drab, compact, lithographic limestone, smooth, splintery fracture	2
10. Earthy, decomposing, ferruginous limestone	1
11. Gray, close-textured limestone	4½
12. Earthy, decomposing, ferruginous limestone	0¾
13. Light-drab, variegated, brittle, lithographic stone	1¾
14. Light-drab, fine-textured, lithographic limestone, smooth, splintery fracture, fine spar veins, with clouding of delicate flesh-color and reddish-brown	4¾
15. Same as No 9	7
Total thickness	116¾

At St. Louis the strata of this limestone are nearly horizontal, and continue so until near Carondelet, when they rapidly dip to the southwest, and pass under the bed of the Mississippi. The slight dip of the strata at St. Louis is westerly.

The quaternary deposit overlying this bed-rock of the city is about twenty feet thick at the site of Chouteau's Pond, near Poplar Street, comprising, in the ascending series:

	Ft.	In.
1. Light ash-colored ferruginous clay	2	3
2. Fine silicious sand		6
3. Ash-colored clay		4
4. Yellow and gray sandy clay	2	0
5. Fine sand	5	
6. Soil and subsoil	5	

The limestone at Barrett's Station, of which the St. Louis custom-house is built, is the Archimedes limestone, from a bed twenty-one feet in thickness. In various parts of the county the Encrinital limestone is found underlying this, of a thickness differing according to the locality. Underneath is the Chemung group, and beneath that again, in the western part of the county, the Trenton group.

The bluff, or loess, is found in all parts of the county when excavations are made, varying in thickness from ten to forty feet. It was in this deposit that the bones of the mastodon were found, in Flora gardens. The Big Mound consisted of this bluff stratum, having a depth of thirty feet. At the Bremen quarries it is twenty-five feet thick. The clays of this loess are excellent for brick-making and coarse pottery, and the pebbles are superior for grading and graveling purposes.

The carboniferous system is largely developed in St. Louis County, yielding four-fifths of the entire underlying rock, and extending from the Mississippi River westward. It includes all the formations of the general slate system, from the middle coal series to the Encrinital limestone inclusive. The coal-measures occupy an area of about one hundred and sixty square miles in the northeastern part of the county. The middle coal-measure, as examined at Charbonniere, on the Missouri, shows sixty feet of slope, six feet of rough limestone masses imbedded in clay, six feet impure fire-brick clay, two feet hard, compact blue-gray hydraulic limestone, eight feet yellow argillaceous shale, stained with ochre, thirteen feet of purple, sandy shale, with micaceous particles intermingled, forty-six feet blue, argillaceous shale, six feet greenish fossiliferous shale, eight feet dark sandy shale, and then the coal-seam, eighteen inches thick. Under this seam is found the micaceous sandstone, which overlies the lower coal series. It is soft, brown, fine-grained, crumbling, lying in thick beds, and oxidates and is disintegrated easily on exposure to the air. In some places it lies upon a five-foot bed of fire-clay. In others it is compact enough to be quarried and used for building purposes.

Underneath this group of strata the lower coal-measures are always to be sought. The descending series is clay, fire-clay, limestone, shales, and then coal. At a shaft on the Rivière des Peres, six miles from St. Louis, we find the following order in the descending series:

	Feet.
1. Yellow clay	5
2. Light-colored sandy clay	4
3. "Tumbling rock" (limestone blocks in clay-beds)	6
4. Red clay	6
5. Blue clay	7
6. Light-gray earthy limestone	3½
7. Very compact, hard, dark-gray limestone	2½
8. Dark-blue shale	2
9. Coal	5
10. Slope (unexposed rocks)	80
11. St. Louis limestone	26

The coal, where mined, is usually found at a depth not exceeding forty feet; the maximum thickness is about five feet; the minimum working thickness is not much under three feet, and the yield is about eighty bushels per diem per hand,—twenty-eight bushels representing the long ton. All the coal of

St. Louis County is of the bituminous variety, burning with a good flame and yielding a gray ash. In some cases, leaf-like laminæ of sulphuret of iron are found in it, and in others, thin plates of crystalline carbonate of iron, vertical to the strata. The fossil plants in this coal are usually too much carbonized for identification, though the structure of *Calamites* and *Equisetæ* have been recognized. In regard to the extent of these coal deposits of St. Louis County, Spencer Smith writes to the effect that it is much greater than is commonly supposed. The county is in the centre of the great Western coal-field, the largest in the world. The measures here are not outlying nor distinct from those of the general bed, but, on the contrary, are homogeneous with it. Mr. Smith says,—

"The Cheltenham and Gravois beds and their vicinity are supposed by many to be the only localities where coal can be found in this county. This is a mistake. There is a large tract of the St. Louis coal-field still comparatively unexplored. An examination of Dr. Shumard's geological map will show that there is an extensive coal-basin, of which the North Missouri Railroad is nearly the diameter.

"Commencing at Grand Prairie, we may trace the coal-measures along the bluffs of the Mississippi at Watkins' Creek, thence westwardly, crossing Cold Water Creek to the Missouri River, thence along this river to Charbonniere, where the coal crops out in the bed of the river. From near St. Charles the boundary may be traced southeasterly toward the Mississippi, including the Cheltenham and Gravois mines.

"This report, made in 1855, did not exaggerate the extent of this field, but rather restricted it, as some discoveries of coal outside of the boundaries there described demonstrate.

"What distinguishes the coal-field of the district along the North Missouri Road is the circumstance that it contains coal-seams which are entirely wanting in the district heretofore mined. All the coal obtained in the Cheltenham field is from the lowest beds of the 'lower coal series;' the 'middle and upper series' are wanting. Along the Missouri River, and in other places which have been examined, the 'middle series' is known to exist. If we concede (and proofs derived from the geological reports of all those who have surveyed this district are very strong) that it is a part of the other coal-fields known to exist farther north, then where the series is complete there are six beds of greater or less thickness. Of these the second is the one most valuable, the thickest and the best coal.

"So here we see a large district in which the coal-measures are known to exist, but which have never been practically examined. A few years since a few attempts were made, but they all stopped at the first vein of coal, supposing it to be the bed which had been worked for so many years at Cheltenham. This thin vein is known to exist nearly over the whole coal district, and overlying the best workable beds. Deeper explorations would probably strike those lower series where all such beds have heretofore been found.

"It will thus be seen that the geological survey indicated the existence of coal in this region, and later observations have served to confirm that report."

The fire-brick clay of St. Louis is excellent in quality and inexhaustible in quantity. The St. Louis limestone is esteemed one of the best and cheapest building materials anywhere to be found. The magnesian limestone or marble, both of St. Louis and the adjacent counties, is very fine, pure, white, and resists enormous pressure.

It is a property of the St. Louis as of some other limestones that it is a highly cavernous rock, water infiltrating through it readily and hollowing it out. Numerous "sink-holes" on and near the site of the city indicate the existence of caves beneath it; and indeed some of these have been explored and more or less utilized, though as yet none have been found to bear comparison with the stupendous and wonderful caves of Kentucky and Virginia. The city had hardly outgrown the proportions of a village, however, before it began to receive the distinctive title of "Mound City," from the remarkable artificial structures which crowned the terraces of the bluff. The "Big Mound"



THE BIG MOUND AT ST. LOUIS IN 1869.

of St. Louis, once one of the most striking and remarkable features of its landscape, was finally cut down and carted away in 1869, its cubic masses used to make a railroad "fill." Before it disappeared, however, it had come to be recognized, in connection with the mounds at Cahokia and other places in the Great American Bottom, on the opposite side of the river, as being among the most remarkable archæological remains in America, and much conjecture and a great deal of controversy have been employed upon it.

Brackenridge, in his "Views of Louisiana," has remarked upon the curious circumstance that the early French writers, the most intimately acquainted of any Europeans with Indian manners and customs, and the only Europeans who dwelt with the Indians in their villages and lodges, have made no mention of the numerous antiquities of the Mississippi valley. Yet they were permanent residents at Cahokia from about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Capt. Carver appears to have been the first writer who noticed the mounds, and attributed their origin to a race more civilized

than that which occupied the country in which he found them. Brackenridge, who had spent his childhood in Ste. Genevieve, returned to the West in 1810, and traveled through the country extensively, and in a spirit of intelligent pursuit of knowledge and careful observation. His account of the St. Louis mounds is very clear. He had frequently examined them, he said. "They are situated on the second bank just above the town, and disposed in a singular manner; there are nine in all, and form three sides of a parallelogram, the open side towards the country being protected, however, by three smaller mounds, placed in a circular manner. The space inclosed is about four hundred yards in length and two hundred in breadth. About six hundred yards above there is a single mound, with a broad stage on the river side; it is thirty feet in height and one hundred and fifty in length; the top is a mere ridge of five or six feet wide. Below the first mounds there is a curious work, called the Falling Garden. Advantage is taken of the second bank, nearly fifty feet in height at this place, and three regular stages or steps are formed by earth brought from a distance. This work is much admired. It suggests the idea of a place of assembly for the purpose of counseling on public occasions."

In taking away the Big Mound in St. Louis in 1869, many human remains were found at different depths below the surface. Some of the contemporary accounts of the removal of the mound, and the progress of the excavation, are curious, not to say comical, and one adventurous newspaper wit invented the discovery of a secret tunnel, leading under the Mississippi and communicating with the interior of the big tumulus at Cahokia. What follows below embraces a very good account of some of the conjectures in regard to the origin of the mound, and a very good description of its appearance at the time of its removal:

"A paper was read some weeks ago before the St. Louis Academy of Science by Professor Spencer Smith, and afterwards published with their approval, which advocated with considerable pertinacity and show of argument that the Big Mound was a natural formation; that it was not the work of any primeval nation, who here expended years of labor without any design; that it was improbable that this immense heap of earth was piled up by human hands; that no evidence of design was found which required us to believe it to be of artificial construction; that it was worse than useless as a fortification; that as a point of lookout it does not command a wide extent of country much greater than the smaller one farther down the river; that no charred remains of bones or wood were found, indicating it to be a place of sacrifice; that no remains of tools were found either in the mound or its vicinity showing the implement used to heap it up; that some bones and a few Indian ornaments were exhumed near the top, but not in any position which gave evidence of design in placing them there; and finally, because it is not of an oblong shape, sloping north, having its steepest side down-stream, and because the earth found on the top resembles the sediment deposited in the reservoir. Therefore it must, *ex necessitate*, be a river deposit or a sand-bar. Professor John Russell, of the *Missouri Statesman*, so we are informed, was the first to suggest this explanation, which has been taken up by Professor Smith, and is the prevailing opinion among the members of the Academy of Science. A simple statement of the facts in the case may point to another possible explanation.

"The Big Mound was situated on the northeast corner of Mound and Broadway. It was in vertical height thirty-five feet from the grade of the adjacent street, of oblong shape, in a north and south direction, with a regularly defined outline and base. In an old lawsuit, Maguire *vs.* Taylor, for sixteen arpents of land at the northeast corner of the mound, we find some incidental descriptions which were worth quoting. One statement is that its sides were well defined, and the foot of the mound was as well defined as the north wall of the court-house. In fact, in a deed of Brazeau to Labaum, in 1798, the foot of the Big Mound is made the point of departure for a precise and technical description. Farther on we find the following: 'The Big Mound, a most noted monument in St. Louis, called by the French La Grange de Terre (earth barn), is an artificial erection situated on the first bank of the prairie, west of the bank of the Mississippi, at the distance of about twenty-eight arpents north of the northern wall of the fortifications of the old Spanish town of St. Louis, and about four and one-half arpents west of the bank of the river. . . . The bank on which the mound stands is the eastern boundary of the Grand Prairie, covered by the St. Louis common-fields, and the land descends with a gentle slope from the brow of it to the small prairie or bottom-land between it and the river. This bank of the prairie is about four and one-half arpents west of the river-bank, where the mound stands, and about sixty feet above the level of the prairie, along the brow, and it runs nearly parallel with the river at that distance from it for a mile or so southwards.'

"The crest or highest point of the mound, at the time the excavation commenced, was by measurement one hundred feet east of Broadway. A vertical section at this point to the base of the hill, showing wavering lines of demarkation between four different homogeneous strata, well indicated as the distance from the street, but hardly distinguishable upon a closer examination.

"The depth of these strata varied, but averaged eight feet, the lowest one being ten feet, and of a solid, original, compact, yellow, adhesive clayey formation. The three upper strata above this foundation were dark in color, resembling a loam or soil, and friable in structure, constituting a homogeneous earth, easily separated and thrown down by the heavy pointed iron bars which were thrust into them. The top of the mound slanted eastwardly about seventy feet, and, with the exception of a single grave, which was made within the memory of men still living, near the apex of the mound, all the remains were found in this substratum of clay, thirty-five feet east of the apex, twenty-five feet below a horizontal line drawn from the top, in a long trench or grave dug four feet deep in the original clay, by eighteen feet wide and about seventy feet long, extending under the length of the mound on its eastern slope. The western side of the grave is distinctly defined, and shows the marks of the instruments used in its construction. The earth fell off from this side, leaving it sharp and regular, and showing the stains and discolorations made by the gases escaping from the decomposing body below. The bodies were placed in a reclining position, east and west, with the head toward the east, and were in a very advanced state of decay, the bones

being very dry and porous and easily pulverized in the hand. Several pieces placed in water floated one-half above. The soil around them was very dry and the whole without odor. These bones were all of a rather large size.

"The writer measured one femur, which was of the length of twenty inches. The fragments of jaw-bones containing teeth are quite large and the teeth sound. The writer has now before him a piece of blanket exhumed, the vegetable fibres of which, twenty in number in the width of an inch, have a scorched appearance. It is of very coarse manufacture, and comes apart on the slightest picking. Some tufts of dark-red, coarse, straight hair, of a pungent odor, were also taken out. Some of the most interesting relics found are now in possession of one of the firemen at the Lyon Engine-House, opposite the site of the mound. They consist of two copper vessels identical in shape, shaped like the bowl of a large spoon, with sharp projections extending from the convex surface of the ornament. They were found placed behind the ears on each side of the skull, with the concave surface down, under which was an oblong bead the size of a pecan perforated through its length. A quantity of smaller beads of the same kind were found near in a circular position, evidently having been strung and wound around the neck and over the head of the recumbent warrior. They might have been placed in this position by the medicine-man of the tribe, with a confidence in some superstitious object which would thus be accomplished. There were also found an immense number of perforated disks from a quarter of an inch to one and a half inches in diameter, and varying in thickness. They are rounded quite regularly, with polished sides, and a perforation whose diameter diminishes towards the centre. Their principal composition is carbonate of lime, and they are made from a marine shell from the Atlantic or the Gulf, several of which, very large, were exhumed from the same grave. The disks were strung together and used for money or ornament or both. It would be an interesting inquiry to know how far these circular pieces resemble the perforated disks found in the low-water lacustrine explorations in Switzerland, where the remains of a primeval nation were found who lived in houses built on piers extended into the lakes, described in the last annual report of the Smithsonian Institute. There were also found in the mound some very small shells with perforations.

"There are, then, two questions to be determined: first, is this mound of natural or artificial construction? and, second, if artificial, what is its probable age?

"We think that the fact that the row of graves found was placed twenty-five feet below the surface, and nearly under the centre of what was the former perfect shape of the mound, is a fatal objection to the sand-bar theory, unless you presuppose that the land at this high elevation above the bed of the river was once free from water, then afterwards inhabited by the race who made the graves, and after that overflowed again by the river which made the sand-bar deposit. This is equivalent to saying that the valley of the Mississippi was inhabited before the period when it was one vast lake, and carries us back to geological eras. But this is no geological question. These graves are situated in the crest of the Pliocene period. There are no upheavals here, nor inverted geological strata. It is a mere question of the antiquities of the human race, and relates to a period long subsequent to the latest geological era. The graves must have been placed there since the subsidence of the water. *But then, how did the earth come to be piled over these remains?* In a very simple manner. It was placed there by the race that made the graves. The homogeneous nature of the superposed soil, the regular and well-defined shape of the mound, and the fact that these relics are found under it at its base, prove that it must have been placed there by artificial means. Their object was to erect a tomb, a place of worship, a fortification, or a monument of the simple earth, more lasting, as the poet has it, than brass, as this has proved to be. The fact that no charred remains nor implements were found in or near the place is no conclusive proof. We are inclined to ascribe a much greater antiquity to this monument than is commonly supposed for two reasons: one, that although the highest conditions for a perfect preservation of the bones were met here, in the total exclusion of air or water in a very dry soil, yet the remains were mouldered in most instances to almost impalpable dust. In the moist climate of Great Britain, under the most unfavorable circumstances as regards preservation, entire and well-preserved skeletons are often found of an undoubted antiquity of at least eighteen centuries.

"Then again, this mound is found in one of the highest terraces left by the subsidence of water in the valley of the river. At the time it was built its banks were caved by the old Father of Waters. Also in the absence of any tradition whatever among the Indians themselves concerning the origin of this monument, for the memory of it is lost to tradition among the original or pre-Spanish occupants of the soil, we are inclined to ascribe its erection to a so-called prehistoric race.

"As to the capacity of such a race to build a structure of this size and extent, we think that the moderns, in the pride of their recent inventions, are very much inclined to underrate the men of antiquity.

"The great number of similar mounds, some of which are evidently intended for fortifications, covered by regular and artfully constructed approaches, and many much larger than this, scattered all over what now constitutes the United States, shows that this land was at one time occupied by a different race of men than the Indians, and the fact that the race needed such immense fortifications for their protection indicates that the population must have been more numerous, and, in order to support the sieges which were to be sustained in these defenses, must have been more agricultural in their character to produce the necessary provisions. The agricultural portion of such a population could easily support the unproductive labor requisite to build the mound. With respect of their being destitute of the necessary implements, we must not be too certain as to the inferiority of the ancients in respect to mechanical appliances and the arts. Who knows what an immense amount of information was destroyed by one fell swoop of the Saracens, who, in the early centuries, burnt the Alexandria Library, the smoke of whose burning ascended for three weeks, and obscured the light of the sun from the earth? Who knows what ancient arts, carefully described in those old manuscripts, then perished? The compass and gunpowder were in possession of the Chinese centuries before the Christian era. Who knows what treasuries of art and knowledge lie yet entombed in the musty, and to the modern Chinese themselves antique, inscriptions contained in their dusty cobwebbed libraries? The ancient Saracenic manuscripts deposited in the University of Salamanca and other Moorish libraries are yet to be ransacked before their treasures are unearthed. The ancient race that peopled this continent were every way competent to erect this monument.

"The world is much older than the chronology of Bishop Butler. The history of the human race is yet to be written, and the men of antiquity are yet to have justice done them."

The mound at one time was built upon and occupied by the residences of many of the old French settlers. A newspaper paragraph, written at the time of its leveling, says,—

"Col. Chambers once was a member of the committee that waited on old Mr. Benoist, recently deceased, in reference to the mound. The committee wanted Mr. Benoist to donate his part in the mound to the city; the other proprietors, it was expected, would then follow, and give up their parts also to the city. The plan was to change the whole mound and its surroundings, which at the time occupied about three or four blocks, into a public garden, with a kind of a pavilion on the elevated ground in the centre, with other localities for public entertainment; to plant it with trees and shrubbery, and surround it by an iron rail-fence. Mr. Benoist, though a generous gentleman in many other ways, refused, and the whole plan fell to the ground on account of his opposition."

At a contemporary meeting of the Missouri Historical Society, Jan. 7, 1869, the Hon. John F. Darby, always deeply interested in the history and archæology of St. Louis, gave some reminiscences of the mound.

"This mound," said he, "was a subject which had often been treated of by Col. Benton when he was editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer*, and he wrote many papers upon it. Then, within the speaker's recollection, the bluffs ran along the Mississippi River from the Big Mound to the foot of Market Street. When the river was low, there was a large flat rock at the bottom of the street near the mound and at the foot of Market Street, on which timber and drift-wood would occasionally lodge. On the bluff there was a foot-print in limestone rock. This rock was cut out and taken to New Harmony, Ind., about the same time that Owen was starting his new philosophy. The general impression that he (Mr. Darby) then had of the Big Mound was that it was not artificial, but natural. At about 1819 a good many Indians visited St. Louis. Some of them lived in Franklin County, such as the Shawnees. They would come here, march along the streets, and do their begging by singing and reciting; very frequently they would get tobacco and other articles. When they were here on one of their visits one of their chiefs died, and he was buried at the top of the Big Mound. They buried another chief on the Manchester road, near the residence of Mr. Marshall. In 1826 they came regularly, put a post at the head of the grave, and painted it red. The first time that he had the honor of being on the Big Mound was in 1822, when he was a boy. He ran up it on the Christmas-day of that year, and there was then an undergrowth of vegetation on a second bank or ledge. He referred to the meeting of the first Legislature in the Missouri Hotel as it now stands, to the popularity of David Barton, which caused his being sent to the Senate immediately, and to Col. Benton's contest. He said that they met one morning in the hotel and counted how many votes they needed; they found that they could elect Col. Benton by one vote, and that was by a man named Ralls, boarding at the hotel, who was sick on his death-bed. When the votes were being taken they brought Ralls down-stairs on his death-bed, and his name being called he voted for Col. Benton. They took him up-stairs, he died directly afterwards, and they immortalized him by calling the county of Ralls after him. Mr. Darby next noticed the fatal duel between Joshua Barton and Tom Rector. The Rectors were a numerous family, and it was agreed that if Tom got killed another should take his place, and so on, and if he killed Barton he should step out and wave his hat. The origin of the duel was the writing of something by Barton which offended Rector. Barton accepted the challenge on the express condition that Tom Rector would admit that what he had written was true. Rector admitted that it was true, but it was offensive, and he demanded satisfaction. The duel came off on the second bank or ledge of the Big Mound, among the undergrowth. The Rectors went up on the top of the Big Mound to see it. Tom Rector shot Barton, walked to one side, pulled off his hat, waved it as a signal, and the Rectors made one victorious, tremendous shout. There were several smaller mounds, on one of which the first water-works were constructed. It is not uncommon to find them on the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri. A little to the northwest of the Big Mound there was a small pond.

"The president said that a person had made a calculation that if the excavation or pond had been filled by earth from the Big Mound the whole place would be level. This favored the theory that the mound was an artificial one."

There can be no rational doubt of the artificial character of the mounds in the Mississippi valley. There can equally be no rational doubt that the Mound-builders were very different in their habits and manners of life from the wild Indians of the present day. The latter are nomads, the former dwelt in towns and cities, had temples, fortifications, and permanent structures of great extent. The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico approach to what we may conceive to have been the habits of this race, but it cannot be determined, and perhaps never will, that these Indians are the descendants of the prehistoric race which, at a very remote period, peopled the Mississippi valley from the Rocky Mountains to the Alleghanies, and from Lake Superior to the Gulf.

As to the genuineness of their remains, however, all doubts must be set aside. Drift, erosion, loess, no possible geological hypothesis can set aside the facts which prove these remains to be the work of man. This was proved long ago by Thomas Jefferson, Bishop Madison, and Dr. Barton. The works of the Mound-builders comprise fortifications, of which there are almost innumerable examples throughout the great valley, burrows, or places of burial, and mounds or pyramids. The fortifications are usually such an intrenched bank as we might suppose to have been thrown up to guard and make firm the base of a stockade or a row of palisades. The burrows were the ordinary burial-mounds of savages, found always in the vicinity of a village site. The mounds are more elaborate, perhaps more ancient, larger, and may have served for temples, burial-places, forts, or all three together. H. M. Brackenridge, in his "Views of Louisiana," has given a full account of the mounds of Cahokia as they appeared to him in 1810:

"I crossed the Mississippi at St. Louis," he says, "and after passing through the wood which borders the river, about half a mile in width, entered an extensive open plain. In fifteen minutes I found myself in the midst of a group of mounds, mostly of a circular shape, and at a distance resembling enormous haystacks scattered through a meadow. One of the largest, which I ascended, was about two hundred paces in circumference at the bottom, the form nearly square, though it had evidently un-

dergone considerable alteration from the wasting of the rains. The top was level, with an area sufficient to contain several hundred men. The prospect from this mound is very beautiful; looking towards the bluffs, which are dimly seen at the distance of six or eight miles, the bottom at this place being very wide, I had a level plain before me, varied by *islets* of wood and a few solitary trees; to the right the prairie is bounded by the horizon, to the left, the course of the Cahokia may be distinguished by the margin of wood upon its banks, and crossing the valley diagonally south-southwest. Around me I counted twenty mounds or pyramids, besides a great number of small artificial elevations; these mounds form something more than a semicircle, about a mile in extent, its diameter formed by the river.

"Pursuing my walk along the bank of the Cahokia, I passed eight others in the distance of three miles before I arrived at the principal assemblage. When I reached the foot of the largest mound, I was struck with the degree of astonishment not unlike that which is experienced in contemplating the Egyptian pyramids, and could not help exclaiming, 'What a stupendous pile of earth!' To heap up such a mass must have required years and the labor of thousands. It stands immediately on the bank of the Cahokia, and on the side next it is covered with lofty trees. Were it not for the regularity and design which it manifests, the circumstance of its being on alluvial ground, and the other mounds scattered around it, we could scarcely believe it the work of human hands, in a country which we have generally believed never to have been inhabited by any but a few lazy Indians. The shape is that of a parallelogram, standing from north to south; on the south side there is a broad apron or step about half-way down, and from this another projection into the plain about fifteen feet wide, which was probably intended as an ascent to the mound. By stepping round the base I computed the circumference to be at least six hundred yards, and the height of the mound about ninety feet. The step or apron has been used as a kitchen-garden by the monks of La Trappe, and the top is sowed with wheat. Nearly west there is one of a smaller size, and fifteen others are scattered through the plain. Two are also seen on the bluffs, at the distance of three miles. Several of these mounds are almost conical. As the sward had been burnt the earth was frequently naked, and I could trace with ease any unevenness of surface, so as to discover whether it was artificial or accidental. I everywhere observed a great number of small elevations of earth, to the height of a few feet, at regular distances from each other, and which appeared to observe some order. Near them I also observed pieces of flint and fragments of earthen vessels.

"I was perfectly satisfied that here once existed a city similar to those of Mexico described by the first conquerors. Although it might not have been a Licopolis, Persepolis, or Thebes, it is not improbable that it contained many thousand inhabitants. This plain, now reposing in the stillness of death, was once the scene of a busy and crowded population; these temples, now devoted to the idolaters of silence, once resounded with the shouts of war or the songs of peace. The mounds were the sites of temples or monuments to the great men. It is evident this could not have been the work of thirty scattered tribes. If the human species had at any time been permitted in this country to have increased freely, and there is every probability of the fact, it must, as in Mexico, have become astonishingly numerous. The same space of ground would have sufficed to maintain fifty times the number of the present inhabitants with ease, their agriculture having no other object than mere sustenance. Among a numerous population the power of a chief must necessarily be more absolute, and where there are no laws, degenerate into despotism. . . . Hence there would not be wanting a sufficient number of hands to erect mounds or pyramids."

The great mound at Cahokia described by Brackenridge is called "Monk's Mound," from the fact that, as hinted by him above, it was the site of a conventual establishment of the ascetic monks of La Trappe, who settled there about 1809. They devoted themselves to industrial pursuits, and one of their advertisements is now before us, taken from the *St. Louis Republican* of Jan. 24, 1811, as follows:

"NOTICE.—Several persons having showed to the monks of La Trappe a desire to purchase watches, if they would sell them for trade, the said monks, in order to satisfy everybody, give notice to the public that until the end of the year 1811 they will sell watches, clocks, and other silversmith's work, and also fine horses, for the following articles in trade, viz.: wheat, corn, linen, beef, pork, cattle, leather, tallow, blankets, etc.

"URBAIN GUILLET,
"*Superior of the Monks*,
"Cantine Mounds, nine miles above Cahokia.

"N. B.—The above-mentioned articles will be sold at a lower price to whoever shall pay cash."

With some abridgment, we reproduce the account of them given by Brackenridge in his interesting narrative of his visit to Cahokia in 1811:

"The buildings which the Trappists at present occupy are merely temporary. They consist of four or five cabins on a mound about fifty yards from the large one, and which is about one hundred and fifty feet square. Their other buildings, stables, cribs, etc., ten or fifteen in number, are scattered about on the plain below. I was informed that they intended to build on the terrace of the large mound. This will produce a fine effect, especially if painted white; it would be seen five or six miles across the plain, and from some points of view ten or twelve. They have about one hundred acres inclosed in three different fields, including the large mound and several others. On entering the yard I found a number of persons at work, some hauling and storing away the crop of corn, others shaping timber for some intended edifice. A considerable number of these were boys from ten to fourteen years of age. The effect on my mind was inexpressibly strange at seeing them pass and repass in perfect silence. What force must it require to subdue the sportive disposition of boyhood! But nothing is so strong as nature. I admired the cheerful drollery of a poor mulatto lad with one leg who was attending the horse-mill. As the other boys passed by, he always contrived by some odd gesticulation to attract their attention. He generally succeeded in exciting a smile. It was a faint gleam of sunshine which seemed to say that their happiness was not entirely obscured by the *lurid gloom* that surrounded them.

"Fatigued with this scene, which I contemplated apparently unobserved, I ascended the mound which contains their dwellings. This is nearly twenty-five feet in height, the ascent aided by a slanting road. I wandered about here for some time in expectation of being noticed. It was in vain that I nodded to the reverend fathers or peeped into the cabins. In the course of fifteen minutes, Father Joseph, a sprightly, intelligent man in the prime of life, who, I learned, had the government of the monastery in the absence of Father Urbain, came up to me, and, after some conversation, invited me into the watchmakers' shop. I was not a little surprised to find here a shop better furnished than any in St. Louis. Part of it was occupied as the labora-

tory and library; the library, I confess, but indifferent. A few medical works of no great repute, and the rest composed of the dreams of the fathers and the miraculous wonders of the world of saints.

"Two men were at work, and two boys appeared also busily employed. One poor fellow of ten or eleven years of age, seated by a stove and employed in making strokes upon a slate, attracted my attention and pity. He appeared to have just risen from the bed of sickness, or rather from the tomb.

"Father Joseph inquired whether I had dined, and being informed in the negative, had something prepared. My fare was simple, consisting entirely of vegetables, though not less acceptable, for it was given with good will. Having returned thanks to the good fathers for their hospitality, I took my leave.

"I learned that the family of the Trappists consists of about eighty persons, a considerable number of whom are at present from home. The boys are generally Americans; the men are principally Germans and French, with a few Americans. It is said they expect an accession from Europe of about two hundred. It is about a year since they have been settled in this place. The last summer they were much afflicted with fevers, six or seven died, and very few escaped severe illness. The boys particularly appeared of a pale or sallow complexion. They deny, however, that the place is unhealthy. They say that, as in most parts of this country, the emigrant must expect to undergo a seasoning, and that those who died were chiefly old men who had been previously afflicted with chronic complaints. But the meagre diet upon which these people subsist must also have contributed not a little.

"There are things in which no one can deny them praise. They are extremely industrious in various useful employments, and there are excellent workmen among them in a variety of trades. An asylum is offered to such unfortunate wretches (certainly very rare in America) who, aged and friendless, are in danger of perishing of want."

In a later account of a visit to Monk's Mound, in 1837, the writer says,—

"A ride across the American Bottom from East St. Louis to the bluffs, on the Collinsville plank road, discloses to the eye of the curious a large number of ancient mounds. Perhaps a dozen or more of these interesting formations, which are generally supposed to have been built by an extinct race only known as the 'Mound-builders,' may be counted as the bluffs are neared. These mounds are of various sizes and forms. Some are conical, with irregular shapes on either side. Some are truncated, and others have the sugar-loaf form. The largest of the singular elevations are located about two miles west of the bluffs, between the main road and Cahokia Creek, which is known as 'Monk's Mound.' It rises above the surrounding plain to the height of ninety feet, and the base is said to cover an area of forty acres. Its precipitous sides are deeply seamed with furrows, caused apparently by melting snows and rains. The sides of these gullies are elevated and rounded, forming paths, up which the ascent is made, and they are seen to spread from the apex towards the base like the legs of a spider. Some portions of the mound are terraced, and portions are overgrown with forest-trees. There is also an apple-orchard near the base. The summit can be easily reached on all sides, but up one of the gullies a wagon road has at some former period been constructed. The summit is a flat plateau of several acres, with a dwelling near the centre, and a garden now under a good state of cultivation on the north side. The name by which the great mound is extensively known is derived from the monks of La Trappe, who established themselves here in about the year 1810. The mound once belonged to an Irish gentleman who was clerk of the St. Clair County Court. It was bought from him by Maj. Nicholas Jarrot, of Cahokia, and given by him to the monks, and after it was abandoned by them it again reverted to Maj. Jarrot. Mr. Guy Morrison, late of Collinsville, bought it, and we believe at one time built a house there. Some of these facts were communicated to us by Madame Jarrot, the venerable relict of Maj. Jarrot, who still survives in tolerably good health, although in her ninety-third year.

"The building on the summit of the mound is untenanted. It is a low frame structure containing a number of rooms, with a veranda extending along the west and south sides. We who visited the establishment supposed the establishment to be the deserted habitation of the silent old monks, and prompted by a spirit of curiosity, we effected an entrance through one of the windows and proceeded to explore its hidden recesses. It was a ratty old place, and contained nothing which suggested to our minds the peculiar mode of life practiced by the pious members of this religious order. There were old barrels, old broken bottles, old hats, and old scraps of broken furniture scattered here and there. Everything about the premises had a general flavor of mild decay. We were, however, after relics and found none. We subsequently learnt that the dwelling was built long after the monks had evacuated the premises, by a Mr. Hill, who kept a school there. His grave, located near the dwelling, on one of the angles of the mound, was pointed out to us.

"Half-way down the north slope of the mound the mouth of a tunnel is seen, which was dug out several years ago by some explorers with a view of finding the relics of some ancient Mound-builders. But the success which rewarded the labor we were unable to ascertain from the residents in the vicinity, who take no more interest in the matter than the man in the moon. From the character of the strata which compose these formations there is no evidence that the mound is the work of human hands, but, on the contrary, it is a 'spared monument' of the adjoining bluff,—formations left standing apart by the powerful currents of the ancient seas that at one time inundated the Mississippi valley and swept over the American Bottom. Similar mound-like formations are seen all along the bluffs, as at Caseyville, of which there could be no dispute as to the origin. The foot-hills at Golden City, and between Denver and the Rocky Mountains, present similar forms, and the voyager on the Upper Missouri, above Sioux City, will see hundreds of such conical and oblong elevations, studding the bluffs and bottom-lands like hay-stacks and walled battlements, all of which are unquestionably natural formations. But that there are mounds made by human hands for sepulture and purposes of defense or observation there is equally no doubt. Monk's Mound, however, is not one of them. It is nevertheless worthy of a visit by all who take an interest in the various freaks of nature."

The purchaser of the Trappist estate referred to above was T. Ames Hill, a native of Massachusetts, but long a resident of Kentucky and St. Louis. He moved on the property in 1831, erecting a cabin on the very summit of the mound. When he died he was buried in the northeast corner of the plane surface of the pyramid's top. This Cahokia mound, the largest in the United States, is in every way an imposing structure. Mrs. Hill, who lived upon its summit for twenty-five years, says that a large secret entrance into the mound was at one time discovered,

but was filled up again to prevent vermin and wild animals from making their dens within it.[1] The Cahokia tumulus was originally an immense terragon, supported by a heavy terrace on the south and west, approached by a talus; the north base five hundred and sixty feet; south base seven hundred and twenty feet; summit, length, three hundred and ten feet; breadth, one hundred and forty-six feet. The north side is the most precipitous. The terrace approaches from the south and west, and is one hundred and twenty feet deep; the talus approaches from the south, and is fifty-five feet broad at top, one hundred and twenty feet long, and one hundred and twenty-five feet broad at base. Height of mound, ninety-one feet. The superficial area of the summit is two acres; of the base, six acres, and the solid contents are estimated at twenty-five million cubic feet.

Wills de Haas contends, from observation, that nowhere in the United States are the mounds so large and numerous and arranged with so much system as those on the American Bottom. "They present, indeed, a city of mounds, a vast and mysterious collection of monumental remains." This system is repeated and continued on a scale almost equally large at New Madrid. The American Bottom is the most extensive and valuable alluvial in the United States. It stretches from opposite the mouth of the Missouri to the Kaskaskia, a distance of over eighty miles, with an average breadth of seven miles. Its fertility is inexhaustible; its scenery is varied and picturesque; and the prehistoric races made it their favorite abode, built their mounds, and gathered their dwellings upon it. The Indians found by the whites upon these sites did not even pretend to any knowledge of the builders of the mounds. They had no traditions concerning them.

To their superstitious souls these great works were simply *maniton*,—supernatural,—because mysterious and inexplicable. Nor has the acute and scientific investigation of the present day thrown any real light upon the history of the mounds, who built them, and how and when they were constructed. We do not know, we may almost despair of ever learning whether the Mound-builders were autochthones or immigrants, or from whence they derived their knowledge of agriculture, working stone, making cloth and fictilia. Mr. de Haas remarks that

"Two grand groups of ancient tumuli loom up on the broad surface of the American Bottom. They are distant from the central figures about six miles, but connected by a series of smaller mounds, forming a continuous chain, and constituting one grand and extensive system of tumular works,—unequaled for size, number, and interesting feature on either the sub-continents of America.

"One of these groups stands within the city limits, and adjacent to East St. Louis; the other six miles to the northeast, lying chiefly north of the Ohio and Mississippi Railway. These are connected, a series of tumuli, stretching along Indian Lake and Cahokia Creek; the entire system, including those along the bluff, numbering over two hundred.

"These, collectively, present a vast city of mounds in ruin. They undoubtedly constituted the seat of a great power,—a community little less populous perhaps than that now centring within an area of twenty miles of this great modern metropolis of the West. The upper group, containing the most important monuments, was doubtless the citadel of the ancient empire. It comprises over sixty mounds, arranged with great system, and in marked position toward each other. The great mound, constituting the principal feature, is supported by four elevated squares, and numerous large tumuli of manifest importance in the system.

"The mounds comprising these respective groups are conical, ellipsoidal, square, and parallelogram. Some are perfect cones, others the frustrum. They vary in height from five to ninety feet, in some instances presenting an angle of nearly sixty degrees. They are all of earth taken from the surrounding plain or bluff, and constructed with symmetry, neatness, and manifest design.

"It is claimed as a noticeable fact that corresponding excavations can be observed near most of the mounds. I have noticed this quite marked in some instances, but only in such localities where the vegetable mound was found underlaid with a deposit of sand. With their rude implements and facilities for removing soil the Mound-builders could not make heavy excavations, but would rather avail themselves of that most readily removed.

"I have failed to detect near any of these mounds the *fosse* so frequently noticed near the Ohio valley tumuli. They compared in general external appearance, internal structure, and arrangement to the ancient tumuli of other parts of the country, except those of an elliptical type. This class occurs more frequently here than elsewhere. The square mounds find counterparts in the elevated squares at Marietta, Ohio.

"A general design is manifest in all the ancient earth-works of America. In the Ohio valley they are found in connected systems. In the Mississippi valley, or that part lying opposite this city, they occur alone in tumular erections, arranged in groups, with outstanding guards, system, and unmistakable design.

"The remains of art found among these mounds—stone implements, fictilia, etc.—indicate a knowledge quite equal if not in advance of art remains from the mounds of Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, etc. There is a decided difference between some of their stone implements, which will be more particularly noticed hereafter. This fact induces the belief that they belong to a different people. As to the object of the mound, without attempting to advance a hypothesis based on incomplete observations, it may be safely assumed that all mounds wherever, whenever, or by whomever constructed, were *primarily* designed as places of sepulture. This we read alike in the simple and often scarcely distinguishable tumuli in the valley of the Mississippi or the isles of Britain, as we do in the huge tumuli on the Cahokia or the vast earthen and mega-

[1] Many of the larger tumuli had chambers in their interiors; but, as the Mound-builders do not seem to have understood the principle of the arch, they simply framed a square chamber of timber, two uprights and a cross-piece to tie them, and, when these timbers rotted, the roof fell in.

lithic monuments of Northern Europe or the valley of the Nile. They were often devoted to other uses, but the great first purpose was sepulchral. They doubtless often served a triple purpose,—tomb, temple, dwelling-place. The large square works possibly supported the houses of important personages, or picketed around as places of defense. The great mound probably supported the principal temple, also the house of their cazique or king. Others served as guard-posts, and still others as places of defense."

The early inhabitants on the Mississippi had three modes of burial: inhumation in a horizontal position, the body having a regular grave, generally stone-lined; inhumation in a standing or sitting position; and cremation, the body burnt and the ashes and carbonized bones preserved in a vase or urn. Many cinerary urns have been discovered in the course of the exploration of barrows and mounds. All the art and industrial remains of the Mound-builders show them to have belonged to what is called the Stone Age. But few metallic remains have been found in the mounds of St. Louis and the American Bottom, and these only copper and for ornament. Various curved shells have been found, showing the use of wampum and the fact that the Mound-builders had intercourse with the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans. The Mound-builders had attained great proficiency in working stone. Their weapons are often of exquisite design and perfect workmanship. Their tools were rude, chisels and hatchets, hammers and knives of granite, hornblende, nephrite, and their arrow-heads, spear-points, knives, fluting instruments, etc., are of quartz of every grade, from black chert to opalescent chalcedony. Mr. de Haas remarks that

"One type of these flint implements is most universal. These are *agricultural*, proving beyond doubt that the people who used them tilled the soil. Two distinct styles prevail,—one long, like the blade of a spade; and the other identically our modern hoe, the eye being substituted by a double notch. These vary in size,—the longer from six to fifteen inches and four or five inches broad; the other about the diameter of an ordinary garden hoe. These implements show usage,—the parts entering the soil being highly polished, such as nothing would so readily effect as attrition in sand and loam. These implements are quite anomalous,—nothing of the kind having been discovered in the Ohio valley, or, so far as I am aware, east of the Mississippi or in Europe.

"A variety of other flint implements have been discovered, unlike any heretofore found. Also, a large granite implement, which may have served for dressing hides or crushing corn. I notice, however, a total absence of steatite and serpentine ornaments and amulets, so common in Ohio valley mounds."

The pottery found in connection with the mounds of St. Louis and the American Bottom presents a great number of curious and instructive examples of the fictile art. Mr. de Haas thinks that the ancient potter of the Mississippi valley was but little inferior in skill to the potters among the ancient Egyptians. The Mound-builder did not use the potter's wheel: his ware was all hand-made; and much of it was only sun-dried or fire-baked in a very inadequate and inefficient manner. Two or three different styles of manufacture have been discovered,—one, a breccia of clay and pulverized mussel-shell or white spathic carbonate of lime. The ware is of irregular thickness, tough and capable of resisting the effects of moisture, dilatation, and shrinking. The ornamentation is neat and plain, rude lines, dots, chevrons, and zigzags being the chief patterns. The vessels found comprise urns, vases, cups, dishes, etc., and some of them have handles made in imitation of familiar animals. They are chiefly mortuary in their purposes, it is probable.

A. J. Conant, of St. Louis, who is probably as competent as any scientist in the country to discuss the subject, has written an excellent monograph on the Mound-builders as representatives of the prehistoric man in the Mississippi valley. He divides the mounds of Missouri and the American Bottom into four general classes: burial mounds, caves, or artificial caverns; sacrificial or temple mounds; garden mounds; and miscellaneous works. He first considers mounds in their relations to town sites, producing very good evidence, from the explorations of Dr. Beck, in 1822–23, that St. Louis was a town site with numerous sacrificial and burial mounds. In Dr. Beck's diagram we find two square pyramids, three large conical mounds, and six smaller cones, forming a rude parallelogram, the Big Mound covering its left flank at a distance of six hundred yards. The late Col. John O'Fallon's mansion, on the Bellefontaine road, was built on one of these Indian mounds, and he reported that, in excavating the foundations, human bones by the cart-load, with stone axes and arrow-heads in great numbers, were taken out. The woods west of the dwelling were full of small mounds, thrown up apparently by the Mound-builders as sites for their houses, all having hearth-places, whereon were vestiges of charcoal and ashes.

Mr. Conant looks upon the Big Mound of St. Louis as a typical burial mound. If its magnitude or the size of its vault is to be taken for a standard, he thinks it would seem to have been the tomb of the most holy prophet or the royal race. The sepulchral chamber within it, which long ago fell in, was of unknown length, but could be traced for seventy-two feet. The manner of its construction seems to have been as follows: the surface of the ground was first made perfectly level and hard; then the walls were raised with an outward inclination, made compact and solid, and plastered over with moist clay. Over these a roof was formed of heavy timbers, and above all the

mound was raised of the desired dimensions. The bodies were placed evenly upon the floor of the vault, a few feet apart, equidistant from each other, their feet towards the west. A great number of beads and shells were found mingled with the black mould that enveloped the bones. These beads, identical with those found in the Ohio mounds, are cut, according to Prof. Foster, from the shell of the Busycon, of the Gulf of Mexico, though some are made of the common mussel-shells of the neighborhood. These beads are so numerous that the whole body of the corpse, from head to thigh, must have been covered with them.

The great Monk's Mound at Cahokia is looked upon as the most perfect specimen of a temple mound in the United States. It is better preserved and the most finished model we have of the forms of the Mexican teocallis and the temples of Yucatan. On the top of these mounds, in one corner, was always a smaller elevation, upon which the sacred fire was kept burning, and in front of which all sacrifices were made.

The garden mounds, small, flat elevations, Mr. Conant thinks were thrown up by the Mound-builders for the cultivation of maize and other crops. In thin lands a richer soil was thus obtained; in flat lands the disasters of flood and moisture were avoided. It is possible also that the edges of these garden mounds were defended by stakes, to prevent them from being trampled down by the deer and the immense herds of bison which roamed everywhere. Wheat found in an urn in one of these garden mounds in Utah is said to have germinated and returned a good yield of a new and prolific variety.

Among the potteries found in the Missouri mounds are drinking vessels, moulded in the form of owls, of gourds, etc. Dr. Foster, in his excursus upon the prehistoric races of North America, thinks that the Mound-builders attained a perfection in the ceramic arts that places them far ahead of the people of the Stone and Bronze Ages in Europe. "We can readily conceive," he says, "that in the absence of metallic vessels pottery would be employed as a substitute, and the potter's art would be held in the highest esteem. From making useful forms, it would be natural to advance to the ornamental." The commonest forms of the Mound-builders' pottery represent kettles, cups, water-jugs, pipes, vases. They ornamented the surfaces of these with curved lines and fretwork, and moulded them or their parts in the image of birds, quadrupeds, and the human figure. The clay which they used was finely tempered, and did not crack or warp in baking. Some of their designs are said to be true to nature, tasteful, and show a degree of refined feeling which approximates to the sense of beauty. Some of the human figures indicate a study of the living model and a distinction of form and attitude such as reveal, in a rudimentary fashion, the artistic feeling. There is a very interesting collection of these fictile treasures in the museum of the St. Louis Academy of Sciences and in the Missouri Historical Society. Oscar W. Collet, Secretary of the Missouri Historical Society, who has paid great attention to such subjects, has made by his own personal unaided efforts a collection of Indian antiquities, which in some respects is considered the finest in the country. The specimens of stone implements of war and the chase are thought to be the largest and best preserved, the handsomest and most characteristic anywhere to be seen. They are arranged upon an excellent plan. The efforts of Mr. Collet, the Historical Society, the Academy of Sciences, F. F. Hilder, Mr. Conant, and others in this direction, will effectually repair to Missouri the loss the State suffered by the dispersion of the splendid Indian Museum begun by Meriweather Lewis, and added to during twenty years by Gen. William Clark.

We have no space to follow Mr. Conant in his comments upon the craniology of the Mound-builders, nor in his speculations in regard to the origin of this extinct race. Enough has been presented to prove that the mounds of St. Louis and the adjacent country are the work of human hands, and that they were the products of the patient labor of a people who had but the slightest resemblance to the Indians whom the white men found in this country when they discovered and settled it. A few important conclusions are obvious from the various facts which have been adduced. There are traces sufficient of occupation and settled inhabitancy to make it apparent that the entire valley of the Mississippi, and especially the vicinity of St. Louis, was the seat of an extensive if not crowded population, which was not nomadic but fixed, and which must have had permanent dwellings, cities, and a stable government and well-defined religion. This population was industrial, and had acquired the rudiments of many arts. For example, the Mound-builders used and knew how to manufacture salt by the process of boiling. The evidence is found in the masses of broken pottery about the salt-springs of Gallatin, Ill., among which are fragments of kettles of a very large size. Brackenridge noted the same sort of remains about the salines of Ste. Genevieve, Mo., as early as 1811. Some of the fragments here showed the kettles to have been as big round as barrels. Our American Indians, when the country was first

discovered, had no acquaintance with the antiseptic and preservative properties of salt.

In the next place, the Mound-builders made textile fabrics and wove cloth out of the cortex of various herbaceous plants, such as the nettle and wild hemp. They cooked their food and regularly used cooking utensils. They pounded their maize in stone mortars (as the Algonkins did also), and the pestles and mortars, of sienite and quartzite, were highly polished, and finished with particular care. Maize was the staple of their food, but was not the only grain they used, for wheat, rice, and a cereal resembling rye have all been found in the mounds. They cultivated a great variety of melons, squashes, and cucumbers, and gathered the pecan, the shellbark, hickory-nut, and the walnut. Using so much farinaceous and vegetable food, it is obvious that the chase was by no means their chief dependence, and, cultivating a wide area of soil, they were able to maintain large populations upon comparatively limited areas of territory.

The Mound-builders had a species of manufacture and of commerce of their own. Copper ornaments and implements made on Lake Superior have been found in Alabama and Mississippi. The Mound-builders are thought to have wrought the mica-beds of North Carolina extensively, and specimens of this mica have been found at New Madrid. They imported marine shells from the Gulf of Mexico and from Long Island Sound. They procured obsidian from beyond the Rio Grande to make arrow-heads and knives, specimens of which are found in Mississippi mounds. The Mound-builders knew something of astronomy and a good deal about practical military and civil engineering. Pyramidal mounds always have their sides to the cardinal points of the compass, and in inclosures the gate generally was on the eastern side. The dams erected by them and the canals they cut show a familiarity with the principles of hydraulics. Their defensive works are admirably calculated to serve the purpose for which they were intended. The sites were invariably well chosen, and the defensive lines to cover and protect these fortresses would have won the admiration of a Vauban.

The Mound-builders were an agricultural people. They selected the most fertile sites for their habitations, and their population was always most dense in sections most prolific in the cereals, and particularly maize. The granaries of the West to-day are those spots where the tumuli of the Mound-builders most abound. In conclusion, all the evidence in regard to this prehistoric race which has been so far collected tends to show,—

1. That the Mound-builders had an organized autocratic government, in which the individual was merged in the state, and thus their rulers could undertake and complete the great works, the remains of which are found in this age.

2. The Mound-builders were a laborious people. Nothing but the united labor of many thousands of men could accomplish such great works as have survived the leveling influence of time through thousands of years.

3. The Mound-builders were not nomads, but had fixed habitations.

4. They were numerous and gregarious, dwelling in populous cities, as attested by the grouping of the mounds.

5. The Mound-builders were acquainted with many of the practical arts of civilized life. They smelted copper, wrought stone, moulded clay into useful forms, built houses, reared mounds, which, like those of Otolum, Uxmal, Palenque, and San Juan Tectihuacan, were no doubt temple-crowned in the distant past. They manufactured salt, made cloth, and had vessels fitted for many uses. They cultivated the soil, raised corn, melons, pumpkins and squashes, and subsisted in a large degree on the fruits of the earth.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INDIANS.

VERY different from the Mound-builders in every respect were the Indians whom the white men found upon the soil of St. Louis and its vicinity, at the time of their first explorations and afterwards when the town was settled. We do not know positively which of the tribes had the best pretensions to the site of St. Louis; but it appears to be the case that while the Illinois Indians claimed the spot, visited it frequently, and may have occupied it permanently in the period of their greatest ascendancy and numbers, the Missouris were the nearest Indians to it, and camped and fished there; while, from the time of La Salle, it is probable that the more powerful Wawsatches or Osages exercised a sort of suzerainty over it. This they were the better able to do from the fact, recorded in the journals of Chevalier de Tonti, that this was a tribe of horsemen, and hunted and made war on horseback, getting their mounts from the wild horses of the plains and by trade with the Comanches and Apaches of Texas and New Mexico. Indian legends seem to concur that the ancestors of

the Natchez Indians, or some tribes very nigh akin to them, were the original occupants of St. Louis and the American Bottom, whence they were expelled by the fierce assaults of the Iroquois and Algonkins, at that time allies. These Indians, whether descendants or not of the Mound-builders, were certainly more nearly allied to them in manners and customs, and in the degree of their civilization, than any other tribes within the limits of the United States of whom we have any knowledge, excepting, perhaps, the Navajo and the Pueblo and Zuñi Indians of New Mexico. Stripping off all the romance with which chroniclers have seen fit to clothe the history of the Natchez tribes, we will still find a nation of sun-worshipers, living in fixed towns, and having a form of monarchical or hierocratical government such as we may readily conceive the Mound-builders to have obeyed.

When Marquette and Joliet descended the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers in 1673, they encountered only the Illinois Indians within the limits of Missouri and Illinois,—and their expedition went no farther than the mouth of the Arkansas. In 1682, on the other hand, when La Salle and Tonti descended the Illinois and the Mississippi, and looked into the Missouri and the Ohio, they found both Illinois and Shawanese on the left or east side of the upper river, and on the west side, a short distance up the Missouri above St. Louis, they found the Missouri Indians, and above these the Osages, and probably the Panis or Pawnees. At the time of the establishment of the trading-post of St. Louis, in 1764, by Laclede, the remnant of the Illinois bands was permanently settled at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, a mere handful in comparison with what they had been,—a few families only of the Peorias still dwelling by the lake on the Illinois River which bears their name. They had been ravaged by pestilence and devastated by war. The Iroquois had driven them from their homes at old Kaskaskia and Peoria with fire and hatchet, and the Sacs and Foxes, the Ottawas, and the Miamis and their confederates kept them out. A few years later, as has been already set forth, they either contrived or consented to the murder of Pontiac, while that great chieftain was their guest in Cahokia, and the result was the literal extermination of the tribe. They numbered at least twelve thousand souls in 1670; they had sixty towns in 1700; in 1800 none of the blood survived except in the veins of French half-breeds and about two hundred Kaskaskias (with a few scattering Peorias divided between the east and west sides), afterwards removed to the Indian Territory, and the tribe name had disappeared except as a geographical title.

The Illinois belonged to the great Algonkin race, which held nearly all the temperate parts of North America at the time of the first colonization of this continent. They were the kindred of the Algonkins of Canada, the Chippeways, or Ojibways, of Michigan, the Mohegans of New England and New York, the Shawanese south and the Miamis north of the Ohio, the Powhatans and Nottaways of Virginia, and the Delawares, or Lenni-Lenapes, of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The name Illinois is a French corruption of a root-word identical with Lenni-Lenape, varying only in affix and suffix; and both nations gave the same meaning to the haughty title,—"We are *the* men." Neither nation, however, though skillful with arms and in the chase, could cope with the Iroquois in the field; and the journal of Tonti and the reports of La Salle and the French missionaries are full of thrilling accounts of how the Six Nations invaded their territory, captured their strongholds, massacred their women and children, and pursued their flagging warriors over the prairies for hundreds and hundreds of miles.

The Illinois lived well in a fat prairie country, yielding crops a hundred for one, and abounding with game of every sort. They were a comely and accomplished race, the women handsome, the men bold, versatile, vivacious, talkative, but treacherous, lazy, and licentious to such a degree that they had even adopted the unnatural vices which are commonly supposed to attach themselves only to the pampered civilization of outworn cities. When the Jesuits succeeded in converting them, and making them good Catholics, they became effeminate as well as idle, and lost concern for the chase as well as for arms.

About the time of the first white colonies in North America, there seems to have been a general movement among the Indian tribes, looking to the reform and consolidation of their political institutions. We cannot determine whether the impulse to this was received from within or without; but it is certain that the establishment of the confederacy of the Five Nations was either preceded, or very swiftly followed by confederacies of the New England, and the Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee tribes; by the Huron confederacy in Canada, the Miami confederacy in Ohio and Indiana, and the Illinois confederacy in Illinois. The latter tribal union comprehended the several bands of the Kaskaskias, the Tamaronos, the Mitchigamis, the Cahokias, and the Peorias. Their chief towns were on both sides of the Illinois river, from Chicago to the Mississippi, and their winter quarters were in the Great American Bottom, from Cahokia to Kaskaskia. Even before La Salle built

Fort Crevecœur their towns on the Illinois had become favorite resorts of the wild French trappers and hunters, the *voyageurs* and the *coureurs des bois*, and later on, their villages of Cahokia and Kaskaskia on the Mississippi became French villages as well; the points of meeting between the fur-traders and the half-breed children of the wilderness who roamed the interior of the continent, traversed its mountain passes, and trapped on all its streams, from the Rio Grande and the Gila to the Columbia and the Yukon, and from the Gulf of Mexico, on the south, to Hudson's Bay and the Great Slave Lake on the north.

The general Algonkin tradition, as preserved by Heckewelder (and also by Rafinesque, in the translation which he furnished to Nicollet of the so-called *Walum-olum*, or bark record of the Lenni-Lenape), points to a migration of that nation from the north into the country of the Missouri River, whence they crossed the Mississippi between the lakes and the Ohio, driving southwards the Alligewi, the original occupants of the soil. The latter, it is said, lived in towns, were very numerous, and had strong fortifications. This *Walum-olum*, a song learned by heart, the arrangement of the parts of which is determined by memoriter characters written on bark, would be a very remarkable chronicle if we could repose complete confidence in its genuineness; but that we cannot do upon the evidence vouchsafed to us by the brilliant but erratic Rafinesque. As it now stands, its authenticity is about upon a par with the poems of Ossian and the Book of Mormon, excepting that its *internal* evidence is rather in its favor,—that is to say, it does not contradict, it only amplifies the extant Indian legends; and it may be all very true, only we have no more than Rafinesque's word for it, and the concordance of the symbols used with the well-known picture-writing of the Delawares and Ojibways. The *Walum-olum* (meaning literally "painted sticks") consists of five divisions, two devoted to Indian cosmogony and a diluvial legend, the other three recording the migrations, battles, resting-places, and names and order of succession of the chiefs of the Algonkins. The song is said by Rafinesque to have been obtained by the late Dr. Ward, of Indiana, from the remnant of the Delawares on the White River. The metre is apparently that of Hiawatha, some at least of the verses terminating in homophones:

> "Wemipayat guneunga shinaking
> Wunkenapi chanelendam payaking
> Allowelendam kowiyey-tulpaking."

The legend goes on to relate that after the flood the true men (Lennapewi) were with the turtle, in the cave-house, the dwelling of Talli. It was cold, it snowed, and from the north plain they went south in search of milder land and game. In the new land the northlings separated from them, and the Snakes (enemies) fled and hid.

"In vast numbers, in a single night, they went to the Eastern or Snake Island, all of them marching by night in the darkness over the waters of the hard, stormy sea. The northlings, the easterlings, the southerlings (*Shawanapi*), the beaver-men, the wolf-men, the hunters or best men, the priests and medicine-men, with their wives and daughters, and their dogs. They all arrived at the land of firs, where they tarried; but the western-men, hesitating, wished to return to the old turtle-land." The next song tells of a long sojourn in the fir-land, under many chiefs; making war on the Snakes, and slowly wending southward till they came to *Shililaking*, buffalo-land, in the plains beyond a hollow mountain. Here, on the Yellow (Missouri) River, they built towns and *raised corn on the meadows*. There Taminend reigned, the greatest and best of chiefs, and all was peace, because all men were his friends. But this golden age was not maintained under his successors; there was war north and south, until at last Opekasit (East-looking said, "Let us go to the sun-rising," and many went eastward together. The Mississippi was reached, and the nation tarried long on its west bank. The contest with the Alligewi was long and doubtful after the river was crossed, but at last the enemy fled southward, "and all the people were pleased. South of the lakes they settled their council-fire, and north of the lakes were their friends the *Talamatan*. Next was Linniwalamen, who made war on the Talamatan (the Hurons)." The division and separation of the tribes is next described. The *Nentegos* (Nanticokes and *Shawanis* went to the south-land. The country was occupied from Maine to Albemarle Sound, from Niagara to Kentucky, from Lake Erie to the Chesapeake, by the Algonkins, and the Iroquois and the Eries trembled. The Algonkins made war on the Cherokees and the Creeks. They had alliances with the *Hilliniki* (the Illinois), the *Shawanis*, and the *Kenowikis* (Kanawhas or Canoes), and were friends of the *Wemiamik* (Miamis, Weas, or Beaver-children), and the *Tuwas* (Ottowas), and *Tulamatans*, or Hurons. The wide range of these affinities and relationships is very noticeable. The record concludes as follows:

"Then the children divided into three parts, the *Unamini* (or Turtle tribe), the *Minsimini* (Wolf tribe), the *Chickimini* (Turkey tribe).

"*Epallakchund* was chief, and fought the *Mahongwi* (Mengwi, or Mingoes, or Iroquois), but failed.

"*Langomwei* was chief, and the *Mahongwi* trembled.

"*Wapachikis* (White-crab) was chief, and a friend of the Shore people.

"*Neauchipat* was chief towards the sea.

"Now from north and south came the *Wapagachik* (White-comers).

"Professing to be friends, in big-birds. Who are they?"

A supplementary and modern fragment tells, in the tones of a Jeremiah, who these *Wapsinis* (East-people) are, "who came out of the sea to rob us of our lands." It recounts the friendship of Penn, the subsequent wars, and how the Delawares were driven to Ohio and Indiana, ending with "*Kithtilkand* and *Lapabonit* were the chiefs of our two tribes when we resolved to exchange our lands and return at last beyond the *Masispek*, to our old country.

"We shall be near our foes, the *Wakon* (Osages), but they are not worse than the *Yankwisakon* (English snakes), who want to possess the whole Big-island.

"Shall we be free and happy then, at the new *Wapahani*? We want rest and peace and wisdom."

There is a certain degree of verisimilitude about this narrative which gives it a great interest to every inquirer, and at least makes him wish its genuineness could be established. If that were done, it would at once take rank as one of the most valuable ethnic records in existence. Until that is done, however, we must be content to regard it with suspicion, and to hang no theories upon it.

The Indians on the west side of the Mississippi who had anything to do with St. Louis or its site at or previous to its settlement, were, as has been stated, the Missouris and the Osages, with now and then the Pawnees. The latter tribe were akin to the Tunicas, a southern Indian race, roaming originally south of the Arkansas, and probably of the same nation as the Comanches. At the period of the settlement of St. Louis their headquarters were on the Platte. The Osages certainly, and the Missouris probably, were of the great race of the Dacotahs or Sioux, a distinctive American nation whom the early French explorers found occupying all the region about the headwaters of the Mississippi, from Lakes Superior and Michigan across to the Missouri, and thence southward, on the west side of the Mississippi, as far as the Arkansas River. The main tribe had not yet become horsemen, but they were entirely a nomadic race.

The Missouri Indian bands, as has already been known, paid Laclede and Chouteau a long and disagreeable visit while they were laying off the original town of St. Louis, and their squaws helped to dig the first cellar ever excavated within the limits of the present city. They appear to have been comparatively harmless savages, easily controlled and intimidated. The tribe was quite numerous at one time, its villages being situated on the Missouri east of Jefferson City, but it soon yielded to the pressure of civilization. The French fur-traders, trappers, voyageurs, and coureurs, ascending the Missouri River from New Orleans and Canada, early made their homes among these savages, and repaid their hospitality by corrupting them with drink and disease. Later, when the tribe was removed farther west and settled on the Platte, near the Otoes, it sunk into a truly deplorable condition. It had received much aid from the government in the shape of money and instruction; teachers, smiths, and farmers were attached to its service, but all to no good. The evil spirit seemed to have become domiciliated in its lodges, the people were jealous, discontented, and factious, and there were continual orgies and bloodshed. They finally conceived such a deep-rooted prejudice against the spot occupied by them, on the north side of the Platte, under the impression that an evil manitou infested the place, that, in a moment of drunken riot, they set fire to their village, and it was burned to ashes. They then pitched their lodges in the prairie, on the south side of the river, whence they were finally removed to the Indian Territory.

After Pontiac's war, there was a great commotion and many changes of location among the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, the ultimate effect of which was to give much trouble to Missouri and St. Louis. The State never had a great Indian war, but it suffered continually from Indian raids and riots during a long period of time. The pressure of population into the western parts of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and the beginning of settlements in Tennessee and Kentucky, drove great numbers of the Eastern Indians into Ohio and Indiana. The Mohegans, Delawares, Wyandots, Nanticokes, Shawanese, Kanawhas, Five Nations, Cherokees, all made their way into the territory of the Miamis, while the restive Dacotahs pressed the Mascoutins, Sacs and Foxes, and Kickapoos down into the territory of the Illinois. At the same time land companies and land speculators began to purchase Indian titles by the wholesale. The French colonists did not seek such an occupancy of Indian lands as would expel the original proprietors from them, and they tilled the soil and built their cabins alongside of and at peace with the natives wherever they planted themselves. Not so, however, the colonists of English descent. They demanded a clear title, undisturbed possession, and no redskin neighbors, and they enforced these demands with their rifles. From the time of the treaty of Lancaster, in 1748, the most persistent efforts had been

made to drive the Indians west of the Ohio at all points, and much bloodshed was the result. After the surrender of the French settlements east of the Mississippi in 1761–63, and the occupation of Kaskaskia, Post Vincennes, and Detroit by the English, a number of western land companies were established, intended to operate in the track of British expeditions sent out to subdue the savage "hostiles." Of these, we need refer to but two in this connection, the object of which "Dunmore's war," in 1774, ending in the desperate battle of Point Pleasant, was certainly undertaken to promote. On July 5, 1773, at a public council held in Kaskaskia, an association of English traders and merchants, styling themselves "the Illinois Land Company," obtained from ten chiefs of the Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Peoria bands a deed for two very large tracts of land on the east side of the Mississippi. The first of these covered what is now known as the "Egypt" district of Illinois; the second, what is now the central part of Illinois, with the river of that name for its north boundary for ninety leagues. The members of this company were principally London and Pennsylvania merchants, including the Francks and Hamiltons. The other company referred to bought from the chiefs of the Piankeshaws, through Louis Viviat, a merchant of the Illinois country, all the best lands of the Wabash valley, to the extent of thirty-seven million four hundred and ninety-seven thousand six hundred acres. The purchase was made Oct. 18, 1775, of eleven Piankeshaw chiefs, and the members of the company purchasing were the Earl of Dunmore and his son; Louis Viviat; the Francks, of London and Philadelphia; Thomas Johnson, Jr., and John Davidson, of Annapolis, Maryland; William Russell, Matthew Ridley, Robert Christie, Sr. and Jr., of Baltimore; Peter Campbell, of Piscataway, Maryland; William Gaddes, of Newtown Chester; William and Daniel Murray, Nicholas St. Marlin, and Joseph Page, of the Illinois country, and Francis Perthuis, of Canada. The occupancy and settlement of these lands was prevented by the outbreak of the Revolutionary war. In April, 1780, the Wabash and the Illinois Land Companies were united into a single company, and their agents were repeatedly before Congress (in 1781, 1791, 1797, 1804, and 1810) for a confirmation of their claims, which, however, was always refused. The consideration paid by the Wabash Company to the Indians for their grant of thirty-seven and a half millions of acres was five shillings in cash, 400 blankets, 22 pieces of stroud, 250 shirts, 12 gross star gartering, 120 pieces of ribbon, 24 pounds vermilion, 18 pair velvet laced housings, 1 piece of melton, 52 fusils, 35 dozen large buckhorn handle knives, 40 dozen couteau knives, 500 pounds of brass kettles, 10,000 gun-flints, 600 pounds gunpowder, 2000 pounds lead, 400 pounds tobacco, 40 bushels salt, 3000 pounds flour, 3 horses, 11 very large silver arm-bands, 40 wrist-bands, 6 whole moons, 6 half moons, 9 ear-wheels, 46 large crosses, 29 hair pipes, 60 pairs of ear-bobs, 20 dozen small crosses, 20 dozen nose-crosses, and 110 dozen brooches. There is some satisfaction in knowing that this outrageous purchase was never confirmed.

After the Revolution, the British having deserted their Indian allies in the West, they were left in a wretched condition of discontent and partisan and predatory war, constantly in collision with the numerous streams of immigration now pouring in from every quarter, and with border lines unsettled. Vir-





ginia claimed the whole of the Northwestern Territory, by right of original charter, and by conquest also as the result of the daring and successful expedition of George Rogers Clarke against Kaskaskia and Vincennes. The Spaniards also put in a claim to a part of Illinois, in consequence of the expedition from St. Louis up the Illinois River in 1781. Harmar, an

then St. Clair, and finally Wayne were sent into the Indian country to pacify them. The former two were defeated, but Wayne conquered a peace, and the treaty of Greenville, which he negotiated, was observed until Tecumseh and his English allies were able to foment new discontents. After Gen. Harrison broke the power of Tecumseh's confederacy, there was peace in the sections east of the Mississippi until the outbreak of the Sacs and Foxes under Black Hawk, which was the last breath of Indian war that disturbed St. Louis.

But during all the interval between the cession of Louisiana, in 1804, and the end of Black Hawk's war, the growing town was greatly vexed by migrating or vagabond Indians, who infested its streets in the track of hunters and trappers, and made it a border town indeed. There were a good many murders by Indians during this period, some committed within the immediate precincts of the town. The first murder trial in St. Louis after the cession to the United States, was of an Indian for killing a white man. Several cases of this sort will be found referred to elsewhere, in the course of this volume. During this period the tribes and fragments of tribes that had been struggling against the ever-rising tide of white immigration between the Ohio and Mississippi had been gradually pressed westward, until nearly all of them had finally crossed the latter river, and were settled between it and Western Kansas. Several tribes pitched their wigwams within St. Louis County. As late as 1820 there were eighteen hundred Shawanese encamped within twenty miles of the city, and they were far from being good neighbors. Close contact for twenty years with the white man had corrupted and degraded them inconceivably. Jacob Burnet, in his "Notes on the Northwestern Territory," has given a graphic description of this sort of contamination, which took place under his own eyes. After speaking of the original happiness of the Indians, their dignity of character and simplicity of manners, he says,—

"Unconscious of the ruinous consequences that were to follow their intimacy with white men, they ceded to the American government large and valuable portions of their territory at nearly nominal prices. These lands were settled by Americans, in whose purity and friendship the unsuspecting savages had great confidence; nor did they awake from the delusion till their habits of sobriety and morality had been undermined by the unprincipled white men with whom they associated, and until the vices engendered by intemperance and idleness had contaminated every tribe.

"The consequences of this degeneracy very soon terminated in their ruin. The hunting excursion ceased to be pleasurable; the labor of raising their usual crops of corn and beans became drudgery, and their chief delight was in the excitement produced by ardent spirits. The consequence was that their subsistence became precarious; they often suffered for food; their health declined; they raised but few of their children; their self-respect, their dignity of character and heroism, inherited from their ancestors, were lost; the ravages of intemperance and its kindred vices reduced their numbers and scattered their tribes; they became in their own estimation a degraded, dependent race. The government, availing itself of their weakness and want of energy, succeeded, by bribes and menaces, in obtaining the best portions of their country, and eventually in driving them from the land of their birth to a distant home in an unknown region.

"This distressing chapter of aboriginal history began at the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, and terminated in less than fifty years. The writer of these notes witnessed its commencement, progress, and close. Prior to that treaty there had been no friendly intercourse between the Indians and the white men of the United States, in consequence of the war which existed between them. That intercourse and its destructive consequences began immediately after the restoration of peace. Until that time the nations were numerous, powerful, and uncontaminated.

"The yearly journeys of the writer to attend the General Court of the Territory at Detroit made it necessary to go through some of their villages, and convenient to visit others, and often led him to their hunting-camps, which gave him many opportunities of seeing them in their villages and on their hunting excursions, and of becoming personally acquainted with some of their principal chiefs and warriors. At that time their hospitality was limited only by their means of indulging it. The corrupting influence of their new associates was just commencing, and had made but little progress. They retained the distinctive marks of their national character. Their deportment showed that they felt conscious of their strength.

"In their general intercourse with white people their manners and deportment manifested their consciousness of equality. They had lost nothing of the self-confidence which they possessed when the national and State governments admitted their independence, and met them in council as equals and friends. They were, however, unconscious of their comparative numerical weakness, and of the corrupting influence of their new associates. In a few short years their eyes were opened, their delusion vanished, and their last hopes sunk in despair.

"It would be unjust to form an opinion of the original inhabitants of this country by a reference to their descendants of the present day. In the short period of half a century they have been so changed that scarcely a trace remains of what they were when their country was first entered by the pioneers of our race, an event which sealed their destiny.

"In journeying more recently through the State, the writer has occasionally passed over the ground on which, many years before, he had seen Indian towns filled with families of that devoted race, contented and happy; but he could not perceive the slightest trace of those villages or the people who had occupied them. All the settlements through which he passed on the Maumee and Auglaize, from Fort Wayne to Defiance, and from thence to the foot of the Rapids, had been broken up and deserted. The battle-ground of General Wayne, which he had often seen in the rude state in which it was when the action of 1794 was fought, was so changed in its appearance that he could not recognize it, and not an indication remained of the many populous Indian villages he had formerly seen extending many miles on either side of the river. Flourishing towns and fields cultivated by white men covered the ground which, thirty years before, was the property and home of the nations of the forest.

"The contrast was striking, and excited a train of unpleas-

ant recollections. It was a natural inquiry, 'Where are the multitudes of people who were formerly seen here, amusing themselves on these Rapids, taking the swift muskelunge with their bows and arrows?' They were then independent and undisturbed owners of the country, which had descended to them through a long line of heroic ancestors, and which they expected their children would continue to possess when they were gone.

"It was far from their thoughts that in a few years they would be expelled from these homes and driven to herd with strangers in a strange land. They did not expect to hear so soon the same chilling salutation which was addressed to the eloquent bard of Mantua by the Roman soldiers to whom his paternal villa had been allotted by the agrarian laws of Italy,—'*Hæc mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni.*' The final catastrophe of that noble race was witnessed by the people of Cincinnati a few years since, when the remnant of the Wyandots, the last of the braves of the Ohio tribes—'*reliquiæ Danaum atque immitis Achillei*'—arrived at the landing and ascended the steamboats that were to convey them from the places of their nativity into hopeless banishment."

Such were the forlorn and degraded tribes and fragments of tribes which, between 1804 and 1825, poured across the Mississippi River at or near St. Louis. Nor were these hordes innumerous. Four tribes were represented at the treaty of Fort McIntosh in 1785; the Six Nations at that of Fort Stanwix in 1784; the Shawanese, Wyandots, and Delawares at that of the mouth of the Great Miami in 1786; the Six Nations, Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippeways, Sacs and Foxes, and Pottawattamies at Fort Harmar in 1789; and at Greenville, in 1794, there were present, among those who signed the treaty, members and representatives of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottowas, Chippeways, Pottawattamies, Miamis, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Kaskaskias, and Piankeshaws, several of the tribes being in several branches and belonging to various localities. Between 1804 and 1825, twenty-one tribes crossed the Mississippi River at or about St. Louis, having an aggregate membership of over thirty thousand souls.

The best enumeration of the Indians west of the Mississippi at the beginning of this century with which we are acquainted is that made by H. M. Brackenridge, in 1811, in his "Views of Louisiana." He had traveled extensively among the savages himself, ascending the Missouri above its junction with the Yellowstone, and his statistics are at once trustworthy and concise. He begins his chapter by remarking the rapid decrease of the Indian populations. Tribes and nations which were populous along the river when the whites came had either become entirely extinct or dwindled away to a few individuals. The Tensas, the Bayou Goulas, the Natchez, all numerous in the days of Tonti, D'Iberville, and Charlevoix, were now extinct. So likewise were the Houmas, the Wabashes, the Abenakis, the Tarakas, the Kappas, and the Tacucas. The Illinois once numbered twenty thousand; there remained scarce forty families. Even the Osages, who once had twenty-two towns, had only fifteen hundred warriors left, and the Missouris numbered but four hundred and fifty souls all told. Brackenridge notes the Shawanese villages near St. Louis, and calls the tribe "a sober and orderly people." Stragglers from all the tribes might be seen in all the towns at every season, selling their game and fish. There were thirty thousand Indians on the Missouri. They had been much more numerous before the small-pox got among them. "All the tribes which at this day wander over the immense plains of the West are but wretched remnants, not probably more than the tenth part of the numbers which existed fifty years ago."

The following is an abstract of part of Brackenridge's table of the Indians in Upper and Lower Louisiana in his time:

Tribe.	Warriors.	Souls.	Country.
Big Osage, Little Osage, Big Tracks	1500	5500	Osage, Missouri, and Arkansas Rivers.
Kansas	300	1500	Kansas River.
Pawnee Loup	400	2000	Platte and Kansas.
Pawnee Republ	350	1600	Kansas.
Pawnee Loup (2)	300	1500	Wolf and Platte.
Omahas	250	800	North of Platte.
Poncas	80	450	Missouri at the Qui Court
Otoes and Missouris	80	450	Platte and Elkhorn.
Cheyenne	500	1600	Head of Cheyenne River
Mandans	350	2000	1600 miles up the Missou
Sankees (Sacs)	500	2500	Below Falls of St. Anthon
Sioux bands	1500	6000	Mississippi and Missouri
Foxes	300	1000	Falls of St. Anthony.
Shawanese	300	800	Mississippi and St. Fran
Chickasaws and Cherokees	500	2000	White River.
Arkansas	200	1000	Arkansas River.
Caddoes	110	500	Arkansas and Red.

The fixed agricultural villages on the Missouri were limited to those of the Osage, Omaha, Ponca, Pawnee, Mandan, and Aricaree tribes. The Pawnees at that time were located in the forks of the Kansas, the Otoes and Missouris below Wolf River. They were all, however, hunters, and roved the plains in the season of game, having great numbers of horses and dogs. They still used the bow and arrow principally in hunting, if not also in war, and the strongest object of their veneration and worship was the buffalo head, looked upon as a powerful *Manitou*. The trade with the Indians Brackenridge did not find to be in a wholesome condition. The Spanish *régime* had countenanced shameless corruption and frightful abuses. The government farmed out the trade of localities to individuals, taxing it heavily; the monopolists in return extorted exorbitant prices for their goods. On the other hand, says Brackenridge, "the British policy has been to give their goods on a very

small profit, but to sell their liquors enormously high. After an Indian has once supplied himself with the articles of which he stands in immediate want, he becomes lazy and ceases to hunt; but with the hope presented to his imagination of obtaining a keg of whiskey he will toil incessantly."

Of the Osage or Wasatch Indians, Brackenridge mentions that their language is the root-tongue of adjacent tribes, but he does not seem to have found out that it is a dialect of the language of the Dacotahs. "These people," he remarks, "have been noted for their uncommon stature; this is somewhat exaggerated, though they are undoubtedly above the ordinary size of men. The wandering or semi-wandering nations of Louisiana may be characterized as exceeding in stature the whites. The Osages are reputed warlike, but this arises from their being at war with all their neighbors, and not from any uncommon degree of bravery. When compared with the Shawanese and the nations east of the Mississippi, they might with more propriety be regarded as a treacherous and cowardly race." The Kansas used to be the biggest rogues and scoundrels of the Missouri, says Brackenridge, but the Pawnees have beaten them so severely that they are better behaved. The Ottoes (Otoes, *Wadooktada*) are the descendants of the ancient Missouris, the remnant of that once numerous nation living with or near them. The language common to the two tribes is remarkably lofty and sonorous, and the tribes, greatly reduced in numbers, are brave and warlike, seeming to be kinsmen of the Pawnees, with whom their relations are extremely friendly. Brackenridge gives a better character to the Pawnees than they were generally credited with in his time. The Poncas and Omahas, quiet, industrious people, speak a dialect of the Osage; the Aricarees, our author says, were originally Pawnees. Of the Saukees, or Sacs and Foxes, he says that they were in his time located one hundred and forty leagues above St. Louis. They traded with the merchants both of Mackinaw and St. Louis. "The country which they claim lies principally on the east side of the Mississippi. On the west side they claim the country of the ancient Missouris by right of conquest, without defining any portion to the Ayûwas (the Des Moins Indians). To them may be ascribed the destruction of the Peorias, Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Missouris, and Illinois."

Du Pratz, the not very reliable early historian of Louisiana, gives a sketch of the travels of a sort of Indian Anacharsis whom he met about 1760, and describes as possessing a very solid understanding and great elevation of sentiment. This was a Yazoo Indian, *Moncachtape*, "pain-killer," whom the French called "the interpreter," from his familiarity with many native dialects. He lost his wife and children, and thereupon became a traveler, about the middle of the eighteenth century. He first sojourned among the Chickasaws, then went to the Chaouanons (Shawanese), in Tennessee and Southern Kentucky. From their country he proceeded to the mouth of the Wabash, and ascended the Ohio until he found himself in the territory of the Iroquois. After viewing the Falls of Niagara, he descended the St. Lawrence to the Gulf. On returning to the Ohio he constructed a canoe, and descended to the Mississippi and down to the Yazoo. In his next journey he ascended the Mississippi and the Missouri, being entertained by the Tamaroas (a band of the Illinois) and the Missouri Indians, dwelling among the latter long enough to acquire their language. He found them only a few days' voyage above the mouth of the river. Proceeding still farther westward, he came to the Kansas and then to the Otoes, ascending the Platte to their village. His journey did not end until he had reached the Western slope and the navigable waters of the Columbia River. It is noteworthy that he found the Missouris opposite the Illinois and not far from the Mississippi, and that the site of the Otoe village in 1750 was just about the same as that occupied by the tribe a hundred years later.

The Missouri Indians disappeared too early, and left too few and faint traces of their character to be associated with the history of St. Louis. The Osages were the most important tribe and the most distinctive people among the red men of Missouri, and of them we are able to furnish a pretty full and accurate account from the studies of persons who knew them well. We have already quoted what Brackenridge had to say of their stature. Their countenance is rather comely, with black, brilliant eyes, aquiline nose, and generally regular features. *Tah-hrin-sca* (or White Hair), the great chief of the Big Osages, is said, besides being a person of great good judgment, to have been the handsomest man of his nation. He was at the time we speak of forty years of age. An anecdote is related of him while he was with several braves in Washington City. The President, Gen. Taylor, wishing to pay him a deserved compliment, remarked that he believed he beheld in him the comeliest man of his nation. As the compliment was being interpreted, not a muscle of the noble chief's countenance was moved, but, bowing gravely, and with a show of approval to his host, he replied, "You have spoken the truth, my Father: I believe you!" The reply shows the readiness and absence of all ceremony with which an Indian usually

receives a well-bestowed compliment. The personal endowments so liberally bestowed on the men is not fully shared in by the Osage females. Their women have generally coarse and irregular features. The ungainliness of feature, however, is atoned for by a well-knit and graceful form, possessed with very rare exceptions by all the females of the nation.

The general character of the Osages is precisely that of the majority of Indian tribes. They are brave, but not to a fault. They see no impropriety in retreating, on ordinary occasions, from great personal danger. They are warm friends when a sufficient cause of liking is afforded them, and will endure severe privation and undergo serious suffering to render a service. Unlike many other Indians, they are not discreditably vindictive. Ever ready to resent an affront, they can with time, or with what they may deem a sufficient reparation, forget a serious injury.

Although the Osages was one of the first nations with whom the white traders dealt (the Chouteaus had a post on the Osage River long before the beginning of this century), they yet retained to a very late day, in all their purity, their original habits, callings, and general mode of life, discarding, despite the constant contact in which they were placed with the whites, every idea of turning their attention to agriculture or other useful pursuit. Until they were removed to the Indian Territory, they had a strip of land in Kansas fifty miles long, bordering on Bates and Jackson Counties, Mo., with an abundant hunting range westward. There were two principal tribes and several villages, and the soil and pasturage being good in their reservation, they were comfortably well off.

What the precise origin of the Osage nation is we cannot pretend to determine accurately. A tradition is extant among them that many years ago their forefathers lived on the borders of immense lakes,—our Northern lakes,—and that they frequently journeyed westward, for the purposes of hunting and making war upon the tribes who possessed the territory they now inhabit. The tradition may very possibly be true. Old traders now living remember well the day when they were scattered all through Missouri, even to the Mississippi River. Whatever particular locality they may have originally emigrated from, it is evident that the nation was formerly much more numerous than now, and that large bodies have left it, from time to time, since they crossed the Mississippi, to establish a distinct and separate government of their own. With other evidences, this is told us in the fact that many of their neighboring tribes speak, with some differences, their own language. Thus the Quapaws, who inhabited the prairie to the southwest; the Kansas tribe, over about Council Grove; the Arkansas,—now few in number, and promising soon to be quite extinct,—who were scattered along the Arkansas line, all speak the language of the Osages, with, of course, such variations as distance and difference of customs and callings will naturally bring about. The language of the Otoe tribe, formerly near Council Bluff, is also so like the Osage that the two nations readily understand each other. The probabilities are that they were all at one time a single nation. Some cause of dissension induced separation at various times. They are near neighbors, and live now on friendly terms, extending to one another every ordinary courtesy.

The government among the Osages is simple in the extreme, indeed, hardly deserving the name of government. Each great division (of the Big and Little Osages) has a "great chief," who nominally is the head of the nation, but whose authority, in fact, does not extend so far as that of many others below him. His official list of duties includes merely the presiding at councils, calling the attention of the nation to any subject which may require their immediate discussion, and entertaining distinguished guests. The great chief derives his distinction or his power—whatever name it is entitled to—hereditarily. After the principal division in the nation of Big and Little Osages follow several subdivisions, each of which has its particular chief, who is elected for some victorious deed or appointed by the great chief. This also is an honorable distinction merely, which gives them no power. Third and last in order are the "braves," who come in much greater number, and with whom the authority of government really lies. These are self-made men, who earn their distinction by their valorous deeds and brilliant achievements on the battle-field. No matter if he be the pauper of the nation, if he have scarcely attained the age of maturity, or if he be stooped and crippled with years, the person who will accomplish an act to entitle him to the distinction of brave becomes immediately invested with all its honors and all its benefits. A brave is the favorite of the nation, and his counsel will be blindly followed where the word of the chief above him would not be hearkened to.

To give an idea of the plan and appearance of an Osage villages, as also to impart an insight into the habits and mode of life of the entire nation, it is necessary only to select one especial village, with whose population, in our remarks about manners and customs, we shall more particularly familiarize the reader. We choose for this purpose to select the vil-

lage of the Big Osages as it existed before the removal of the tribe from Kansas, situated some fifty-six miles west of the Missouri line, and about on a parallel line with the town of Ste. Genevieve, on the Mississippi. The Neosho River, flowing about a quarter of a mile west of the village, was concealed from it by a dense forest, lining its borders and extending from either shore to a distance of three or four hundred yards. This timber consisted principally of splendid oaks, walnuts, hickories, and mulberries. Beginning at the wooded strip near the Neosho, and extending as far back as the eye can reach, the prairie rises gradually and evenly. It is unbroken by abrupt descents or elevations, save some three or four miles to the east of the village, where is encountered an occasional mound, evidently the work of nature, but which, from its singular locality and peculiarly symmetrical proportions, at first approach appears to be the result of human labor. The situation of this village, just at the outskirts of the timbers, allowed its population the enjoyment of the various desirable changes of temperature and weather. Thus the warm summer months brought the prairie breezes, which at times become so violent and so chilling as during the night to require, for the mere sake of comfort, additional clothing or fire. In winter, when the blast is at all times disagreeable, a removal to the woods, only a short distance off, will insure a sufficient shelter. The prairie, moreover, furnished abundant and excellent pasturage for the horses in spring and summer, and when this had gone, the timbered strip in winter offered a passable supply.

The village of the Big Osages numbered about two hundred lodges, distant generally from fifteen to twenty feet apart, and rising in every direction with but little regard to their order of arrangement. Before or after the oppressive heat of the day, when its population was in full life and motion, it presented quite a picturesque, if not an imposing appearance. Its numerous parties of savages, in wild accoutrement, were scattered here and there, some engaged in horse-racing, others earnestly disputing the victory in our own Christian game of "prisoner's base;" others, again, separated from the throng by some out of the way lodge, welcomed the recital of every ludicrous occurrence with renewed bursts of boisterous laughter. A little farther on, its many bands of wild horses were quietly enjoying the luxurious abundance which the prairie affords, or, in frolicsome humor, cavered madly in every direction through the grass. From every quarter were heard the shouts of children, the sound of beating drums, and the songs of lovers and of warriors. The varied scene, in a word, equaled the wildest imaginings of Indian life, and must be seen to be fully appreciated. The lodges—every one of which is designed to accommodate a single family only—vary from seven to ten feet in breadth, and from twenty-five to a hundred feet in length, according to the number of its tenants. A family of five persons will occupy a lodge of twenty-five or thirty feet long. An Indian lodge is constructed after this fashion: The necessary number of small green hickories, eight or ten in number, are, in the first place, firmly secured in the ground in two parallel lines, whose length and distance from each other are the limits of the tent. The ends above are lashed together, so that the whole forms a continuous arch. These are afterwards overlaid with mats carefully fastened at short distances, and offering a reliable resistance to wind and rain during even the most severe storms. The low, marshy tracts occasionally encountered in the Osage prairies furnish a tall species of grass, which, when properly dried, serves as an excellent material for making these mats. The lodge having been erected, dirt is heaped against the matting at its foot, to secure it in the event of violent gusts of wind, and a few feet off a deep trench is dug to carry off the water. Holes are made at the roof of the lodge to allow the escape of smoke from the fires within, and over these holes dressed buffalo-skins are thrown loosely to prevent the rain from entering.

Though cleanliness is not an indispensable characteristic of the Indian, the interior of an Osage lodge presents, nevertheless, a remarkably neat and orderly appearance. While the Osage will make his most sumptuous repast on dog-meat, and while he will go about in times of mourning for months with probably half an inch of dirt daubed over his face, he never fails to expend some care on the cleanliness and comforts of his habitation. The lodge floor is spread with buffalo robes and bear-skins. Hunting accoutrements, horse trappings, kitchen utensils, clothing, etc., are ranged along the sides of the tent, where they will not interfere with the movements of the inmates. The head of the family has a fireplace in his lodge for each of his wives, at which she cooks, and near which she places her bedding and all the personal property and clothing, culinary utensils, etc., he may allow her. An utter stranger, in entering a lodge, may, by this domestic arrangement, know the precise number of wives maintained by his host. We may as well allude here, also, to a singular custom of hospitality. When a visitor has crossed the threshold, whatever fireplace he chooses to sit by, the wife whose fire it is, and whom he is supposed to honor by the preference, immediately rises to prepare him a collation. Her neglecting at any time to show her

guest this attention is an evidence that he is regarded as an enemy, or, at all events, that he is unwelcome.

No difference occurs in the size or mode of construction of the lodges, other than that which may arise from the greater or less number of their inmates, or from the wealth of their owners. The same species of covering precisely shelters the great chief and his brave as that which protects the humblest pauper in the nation, and, on account of this similarity externally of all lodges, it is difficult, without being intimate with every walk, alley, and by-path in the village, to find the residence of an acquaintance who may live a little distance off.

In the old times, before the Osages lost their Kansas lands, two annual periods of intense activity broke up their life of quiet, indolent indulgence. These were in June and November, the time of their spring and winter hunt at each season, for buffalo on the plains, and deer, elk, and antelope in the timber. The summer hunt is for meat alone, the late fall hunt for meat and skins and furs. Each hunt used to occupy about eight weeks, including the journey of six or seven hundred miles to the Grand Saline or to Bent's Fort and back.

Although plunged in a state of ignorance and barbarism from which, like the majority of other Indian tribes, there is little hope that they will ever be redeemed, the Osages have indeed a cause for self-congratulation in the abundance which meets them at every side. Neglecting the cultivation of the fertile soil they possess, and shunning, in fact, every industrious and useful employment, they seldom lack the necessaries of life, and frequently enjoy many of its luxuries. If anything could repay the loss of mental and moral improvement consequent on a civilized state, certainly their many advantages of climate, of soil, and of game of every description would repay these savages tenfold.

While they are at home, the Osages—we allude to the men in particular—do absolutely nothing that is useful and profitable. The history of a day in the Big Osage village is told in a few words. At early dawn, the time for rising, the singular and rather ludicrous custom of bemoaning whatever loss they may have sustained, or whatever evil, great or small, real or imaginary, may have befallen them, is indulged in by the population. An introductory moan in one lodge will be answered by a hysteric cry in the next, and the sounds of the two probably will be drowned by the violent sobs of a third yet more inconsolable mourner, who has chosen a position at his lodge door. In this way the work of sorrowing progresses until at last the entire village is in tears. The loss of a near relative, the death of a favorite dog, the illness of a hunting-horse, or any injury to some cherished trinket, all enter on the same footing in the category of legitimate themes for this species of mourning. Nay, as absurd as it may appear, should no nearer cause of sadness have occurred, an Osage will even shed tears as he leaves his bed, and bewail in the most pitiable terms the death of some remote ancestor whom he never knew. The time for such extraordinary ebullitions of sorrow is limited to fifteen or twenty minutes, after which every trace of care disappears, and the most light-hearted cheerfulness probably will follow.

How the matutinal mournings just described originated we can have no idea. It seems to be an ancient custom, however, and is religiously adhered to by every division in the nation. To proceed with the history of a day, the women busy themselves afterwards in preparing meals, while the men look after their horses that generally have been grazing in the prairie adjacent to the village. The remainder of the day is passed by the males as they may find most agreeable. While the women are engaged almost every hour in cooking (for an Osage will eat as many as ten or twelve meals during the day), or during short intervals, mayhap, in repairing the hunting accoutrements of their husbands, the men pass their time in racing, dancing, gambling, and other games of various descriptions. As night approaches they congregate in numerous parties at the largest and most convenient lodges, where, encircling a little fire-place, they remain frequently until within a few hours of dawn, engaged in dancing and in social conversation. Almost the sole topics of conversation with the men are women, war exploits, hunting, and horses. The night is rarely allowed to pass without several dances, accompanied generally by singing and by the beating of the drum. These drums, giving a dull, monotonous sound, are readily made from a keg half filled with water and overspread at one end with a dressed sheep-skin.

The ludicrous custom spoken of above of weeping for their ancestors, like Mark Twain shedding tears at the tomb of Adam, sufficiently demonstrates the fact that the Osages belong to the race of the Dacotahs. Among that nation this custom is universal, and has been noticed and commented upon by all travelers, from Hennepin down. It doubtless had its origin in some obscure superstition or tradition of the race, and must not be attributed, as some travelers have sought to do, to a tendency to hypocrisy. In point of fact, people are continually deceiving themselves about the manners and customs of savages, and there is no

greater mistake, for instance, than to suppose that the American Indian is morose, taciturn, and unsociable. In regard to this a clever writer has said that—

"When a party of savages visits one of our cities, where a crowd is constantly at its heels, and where there are an hundred eyes to stare at it from every side, it is but natural that these persons should be reserved, and that they should carefully conceal the many emotions of astonishment and admiration brought into play by the curious things they see. About two years ago we sat in a circus, near a party of six Sioux, none of whom, we know, had ever before witnessed such feats of agility and equestrianism as were there shown them. To lend yet more interest to the entertainment, we learned from their interpreter that in a few minutes after their entrance every member of the party, believing the human frame altogether too frail to undergo such exertions, had convinced himself beyond the possibility of doubt that the performers were fictitious figures, made to ride, jump, and run by some ingenious mechanical contrivance which they did not understand. With such additional matter for wonderment, the party sat in almost utter silence, like so many statues, to all external appearances not at all surprised, and but poorly entertained. The feeling in this instance should be understood. The savage spectators were only carrying out one of our own wise saws, 'to do in Rome as Romans do,' and, no doubt, showed their good sense in this, as they do under other similar circumstances, by restraining every extraordinary manifestation of astonishment. This can give no correct idea of the Indian at home. No race is more sociable, probably, and more impulsive than the Osage Indians; none receive the narration of an amusing anecdote with greater gusto, follow a tale of sorrow with more extravagant exclamations of sympathy, and, in a word, spend more of their time in sociable conversation than they. With an uncontrollable curiosity to know the history of those about them, and a desire ever awake of relating their own exploits in battle-field or hunting-ground, their most pleasant moments are those consumed in a social interchange of experience and sentiments.

"The only school for mental and moral improvement the Osage youth finds is the example set by his elders. He is assigned no teachers, and, so far as the mode of employing his time and the acquirements—either of good or evil—he chooses to master are concerned, he finds himself a free agent from his earliest infancy. Some attention, however, is paid the proper development of his physical powers,—indeed, some portions of the training he undergoes while preparing him for the hardships he is destined to encounter in after-life is characteristic of the general barbarity of his tribe.

"An infant has hardly inhaled the first breath of life when he is conveyed to the water-course nearest at hand, and, during the bitterest wintry weather as in the mildest day in summer, is given a copious bath. Afterwards, being swathed in suitable raiment, he is placed in the charge of some other nurse than his mother. A week ensues, when he is reclaimed by the parents, and is placed in his cradle, a curious and simple article of domestic convenience, which is then never left till the occupant has become old enough to learn to walk. The cradle consists simply of a plank about a foot, probably, longer than its intended occupant. The child, having been laid flat upon it, is secured firmly by strips of blanket and other bandages. These begin at the feet and end only about the shoulders. They are compressed more particularly about the loins and pit of the stomach, with a view to throw out as much as possible and to expand the chest. Secured snugly after this fashion, the child in the lodge is placed 'on end' out of harm's way; in mild, genial weather it is left without near the lodge door, or—during the temporary absence of its nurse—hung up to the limb of a tree, where it basks quietly in the sunshine, without danger of molestation from the dogs and wolves that may infest the vicinity. On a journey the cradle is hung to the saddle-bow, and, while still offering every security to its little prisoner, proves thus no inconvenience to the rider.

"After he has learned to walk, and until he is old enough to depend on his own exertions for maintenance, the child is allowed to remain about his parents' lodge, abstaining always from every species of onerous labor. When about twelve years of age he becomes herder to his father's drove of horses, and begins also to learn the use of the bow and fire-arms. At sixteen or eighteen years he is invested with the honors and responsibilities of manhood, and shares the labors and participates in the amusements of his elders about him.

"The healthful tendency of the constant bodily exercise taken by the Osage Indians from their earliest youth is manifest in the extraordinary powers of endurance with which in time they become endowed. We need give, by way of illustration, only a single instance, that of an *accouchment*,—an alarming crisis in the lives of our own females, whose physical developments, in the majority of cases, have been retarded from the lack of necessary exercise.

"An Osage female is rarely confined to a sick-bed from the effects of child-birth. On the summer hunt of 1825, when the nation was only a few days out from their village on the Neosho, an elderly female, whose critical situation would have indicated an early confinement, followed in the rear of the train. An hour or two after the tents had been struck one sunshiny morning, a trader, the only white person among the population, heard some groans issuing from a small copse of wood, as he was about to pass it, and, hastening in its direction, found the woman on the point of giving birth to her child. To his proffered call for assistance the patient raised the most strenuous objections, and could only be prevailed on after repeated entreaties to accept some additional clothing, which was finally left her. The trader repaired to his party, and an hour more probably had ensued, when the woman overtook them, to all evidences in excellent health and spirits, and bearing in her arms a fat, bright-eyed little papoose. This is one only out of a hundred instances which occur daily to show the wholesome result of the frequent bodily exercise taken by the Osages."

The Osages are not subject to many diseases, which is fortunate for them, for their pharmacopœia is not rich, and their practice both of physic and surgery is very primitive indeed.

If all the curatives included in the denomination "Indian remedies" had the majority of their properties in common with the remedies resorted to during illness by the Osage Indian, then would the system be a most absurd and dangerous species of quackery. The Osages have certain roots for the cure of snake-bites, which occasionally are administered successfully, but which almost as often effect no satisfactory result; they resort in some diseases to vapor baths, taken in temporary lodges thrown up for the purpose, with or without result as the propriety of the remedy might determine; in local and other affections, attended with acute pain, they apply dry and wet cups, the cups being made of buffalo horn; and finally, wherever a

wound has been inflicted, they are careful always to keep the injured part very clean. These include all the rational remedies we can bring to mind which the tribe bring to their assistance in times of sickness.

The medicine-men of the Osages, while in the discharge of their professional duties, are invested with all the dignity and honors enjoyed among us by graduated doctors of medicine. The treatment, with its results, of a little girl, the daughter of a brave, who on a certain occasion, having been struck violently with some hard substance on the left arm, was threatened with its loss, may give an idea of their medical profession and their mode of practice:

The child, owing to an abundant secretion of pus in her wound, had suffered intensely for several days, when her case was at last submitted to one of the most distinguished medicine-men in the nation. An hour or two after he had been sent for, the doctor, accoutered in the most fanciful habiliments his wardrobe furnished, and having his face and arms well coated with green and red paints, made his appearance at the lodge door. He was received by the family with demonstrations of the most profound respect, and was left alone with his patient, the only uninterested spectator present being a white trader, who was allowed to remain by especial favor. Having inquired from his patient the seat of her disease, the medicine-man began his treatment with a species of solemn exorcism. Throwing his hands aloft, he abjured the evil spirit that possessed the invalid, in a kind of half-supplicating and half-threatening strain, to leave her. Afterwards lying at her side, and applying his lips and teeth to the spot which was most painful, he pulled the skin violently from one side to the other, keeping up all the while a very absurd and peculiar nasal grunt, interrupted now and then with a threatening exclamation against the disease. This continued for some ten or fifteen minutes, when, increasing the vehemence of his strange guttural murmurs, and pulling the flesh violently with his teeth, he sprang suddenly to his feet, and spat from his mouth a small frog, which when he entered he had kept carefully concealed for this purpose. The frog in this case was the evil spirit which had possessed the invalid. Pointing to it, and panting from his recent excitement, the doctor exclaimed in an exulting tone, "Rejoice, my daughter, you are now cured! Behold the bad spirit that infected you! You suffered much, because he is large: have no more fear, he is now quite harmless." Then producing a pinch of powdered root of aromatic flavor, he scattered it over a fire near the sick-bed. The remnants of the disease would be carried away, it was intended, by the smoke. Two days after this operation a young brother of the little invalid was seized with the idea of pricking her arm at several places with his knife. Thus, fortunately, he allowed the pus to discharge itself. Repeating this surgical operation several times, his sister soon became convalescent. The medicine-man, however, had, in this as in all other similar instances, the credit of the cure. He was feasted and courted by the family; and, finally, as a more substantial remuneration for his professional services, presented with a beautiful hunting-horse.

In almost every disease the ridiculous ceremony described above takes place. The disease is always some evil spirit; and this evil spirit is, in turn, a frog, or a small pebble, or a grasshopper, or aught else which the medicine-man may choose to select. The incantation will, as a matter of course, invariably remove it. Afterwards nature, or the accidental adoption of some rational remedy, may effect a cure, which in all instances is attributed to the mystic powers of the medicine-man.

In the event of a death, the corpse is enveloped in a blanket and taken immediately to its place of interment, generally a mound or some other prominent spot. It is covered with earth and stones, and stakes are afterwards driven at either side and crossed over as a protection against the wolves. The nearest relatives only of the deceased go into mourning. The male mourners array themselves in their filthiest and most shabby habiliments, cover their faces with dirt, and allow their hair (which, with the exception of the scalp-lock, is always shaved closely) to grow. The females dress themselves likewise in their worst garments, and clip their hair close to the head. Both are reserved and morose during the entire season of mourning, abstaining from a participation in the amusements and employment of those about them, and leading, as much as their domestic ties will allow them, a secluded life.

When a death occurs among the Osages, the mourning of the nearest kinsmen of the deceased is not laid aside until they have made his or her spirit some species of offering. Oftentimes, for weeks and months together, the opportunity for a suitable sacrifice not having occurred, they will remain shorn of every ornament, and will religiously adhere to their tattered garments and soiled visages,—emblems of mourning,—continuing to shun the society of those about them. The nature of an offering may differ according to the character and achievements of the deceased. To steal the horse or burn the lodge of an enemy, to perform valorous deeds of any nature whatever, to sacrifice an animal or some cherished property, or, finally, to take the life of a fellow-creature, may (with all but a wife) each, under certain circumstances, prove sufficient

cause to doff one's mourning. The sacrifice of human life in such instances is frequent. So much a matter of course have such atonements become, that a mourner will sometimes take the life of his beloved friend to expiate the death of his near kinsman, and the probabilities are that he will not even be brought to task for the murder. In the summer of 1833, whilst the cholera was raging in its greatest fury, it attacked and carried away, among others, the daughter of the first brave of the nation. This brave was also the very intimate friend of a trader living among the nation, a gentleman connected with the fur company, who had had the command of his present post for many years. The girl's corpse had hardly grown cold when, on the evening that she died, her father, who had been sitting pensively among a noisy throng, suddenly assumed an air of ferocious determination, and as he rose to his feet disengaged his battle-axe from his belt. "My daughter has gone," he said, as he advanced to the lodge door; "she wants a worthy person to accompany her to the hunting-ground above. I shall take the life of our pale-faced brother." No white person was more esteemed than the trader to whom he alluded, and the prospect of his speedy doom cast a gloom over the throng who had overheard the mourner's determination. So sacred, however, was his terrible obligation considered that not one dared raise a word of remonstrance. The brave proceeded on his fatal errand, and as he reached the trading-house knocked violently at the door. Unhappily for himself, a Canadian employé, one Louis Bernard, who happened at the time to be in the room, answered the summons. He was on the point of crossing the threshold when the hatchet was buried in his head. He expired almost instantly. The murderer turned coolly back, and having reached his lodge, proceeded, with grave demeanor, to cleanse his hatchet and to don his beads, bracelets, and other ornaments, and to alter the mourning plight in which he had disguised himself an hour or two before. The death of his child had been properly atoned for, he could now follow his usual daily avocations. He was, of course, never called to account for the murder he had perpetrated; the promptness of his expiation, on the contrary, placed another laurel on his brow.

When, after a death has occurred, a long time is allowed to elapse before an offering is made, the spirit of the deceased, it is supposed, fails to gain admission into the celestial hunting-grounds, and wanders restlessly about its old home on earth, haunting and annoying those from whom the sacrifice should come. Tradition records an incident to show that these spirits can wield a fearful power when it suits their purpose. A tattooer, who had left his lodge on a professional visit, while journeying through the forest, felt a warm breath exhaled several times upon his cheek and shoulders, like that of some invisible person near him. Being weakened and exhausted by fright, he sat himself upon a log, when on a sudden he saw a strange and unearthly figure make its appearance at his side. His tongue clung to the roof of his mouth, and he would have fled; but another breath passed over him, and the mysterious stranger vanished. He resumed his course, and in due time, having finished the tattooing of the person who had called him, was just about to return. Just as the unfortunate man lost sight of the lodge he had left, the breath again touched him, and he was stricken dead. The legend, with many others, is religiously handed down among the Osages, to show the moral obligation of offerings to the dead.

An Indian entertains no idea of the connection between soul and body, and is not impressed by any fears in the contemplation of his approaching end. Without stopping to inquire into the manner of the transition from his earthly to his eternal home, and with not the least apprehension for the consequences of such a change, he hopes merely that his troubles may cease with the termination of his earthly journey, and he will meet his death with firmness. The Osage heaven is the heaven of nearly all American Indians. It is described as a well-timbered and well-watered country, blooming with fruits and vegetation at all seasons of the year, and abounding with every description of buffalo, deer, bear, birds, and other game. The dangers of starvation shall be unknown; the discomforts of a variable and inclement climate shall have passed away; the Indians, as the favorites of the great Master of life, shall occupy the first position among the nations; all men shall be at peace, and plenty and happiness shall smile on all. Many years ago it was customary at the death of an Osage to sacrifice on his tomb all the horses he had owned, and to destroy in the same place, also, all his hunting accoutrements and other property. These immolations, it was believed, supplied the wants of the dead on their journey to the new hunting-grounds. The brave whose tomb was buried in the ashes of a valuable amount of property, and streamed with the blood of a goodly number of horses, was supposed to enter the celestial hunting-grounds at the head of the cavalcade, mounted on his favorite charger, accoutered in his most magnificent costume, and surrounded with all the pomp and splendor that had attended him on earth. This custom is now almost entirely effaced. To this day, however, on certain occasions, the favorite

hunting-horse of the deceased is led to the place of burial, the corpse made to bestride it, and the animal killed. Afterwards both man and horse are buried in the same hole, and the funeral obsequies are performed over both alike.

A wife retains her mourning a full year nearly after her husband has died. The many obligations under which he placed her when living call for particular evidences of regret and gratitude when he is dead. Ten or twelve months after she experienced her loss, the occasion of laying aside the mourning is solemnized with a final ceremony in honor of the deceased. This, like all other religious rites and feasts among the Osages, is characterized with absurdities throughout, and, deprived of its general purpose of honor to the dead, evinces only their uncouthness and barbarity of ideas. A stake, streaming at one end with one or two blankets, calicoes, beads, and other articles of personal decoration, is driven in the ground. About the time the ceremony will begin, it is [illegible]ded by probably a score of friends of the deceased, all of whom are stripped of their ornaments and besmeared on their faces, chests, and arms with clay. The wife, surrounded by a number of volunteer female sympathizers, is stationed near at hand, and holds herself, with them, in readiness to set up a cry of pitiful lamentation at the first tap of the drum by a party in the circle. These lamentations are kept up to the end of the ceremony, the assistant weepers bewailing as loudly and as bitterly as the wife herself. Simultaneously with the first cry and the tap of the drum, one of the party who forms the circle, and who has an emblematic crow-skin suspended from a belt on his back, enters the ring and begins to dance, dropping an occasional word to the spirit of the person whose memory he is commemorating. Afterwards resuming his place in the circle, he passes the crow-skin to his neighbor, who performs the same dance. All in turn follow after this fashion, when, as the last one has finished, the ceremony terminates by a distribution among the assistant female mourners of the calicoes and other presents hanging from the pole. Those who assist in bewailing on such occasions are supposed to pay a high tribute to the memory of the deceased, and are well paid by the surviving relatives. In fact, they represent exactly the hired mourners of some of our Christian countries, with the exception that they are generally better paid, and that they indulge in more extravagant demonstrations of grief.

Ingratitude and selfishness are two passions which among the Osages never fail to entail discredit. The most frightful personal perils, the most trying cravings of hunger, the most disheartening sufferings, cannot excuse a selfish act, neither will the most powerful causes be received as plea sufficient to explain away an ungrateful one. An occurrence which took place among the Blackfeet Indians some twelve or fifteen years ago might have taken place among the Osages as well, and will serve as an excellent example to illustrate the feeling with which in the latter tribe a manifestation of selfishness is received. A family, consisting of the father, wife, two children, and a little step-son, had strayed from their village one winter in search of game, and after an absence of two days, during which their efforts were attended with the worst success, while endeavoring to return they unfortunately took the wrong route. They wandered for some days without so much as a morsel to satisfy the gnawings of famine, when, to crown their distress, the fall of a heavy snow rendered a further prosecution of their toilsome march almost impossible. Hunger, fatigue, and distress had almost finished their work. The father began to speak of the hopelessness of their situation, the mother bewailed over her own sufferings, and lamented the approaching fate of the young ones, to whom she could no longer give nourishment, and the increasing debility of the children was an unmistakable evidence of their approaching end. The family had remained in camp a whole day, when, providentially as it were, the father succeeded in finding and killing a woodcock. Without evincing the least desire to minister to his own wants (a noble species of self-denial met with every day among the Indians), he passed the bird to his wife. The woman seized it with avidity, and after barely warming it over a fire, she served her own children each with its proportion; then, leaving out, despite his cries, the step-child, her husband's little son, she greedily consumed the remainder. All the while her husband who sat on the opposite side, watched her closely and fiercely. As she had finished the last morsel, motioning her to his side, he spoke to her in purport as follows: She had acted selfishly, he said; she had deprived his boy, her step-son, of life when it laid in her power to restore it to him. He had himself felt quite as severely as she the sufferings of hunger, but, with the hope of serving her and the children equally, he had willingly given up his share of the food which the Great Spirit had thrown in his way. She ought to have done like him; she should at least have treated his child as well as she treated her own. She was very selfish, and she brought her doom upon herself. As he concluded his harangue, the maddened savage seized his tomahawk, and, one after the other, butchered her and the three children about her, not making an exception in favor of his step-son, about

whom the difficulty had occurred. Afterwards, leaving his victims in the various positions that he had sacrificed them, and taking only what would suffice to protect him from the cold, he resumed his sad journey. An accident decided that he should be picked up by a wandering party of hunters, to whom he related all that had happened.

An ungrateful trait, like a selfish one, is quickly noticed, and for years afterwards will be alluded to in terms of reproach. There are many modes of expressing gratitude, peculiar to the tribe. The matutinal lamentations, mentioned in a previous number, are at times a species of grateful tribute to some lost friend. Another instance is that of races, had in honor of some favorite horse or dog that may have been dead for several years. These races occur near the spot where the animal died. It may be at the village, or during a hunt, or on a war party. Presents are made by the mourner to the winner of the race, and the gratitude of the first is measured by the liberality of his gifts to the other. With not another claim, an Osage may bring himself into high favor by proving, so far as presents are concerned, nobly grateful whenever the opportunity occurs. The frequent tributes to the memory of the dead owe their origin in fact, in some measure, to the credit which they entail.

In Chapter IX. of the present volume will be found a very complete and authentic account of the only serious Indian attack upon St. Louis, the so-called "affair of 1780." But the early records and newspapers are full of stories of Indian outrages and trials of Indians, and during the war of 1812–14 even the peaceful remnant of the Illinois seem to have taken up arms and menaced the town. The fur trade and fur-traders made it a centre of attraction for the savages, and they could not lay aside their wild ways, even in the streets of the town, when excited by drink. There was generally an Indian prisoner or two in jail awaiting trial or sentence. Brackenridge, in his very entertaining "Recollections of the West," relates how, one day sauntering along the "second bank" in St. Louis, his attention was attracted to one of the towers near the old fort (in one of whose ruined barracks the court was still held) by an Indian who sat near the iron grate, confined as a prisoner for some high offense. The Indian challenged him to a match at checkers and beat him several games. Brackenridge found, on inquiry, that he belonged to the nearly extinct tribe of the Mascoutins, or Fire Indians, whose lodges used to be pitched on the west side of Lake Michigan, between the Illinois and Wisconsin Rivers. He had married a woman of the tribe of the Kickapoos; she had abandoned him for another Indian; he met her accidentally in the streets of St. Louis, pursued, overtook, and stabbed her to the heart. Brackenridge volunteered to defend the man. He had already been in prison eighteen months, and the head chief of the Kickapoos was in St. Louis to demand his surrender to him. The case came to trial, and Brackenridge was successful in his defense, his plea being that an Indian slaying another Indian could only be tried by Indian laws, as he had only violated these. The incident is referred to to show how common Indian disorders must have been in the town at this time, when savages from every part of the country were continually jostling one another in its streets. In the course of his ingenious and able speech for the defense, Brackenridge said, "There are several Indian villages in this county; there are many in different parts of the United States, surrounded on all sides by settlements of white people. Has any grand jury ever thought of examining and inquiring into their doings and actings in their villages? . . . It is not long since, in one of the villages on the Maramec, two women were put to death by order of an Indian council on the charge of sorcery!" Certainly we have the outline here of a rather unpleasant condition of affairs.

As early as 1778 we find a deposition among the records, made by Francis Viettole St. Cloux, to the effect that while hunting on the Illinois River, at Honore's camp, Louis Makas (the Omaha), being near by, took his gun and said he would kill a Frenchman anyhow. St. Cloux dodged the shot, got Louis round the body, called some river hunters to his aid, tied him, and took him down to St. Louis in the boat. "The next morning, arriving home, he went up into the loft and brought down his scalp-lock, saying he had dressed long enough as a Frenchman, he would now dress as an Indian warrior and take scalps." St. Cloux did not like such a savage about his house, so sent for the sergeant and the guard. The Governor sentenced Louis to perpetual banishment, and to be "sent below,"—that is, sent to New Orleans to be sold for a slave to St. Domingo. But Louis filed his shackles loose, cut a hole in the prison wall, and made good his escape. He was pretty much of a desperado, had been a slave in Canada, and committed several murders. June 21, 1788, an Englishman named Kerr from the American side, his wife, son, and two daughters were murdered by Indians on Jacques Clamorgan's farm, six miles north of St. Louis, on the road to Bellefontaine. The Lieutenant-Governor appraised the effects of the Kerr family, which showed a pretty good line of household stuff. In March, 1800, the commandant at Carondelet, Pierre de Treget, re-

ports the murder of Adam House, an old man, and a boy at the Renaute forks on the Maramec.[1] De Treget found the man dead, his body full of wounds, head cut off, and scalped. The boy's head was cut off, but no wounds on his body.

In 1808, July, according to the *St. Louis Republican*, the Osages committed so many outrages on the frontiers that the government permitted the Delawares, Shawanese, and Kickapoos to go to war with them. It was claimed that the combined tribes could put five thousand warriors in the field, while the Pawnees were expected to aid the Osages.

At this time there was considerable excitement in St. Louis over the trial of two warriors of the Ioway tribes for murder, and of a Saukee for killing a white man. All three were convicted, but the Governor reprieved the Saukee and the Ioways were granted a new trial. They were again convicted, but it was difficult to get a jury, sixty-seven talesmen having been set aside as having formed an opinion. The following article from the *Missouri Gazette* of that day is very instructive:

"Having attentively observed the progress of the trials of the Sauk and the two Ioway Indians, and some of the concomitant and subsequent effects, I wish you to give this insertion in your very useful paper. The Court of Oyer and Terminer was composed by Messrs. Lucas and Shrader. During the course of the trial I was powerfully struck with the indefatigable patience and stern impartiality of the judges. They gave the Indians every chance that any white man could expect, coming before the highest tribunal. To the Sauk and two Ioways on their first indictment they assigned Messrs. Carr and Mears, and for the two Ioways on their second indictment, Messrs. Easton and Mears, as counsel for the prisoners. The court was as attentive even to formal exceptions agitated by the prisoners' counsel as if any white citizen of the United States was upon his trial, and, though the universal outcry was 'Hang them!' 'Hang them!' yet the immovable judges inflexibly adhered to the rules of law and to the dictates of humanity and justice.

"They have done themselves much honor in their conduct in this trial, and some of their decisions therein would grace even Westminster Hall.

"During the suspense of this long trial the streets of St. Louis teemed with Indian warriors. They were frequently spectators of the trial of their fellows, and had a place in court assigned for their reception.

"I understand that they incessantly harassed the Governor and Gen. Clark, beseeching pardon for the offenders.

"The Governor and the general held a counsel on Sunday last with some of the chiefs and warriors.

"I think their speeches inspired the Indians with the greatness of the United States and the indissoluble connection that exists between their felicity and the friendship of the American government. Indeed, the chiefs in their reply showed both affection and fear. They were all submission, all compliance.

"The Governor endeavored to quell animosities, to arrest the destructive progress and fury of war, to create and establish a permanent peace among these nations. They appeared inclined to realize his wishes fully, but I cannot guess at their performance. The Governor and the general appeared so well acquainted with the motives that have the entire domain over the heart of Indians, and of the very texture of their minds, and can so easily balance their passions and sway them at pleasure, that they are well calculated to rule that people and attach them strongly to the American government."

The Governor referred to was Col. Meriwether Lewis, of Lewis and Clark's expedition. To show the wholesale character of Indian depredations in his time it is only necessary to read the following advertisement over his own signature:

"On Saturday, the 24th of this month, will be sold at public auction in front of the Eagle Tavern, in the town of St. Louis, six public horses; also the residue of twenty-three horses which were delivered to me in the months of August and September last by the Osage Indians. The terms of sale will be cash, or approved notes, payable at ninety days.

"MERIWETHER LEWIS.

"ST. LOUIS, December 12, 1808.

"P.S.—The horses which were delivered to me by the Osage Indians were acknowledged by them to have been taken from the inhabitants of this Territory."

Not long after this the Delawares and Shawanese resolved upon establishing some reforms, and they did it in a very radical way, as may be gathered from the following editorial from the *Missouri Gazette* of Aug. 16, 1809:

"Having heard of the execution of several Delawares at Shawanese at their towns near Cape Girardeau (on Apple Creek, in that county), we had the curiosity to inquire of Rodgers, the Shawanese chief, as to the truth of the report.

"Mr. Rodgers says that *Waa-be-leth-thek*, a Delaware, and *Tha-tha-way*, a Shawanese chief, summoned him to attend a solemn council at their towns; that on his arrival he found a great revolution was about to take place,—they had interdicted the use of intoxicating liquors and determined to abandon the chase, to raise stock and corn for food, and teach their women to spin and weave their cloths.

"They had established a court to try criminals; four persons were tried, and three men were found guilty, and one woman acquitted. The condemned were led out of town to a thick woods and tomahawked. They were then placed on an immense pile of wood and burnt to ashes. Upwards of one hundred men assisted on the occasion."

Indians seem to have thronged St. Louis every day about this time. One day it is a delegation from the Sacs and Foxes, come to find out something about their fellow-tribesman under sentence of death for murder.

[1] Mr. Billon remarks that the Myro Fork of the Maramec is our present Big River, a large branch coming into the Maramec on the south side, in Jefferson County. *Fourche à Renaute* is Renaute's Fork, or Mineral Fork of Big River, in Washington County, eight or ten miles north of Mine à Burton, now Potosi. "This," he adds, "is the Renaute mentioned by Gayarré and others, who came over from France in 17—, and brought the bricks necessary for the furnaces from Paris with his name on them. Cozens unearthed one of them in surveying in that locality."

The next day it is a gang of Indians arrested for stealing. Here is a paragraph from a newspaper of July 15, 1809: "A party of straggling Taways (Ottawas) have infested this place and neighborhood for several weeks, killing hogs and destroying other property. That part of Illinois Territory between Cahokia and Wood Rivers appears to have been their principal seat of war. In scouring the woods a few days ago in search of their favorite game they took the singular method of moving on all fours and imitating the notes of the mud-lark; one poor devil, being more successful in imitation than the rest, and being much obscured by a thicket, was fired upon and killed. This circumstance has for the present put a stop to their depredations." A third day it is a visit from the big chief of the Mandans, who, commanding many people, and dwelling in a country prolific in furs, must be courteously treated and entertained, and sent home to his village, sixteen hundred miles up the Missouri, under an escort. Pierre and Auguste Chouteau and their sons, with Manuel Lisa, we may be sure (and the record proves it), were of the party.

In 1811, Pierre Chouteau's barn, at the north end of the town, was burned "by a vagabond party of Indians who infest this town and neighborhood." The contemporary report, June 30, 1811, says,—

"Last Monday appeared to be a day of jubilee among them, parading the streets with bottles of whiskey, which are openly sold them by almost every retailer, in defiance of the laws; during their orgies an Indian of the name of *Squinoai* attacked an Ottoway woman in the most populous part of the town, and at mid-day, and put her to death by thrusting an arrow into her neck and down her body. Much mischief is apprehended if some of our whiskey merchants are not made examples of."

About the time of the outbreak of the war of 1812, earnest efforts were made to conciliate some of the tribes adjacent to St. Louis, and get them to make peace with one another. The two paragraphs which follow are evidence of this:

"A deputation of Putawatomies, Kickapoos, and Chipaways arrived here on Tuesday last, with Gomo, the Illinois chief, on their way to see Governor Edwards, who had sent for them. They wait here for his arrival at Cahokia, to open the conference.

"These people came down the Mississippi, with three United States flags flying in their foremost canoes, with the white messengers who were sent for them. The settlers on the river were notified of their approach by Maj. Whitesides, who requested that they should be suffered to pass, and a friendly attention shown them if they came on shore. Yet, with all these precautions, a few dastardly fellows could be found to attack the canoes, regardless of the laws of nations. These heroes fired ten or twelve shots at a party they knew would not return the salute." [April 11, 1812.]

"Some days ago the chiefs of the Great and Little Osage, the Sacs Renard, and the Shawanoes and the Delawares, who reside in this Territory, met here in order to accompany Gen. William Clark to the Federal city. On Tuesday week last they held a council to compose their differences, and endeavor to bury the tomahawk. With the Shawanoes and the Delawares the Osages made peace by promising to cover the dead bodies of the Shawanoes with such remuneration as would be acceptable. With the Sacs and Foxes no treaty could be made, as the Sacs, etc., said they did not come here for that purpose, nor had they taken the opinion of their nation on the subject. The Osages appeared to be anxious for peace, but the Sacs evaded everything on that head by remarking that their numerous neighbors were determined on war with the Osages, and they could not restrain their young men from joining the hostile parties. On the 5th inst. Gen. W. Clark left this place for Washington City, with the chiefs of the above nations." [May 9, 1812.]

For all that the war was made very vexatious to St. Louis on account of the vagrant Indians around it. The Illinois Indians and their kindred and allies took up arms, raised a force of four hundred warriors, and harassed the country, murdering outlying planters and farmers, killing hogs and cattle, and stealing horses. The country opposite St. Louis swarmed with savages, and they made frequent raids to the west side of the river, burning and plundering wherever they came. Their canoes gave them a safe means of escape whenever pursued. After the war the few surviving Illinois, and the Sacs and Foxes as well, were compelled to remove west of the Mississippi. The latter were estimated at that time to have nigh one thousand warriors. The band of Black Hawk, however, which had been most active in its hostility to the whites, refused to submit to this arrangement, and continued to occupy the ancient Sauk town at Rock Island. This fine old warrior had been one of Tecumseh's most trusted lieutenants. He claimed to acknowledge none but British authority, took his warriors into Canada to receive their annuities and subsidy, and returned breathing vengeance against the invaders of the ancient hunting-grounds of the Sacs and Foxes. Two leading circumstances filled him with bitterness against the whites. In 1804 some chiefs of his tribe went to St. Louis to procure the release of two or three warriors who were in custody. While there, so Black Hawk alleged, they were made drunk, and persuaded to sign a treaty relinquishing their lands east of the Mississippi. This treaty had been confirmed by the Sacs and Foxes friendly to the whites after the termination of the war of 1812–14. The chief of these friendly Indians was Keokuk, Black Hawk's rival, who, by his pacific counsels and the force of a rude but impetuous and magnetic eloquence, had succeeded in alienating the majority of the tribe from their allegiance to their hereditary chieftain,

Black Hawk, and preventing him from waging war with the full force of the tribe. As will be presently seen, these discontents led finally to open warfare.

During the war of 1812–14, St. Louis and the adjacent towns were thrown almost entirely upon their own resources in repelling Indian incursions and hostilities. They met the emergency like brave men. Governor Howard, of the Territory, threw up his office and took the field with a commission as brigadier-general, guarding the Mississippi at and above the mouth of the Illinois, and co-operating with Governor Ninian Edwards, of Illinois Territory, in protecting the left flank of Gen. Harrison in his operations along the lakes. The people of St. Louis, for their own part, raised a force of five hundred mounted scouts or rangers. They built a cordon of twenty-two stations, or family block-houses, extending from Bellefontaine, at the mouth of the Missouri, to the Kaskaskia River. Along this line, seventy-five miles in length, the scouts and rangers passed daily, keeping up communications and preventing the enemy from breaking through. The cordon was afterwards extended to the Illinois, Saline, and the mouth of the Ohio. The British and Indians were at Prairie du Chien and Peoria; the Illinois and Missouri troops at Portage des Sioux. The latter took and burnt Chief Gomo's town at Peoria, and the town of the Sauks at Quincy. They failed to capture Prairie du Chien, but they picketed the Mississippi with gunboats, and expelled the Indian canoes from the river.

At Boone's Lick the people of the neighborhood successfully defended their five stockades against frequent assaults of the Indians. At Côte Sans Dessein the resolute creole, Baptiste Louis Roy, aided only by two women, successfully defended his cabin against a hundred savages, covering himself with glory by killing fourteen of them before they withdrew. While he shot with unerring aim, the brave women kept his rifles loaded, and prevented the besiegers from setting the block-house on fire. The action was looked upon as the most successful engagement of the war, and was highly appreciated in St. Louis. Unfortunately, the citizens, in afterwards getting up a testimonial for M. Roy, offended his susceptibilities (for he was as gallant as he was brave), and he could not be pacified.

In July, 1815, the war having closed, the Indians and their deputies were invited to assemble in council at Portage des Sioux, to treat for peace. The commissioners on the part of the United States were Governor Clark, of Missouri, Governor Edwards, of Illinois, and Auguste Chouteau, of St. Louis. Robert Walsh, of Baltimore, then just beginning his public life, was secretary to the commission. Treaties were made with the Pottawatamies, Piankeshaws, Sioux, Omahas, Kickapoos, Keokuk's band of the Sacs and Foxes, the Osages, Ioways, and Kansas Indians. The Sacs of Black River, Black Hawk's band, refused to attend the council or be governed by the treaty which Keokuk had signed. The treaty of 1804, also repudiated by Black Hawk, had ceded an immense territory on both sides of the Mississippi, north of the Missouri and Illinois Rivers, to the Wisconsin and the Des Moins. This cession was confirmed by Keokuk's band in 1815–16, and before 1830 a part of these lands were surveyed and opened for settlement. Settlers began to pour in, and especially upon that part of the tract near to the ancient Sauk town above the mouth of Rock River.

Black Hawk was not a great leader of men, like Pontiac and Tecumseh. He could not control his tribe so well as Keokuk, yet he was a man of strong individuality, brave to a fault, humane even to his worst enemies, tender-hearted, feeling strongly and capable of inspiring a very warm affection in his followers. He was deeply attached to his family; half his opposition to Keokuk proceeded from his ardent desire to have his son, Na-she-as-cuck, succeed him as chief of the combined tribes, and when his daughter died the old chief used to make an annual pilgrimage as long as he lived to her grave on the bank of the Mississippi at Oquawka. The physiognomy of Black Hawk was striking; he had a very fine head with a towering forehead, which reminded every one of the portraits of Sir Walter Scott. In his old age and during his captivity the veteran warrior became garrulous, talked much of himself, and dictated a sketch of his life for publication. In the course of this he imparted some interesting information concerning his people, a part of whom, under the name of Mascoutins, had been under Jesuit instruction at the Green Bay Mission as early as 1688. The Sacs and Foxes, after the women planted corn, had their "crane-dance," at which the young braves did their courting. The national dance is participated in by the warriors only. The braves who have been upon the war-path and killed an enemy can enter the square and recite and act their exploits, but all others were forced to keep out. The impulse given by such an institution among a people so hungry for applause as the Indians may readily be conceived. "I remember," said Black Hawk, "I was ashamed to look where our young women stood before I could take my stand in the square as a warrior."

After the national dance, when the corn was hoed and had got a good enough growth to prevent it fro

being choked by weeds, the young men set out westward to hunt deer and buffalo, and the rest of the tribe went to fish, to dig lead in the mines, and get rushes of which to make mats. The hunters were also equipped as a war-party, in case any of their wandering enemies, the Sioux, should be encountered. The different parties, on their return, exchanged with one another the products of their several industries on a fair basis of reciprocity, and then ensued a season of feasting from lodge to lodge. The favorite amusements were ball-playing, three to five hundred on a side, with large stakes, and horse-racing. After the corn crop was secured the winter hunt began, the Indians getting supplies on credit from the traders. George Davenport, the old Indian trader and founder of the towns of Rock Island and Davenport, would frequently give a credit of fifty to sixty thousand dollars to a single band of Indians, for, as he said, they always paid their debts with scrupulous fidelity. Probity and a strong religious feeling belong to the uncontaminated Indian character. "For myself," said Black Hawk, "I never take a drink of water from a spring without being mindful of the goodness of the Great Spirit." The winter hunt, for furs as well as meat, is made by small parties, scattered over a wide area. As soon as it is completed the Indians return to the lodges of their winter camp, the traders' cabins being near by. Another long season of feasting, card-playing, and other pastimes ensues. As winter is breaking up the young men go out again on the hunt for beaver, musk-rats, and raccoons, and the old men and women resort to the sugar-camp in the maple groves. As this is the wild-fowl season also, provisions are abundant. "After this is over," said Black Hawk, "we return to our village, sometimes accompanied by our traders. In this way the year rolled around happily. But these are times that were!"

Black Hawk was a proud and haughty chief. When he met President Jackson, in 1833, he said, "I am a man, and you are another." In speaking of his outbreak, he said he and his people did not expect to conquer the whites. "I took up the hatchet, for my part, to revenge injuries which my people could no longer endure. Had I borne them longer without striking, my people would have said, 'Black Hawk is a woman,—he is too old to be a chief, he is no Sac.'" When he surrendered himself at Prairie du Chien, he said, "Black Hawk is a true Indian, and disdains to cry like a woman. He feels for his wife, his children and friends, but he does not care for himself. He cares for his nation and the Indians,—they will suffer; he laments their fate. The white men do not scalp the head, but they do worse, they poison the heart; it is not pure with them. His countrymen will not be scalped, but they will, in a few years, become like the white men, so that you can't hurt them, and there must be, as in the white settlements, nearly as many officers as men, to take care of them and keep them in order." In spite, however, of these expressions of manhood, when the steamboat on which he was a prisoner passed Rock Island on its way down the river, in full sight of the beloved village which had been the home of his tribe for one hundred and seventy years, the poor, heart-broken chieftain wept like a child. The scene and its surroundings were too much for his stoicism.

The Sacs and Foxes numbered about three thousand souls and had six hundred warriors when the trouble broke out. Of these, three hundred adhered to the fortunes of Black Hawk (including in the number a few Winnebagoes and Pottawattamies), and with this small army did Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak undertake to make war upon the United States, being then a lean, meagre old man of sixty-odd years, and not great stature. The treaties of 1804, 1815, and 1816 gave the Sacs and Foxes full permission to live upon the ceded lands until the United States government offered them for sale. In 1816, Fort Armstrong was built on Rock Island. The Indians did not object to it; but still, as Black Hawk said, they were "very sorry," for it was the best island on the Mississippi and a favorite resort of the Indian youth. In the words of the old chief, "it was our garden (such as the white people have near their big villages), which supplied us with strawberries, blackberries, plums, apples, and nuts of various kinds; and its waters supplied us with pure fish, being situated in the rapids of the river. In my early life I spent many happy days on this island. A good spirit had care of it, who lived in a cave in the rocks immediately under the place where the fort now stands, and has often been seen by our people. He was white, with large wings like a swan's, but ten times larger. We were particular not to make much noise in that part of the island which he inhabited, for fear of disturbing him. But the noise of the fort has since driven him away, and no doubt a bad spirit has taken his place." So Black Hawk, like Socrates and Napoleon, had his guardian Daimon!

Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, the Black Hawk, was no match in policy for Keo-kuk, the watchful Fox. In 1823 the latter, upon the advice of the Indian agent at Fort Armstrong, withdrew with his band to the western side of the Mississippi. He got a present of forty square miles of land for so doing, and at the

same time put Black Hawk in the minority and in the wrong. Black Hawk and his followers, refusing to move, and still claiming to owe allegiance to Great Britain, became known as the "British band." The name itself was enough to condemn them in any Western community. Black Hawk stuck to the old village, with all the conservative instincts and all the crabbed patriotism of an aged warrior who had always hated the Americans, and always looked upon them as aggressors and invaders. He had a right to remain there, under the treaties, as none of the lands were sold, and the whites were intruders. But the squatters about the mouth of Rock River were such people as no Indian band could live in peace with. They were there, in fact, to expel the "British band" and get possession of their fertile lands. They stole the Indians' stock, plundered their corn-fields, burnt their houses, insulted and beat their women, harassed them in every way. There was no redress, no benefit to come from an appeal to justice, for it was the object of officials as well as squatters, of Federal officers equally with those of the State, to force Black Hawk's band to imitate the example of Keo-kuk and remove to the west side of the river. At last, to make their process of compulsion effective, the government sold a few quarter-sections of land at the mouth of Rock River, including the site of Black Hawk's village. He was now requested, or rather ordered, to move away, and refused. The whites made inclosures of the Indians' fields of ripening corn, and the squaws pulled them down. A white trader brought whiskey into the village to sell to the Indians, and Black Hawk rolled the barrel out into the road and knocked the head in.

Governor Reynolds, of Illinois, forthwith issued his proclamation announcing that the sovereign State of Illinois had been "invaded," and calling for volunteers to repel the invaders. A large force at once took the field, the regulars at Fort Armstrong were reinforced, Keokuk interposed his good offices, Black Hawk discovered that his "prophet" had deceived him, and that his promised allies among the Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Pottawattamies were not forthcoming. The old chief therefore consented to remove west of the Mississippi with his band, acknowledge Keokuk as head chief, and cease to trade with or visit the British at Malden. This was in July, 1831, and Governor Reynolds made the victory the subject of a pompous dispatch. Black Hawk had prevented any violence from being done. He could have murdered every white man for fifty miles around. He contented himself with warning them off from his corn-fields. He was not satisfied, however, and he made unceasing efforts to secure allies, and especially to get the band of Sacs and Foxes under Keokuk to join him. Once he very nearly succeeded. His emissaries had roused the whole tribe; they danced the scalp-dance, and demanded to be led upon the war-path. Then it was that Keokuk's consummate oratory and statesmanship stood him in good stead. He accepted the issue. He assented to all that was proposed. He would lead them in battle. He knew their wrongs. He felt their thirst for vengeance. But he must lead them, and there was no middle course. They could make war for vengeance, but it was a hopeless war at the start. They could not cope with such an opponent. Vengeance they would glut themselves with, but they must all perish in the attempt. It was their duty therefore, before starting on this expedition, to put all their women and children to death, and then determine that, once across the Mississippi, they would never turn back, but die by the graves of their fathers sooner than see them desecrated. This speech, which is singularly like one made by the famous chief Cornstalk after the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774, restored quiet and the authority of Keokuk, and completely foiled the emissaries of Black Hawk.

Black Hawk's band, however, was very restless. As he himself expressed it, they often crossed the river to "steal roasting-ears from their own fields." They went up to Prairie du Chien and murdered twenty-eight Menominees under the guns of Fort Crawford. Neopope (*Strong Soup*), Black Hawk's lieutenant, went to Malden, to consult the British commander there. He also consulted the prophet, and was assured that in the spring the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, and Winnebagoes would assist Black Hawk to regain his village. In April, 1832, Black Hawk and his whole band broke the treaty and crossed the river. They were going up Rock River, they said, to plant corn at the villages of their old allies, the Winnebagoes and Pottawattamies. Gen. Atkinson, at the fort, ordered them back, but Black Hawk refused, and the general sent him another message, that if he did not return he would be forced back. Black Hawk went on his way. Governor Reynolds called out the Illinois militia. A part of them, mounted, under Maj. Stillman, came up with Black Hawk at Kiswacokee, where he was treating some Pottawattamies to a dog-feast. Black Hawk sent a flag of truce. He found he could get no allies, he realized his error, and was willing to surrender and be sent back across the river. The flag was fired on. Another party he sent out was captured, and one of his warriors was slain. The main body advanced upon him, and Black Hawk prepared to fight. He had but fifty

braves with him, but at the first volley Maj. Stillman's two hundred and seventy warriors turned and fled. Some of them ran all the way home; most of them put twenty miles between them and Black Hawk before they halted. The place is called "Stillman's Run" to this day. Black Hawk took their camp and everything. Then ensued a border war, short and sharp, with many murders and arsons.

The troops concentrated quickly, however. Black Hawk had no provisions; he was cumbered with women and children,—proof enough that he did not cross the Mississippi at the head of a war-party,—and he did not do much fighting. An unsuccessful attack upon the fort at Buffalo Grove was followed by a brisk retreat. A detachment of volunteers under Col. Posey was met on the way and defeated. "If they had all been like their brave little captain," said Black Hawk, "they would have beaten me." On the banks of the Wisconsin the regulars and volunteers came up with the Indians, and killed forty of them. At Bad Axe, as they were crossing the Mississippi, the troops again came up with the Indians. They were aided by a steamer, which rejected Black Hawk's flag of truce, and a massacre ensued, in which three hundred and fifty Indians, men, women, and children, were butchered. Those who reached the other side of the river were set upon by Sioux marauders. It was a wretched and disgraceful spectacle, a wholly unnecessary slaughter. In this short and very disgraceful Indian war four men who afterwards became famous were in arms against the Indians,—Jefferson Davis, second lieutenant U. S. infantry, Albert Sidney Johnston, Robert Anderson, of the same arm of service, and Abraham Lincoln, captain Illinois volunteers.

Black Hawk fled, but two Winnebagoes who had been fighting in his ranks pursued, captured, and brought him into Fort Armstrong. Another peace was made with the Sacs and Foxes, attended with another cession of territory. Black Hawk, his son, the Prophet, Naopope, the Prophet's brother, and his adopted son were demanded as hostages. They were sent down the river in charge of Lieut. Davis to Jefferson Barracks, at St. Louis, and when there were put in irons and made to drag the ball and chain, like private soldiers under punishment for drunkenness. This was a wretched piece of business, and exceedingly mortifying to the proud old chief. "Was the White Beaver" (Gen. Atkinson), said he, "afraid I would break out of his barracks and run away? Or was he ordered to inflict this punishment upon me? If I had taken him prisoner upon the field of battle I would not have wounded his feelings so much by such treatment, knowing that a brave chief would prefer death to dishonor."

Black Hawk had often been in St. Louis in former times under very different auspices. He had frequently been there to visit his "Spanish Father" before the cession of Louisiana to the United States. He was there when the news of the cession was received, and saw how the inhabitants took it. He was there on his way to the battle-field of the Maramec, in which his father was slain, and he killed five Cherokees with his own hand. He was there three or four times to make war upon the Osages, and to pay friendly visits to Chouteau, or to sell his furs. He was there, also, during the fierce war waged by his tribe upon the Kaskaskia Indians. Now he was there a prisoner, in chains, and measurably on exhibition.

During the winter he and his companions in captivity were visited by a great many people, and the newspaper scribes—"town criers," as they were called by sarcastic Keokuk—wrote them up assiduously. "We were struck with admiration," said one, "at the gigantic and symmetrical figures of most of the warriors, who seemed, as they reclined in native ease and gracefulness, rather like statues from some master-hand than beings of a race whom we had heard characterized as degenerate and debased." "A forlorn crew," wrote Washington Irving, who also saw them, "emaciated and dejected, the redoubtable chieftain himself a meagre old man upwards of seventy. He has, however, a fine head, a Roman style of face, and a prepossessing countenance." When Catlin, the artist, visited Jefferson Barracks for the purpose of painting the portraits of these chiefs, and was about to commence the likeness of Naopope, he seized the ball and chain fast to his leg, and, lifting them above his head, cried, indignantly, "Make me *so*, and show me to the Great Father!" The artist, in refusing, missed the chance of painting the most dramatic picture of the century.

Keokuk, with great generosity, brought his family to St. Louis to visit and minister to his fallen rival, and exerted himself strenuously to procure his release, offering to become responsible in person for the good conduct of the captives. But they had been ordered to Washington, and, after arriving there, were sent to Fortress Monroe. After a confinement of five weeks they were released and returned home, taking the leading cities in their way, and meeting with a reception everywhere second in enthusiasm only to that which welcomed Lafayette. The thronging multitudes, the evidences of wealth and power and commanding genius quenched the old warrior

spirit in Black Hawk. When he returned home, broken and a suppliant, Keokuk received him *en prince*, and the degraded chief bowed his head in silence. Only once did his ancient spirit flash up, when he understood in the council that the President ordered him to obey Keokuk. He sprang to his feet, indignation for the moment depriving him of speech, and then he burst forth: "I am a man, an old man. I will not conform to the counsels of any one. I will act for myself; no one shall govern me. I am old; my hair is gray. I once gave counsel to young men, —am I to conform to those of others? I shall soon go to the Great Spirit, when I shall be at rest. What I said to our great father at Washington I say again, —I will always listen to him. I am done." But this was only a momentary ebullition. Black Hawk recognized the fact of his deposition, and submitted to it. He retired to one of the Sac villages, only once more coming out of his seclusion to make another visit to the East, and then, returning home, died at his secluded camp on the Des Moins, Oct. 3, 1838, aged seventy-two. A notorious body-snatcher stole his corpse from the grave, and sold the skeleton to a surgeon in Quincy, Ill.; but Governor Lucas, of Iowa, compelled the restoration of the old chieftain's bones to his kindred. They were subsequently placed in the Burlington Geological and Historical Society, and were burnt up in the fire which destroyed the building and all the society's collections in 1855.

CHAPTER VII.

TOPOGRAPHY.

ST. LOUIS, says Brackenridge, in his "Views of Louisiana," "is the seat of government of the Territory, and has always been considered the chief town. It was formerly called Pain Court, from the privations of the first settlers. It is situated in latitude 38° 23′ N., longitude 89° 36′ W.[1] This place occupies one of the best situations on the Mississippi, both as to site and geographical position. In this last respect the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi has certainly much greater natural advantages, but the ground is subject to inundation; and St. Louis has taken a start, which it will most probably retain. It is probably not saying too much that it bids fair to be second to New Orleans in importance on this river."

It will be recollected that Brackenridge was a cool, clear-headed observer, not given to extravagance, when this was written, in 1811, St. Louis had begun to grow. Its population was only one thousand four hundred, and it had only increased about four hundred in six years. Ste. Genevieve and St. Charles were its rivals, and many persons thought it would be outstripped by them, while New Madrid was a much more attractive spot to the immigration which had begun to flow in from the eastward. Brackenridge, however, was confident in his opinion of the site, and in another paragraph he lays his finger upon exactly the strongest resources of St. Louis, and the chief cause of its growth,—its unrivaled position as a distributing centre. "St. Louis," said he, "will probably become one of those great reservoirs of the vall between the Rocky Mountains and the Allegheny from whence merchandise will be distributed extensive country. It unites the advantag three noble rivers, Mississippi, Illinois, and When their banks shall become the residence of millions, when flourishing towns shall arise, can we suppose that every vender of merchandise will look to New Orleans for a supply, or to the Atlantic cities? *There must be a place of distribution somewhere between the mouth of the Ohio and Missouri. Beside a trade to the northern parts of New Spain will be opened, and a direct communication to the East Indies, by way of the Missouri, may be more than dreamt; in this case, St. Louis will become the Memphis of the American Nile.*" When this was written not a steamboat had yet turned its wheels in Western waters, nor had an emigrant's wagon ever gone west of the Gasconade. All navigation was by arks and keel-boats, and the railroad was not yet even dreamed about.

"The ground on which St. Louis stands," continues Brackenridge, "is not much higher than the ordinary banks, but

[1] This is by no means accurate, it is nothing more than an approximation. The exact geographical position of St. Louis has been determined by observations conducted under the Coast Survey, and consequent to the solar eclipse which occurred in August, 1869. The point first fixed was the Washington University; but it will be seen from the official result of the observations given below that the values have been reduced to the centre of the court-house, which forms more appropriately the point from which to announce the latitude and longitude of the city.

In order to reduce the observed values to the centre of court-house, we must deduct from the latitude 25.7 seconds, and from the longitude 2.63 seconds, so that we have finally for the court-house of St. Louis:

	Deg.	Min.	Sec.
Latitude	38	37	37.5
	H.	M.	S.
Longitude	6	0	45.29
	Deg.	Min.	Sec.
Or, in Arc	90	11	19.35

the floods are repelled by a bold shore of limestone rocks. The town is built between the river and a second bank, three streets running parallel with the river, and a number of others crossing them at right angles. It is to be lamented that no space has been left between the town and the river; for the sake of the pleasure of the promenade, as well as for business and health, there should have been no encroachment on the margin of the noble stream. The principal place of business ought to have been on the bank. From the opposite side nothing is visible of the busy bustle of a populous town; it appears closed up. The site of St. Louis is not unlike that of Cincinnati. How different would have been its appearance if built in the same elegant manner, its bosom opened to the breezes of the river, the streams enlivened by scenes of business and pleasure, and rows of elegant and tasteful dwellings looking with pride on the broad wave that passes. From the opposite bank St. Louis, notwithstanding, appears to great advantage. In a disjointed and scattered manner, it extends along the river a mile and a half, and we form the idea of a large and elegant town. Two or three large and costly buildings (though not in the modern taste) contribute in producing this effect. On closer examination the town seems to be composed of an equal proportion of stone walls, houses, and fruit-trees, but the illusion still continues. In ascending the second bank, which is about forty feet above the level of the plain, we have the town below us, and a view of the Mississippi in each direction, and of the fine country through which it passes. When the curtain of wood which conceals the American Bottom shall have been withdrawn, or a vista formed by opening farms to the river, there will be a delightful prospect into that rich and elegant tract. There is a line of works on this second bank, erected for defense against the Indians, consisting of several circular towers, twenty feet in diameter and fifteen in height, a small stockaded fort, and a stone breastwork. These are at present entirely unoccupied and waste, excepting the fort, in one of the buildings of which the courts are held, while the other is used as a prison. Some distance from the termination of this line, up the river, there are a number of Indian mounds and remains of antiquity, which, while they are ornamental to the town, prove that in former times those places had also been chosen as the site, perhaps, of a populous city.

"Looking to the west, a most charming country spreads itself before us. It is neither very level nor hilly, but of an agreeable waving surface, and rising for several miles with an ascent almost imperceptible. Except a small belt to the north, there are no trees; the rest is covered with shrubby oak, intermixed with hazels, and a few trifling thickets of thorn, crab-apple or plum-trees. At the first glance we are reminded of the environs of a great city; but there are no country-seats, or even plain farm houses; it is a vast waste, yet by no means a barren soil. Such is the appearance until, turning to the left, the eye again catches the Mississippi. A number of fine springs take their rise here and contribute to the uneven appearance. The greater part face to the southwest, and aid in forming a beautiful rivulet which, a short distance below the town, gives itself to the river. I have often been delighted, in my solitary walks,[1] to trace the rivulet to its sources. Three miles from town, but within view, among a few tall oaks, it rises in four or five silver fountains, within short distances of each other, presenting a picture to the fancy of the poet, or the pencil of the painter. I have fancied myself for a moment on classic ground, and beheld the Naiads pouring the stream from their urns.[2] Close to the town there is a fine mill, erected



OLD CHOUTEAU MANSION.

really the first park of the St. Louis people. The pond was a lake: the trees around it were of the original forest; it was a place for lovers, for holiday sports; it divided with the Big Mound the attention of visiting strangers. It is not more than forty years ago since Chouteau's pond existed in its original form, a glittering sheet of water, covering an area of one hundred acres, with high grassy banks that sloped quietly down to the water's edge, and were set with tall forest-trees, casting shade enough for a park. The gorge through which the waste of the pond flowed down the river, Mill Creek (from a point between the Seventh Street Depot and St. Joseph's College), was overhung by very tall and large sycamore-trees. The waters of the mill-dam were fresh, clear, and filled with fish, and, as a rule, the boys of the town would much rather take a swim in the pond than go to school. It was out of town; you could only get to it by climbing over the ridge at Sixth Street, and this made it an excellent spot for picnics. The springs to which Brackenridge alludes were Rock Spring, Hammond's and McRea's Springs, and Lucas' Spring—the latter north of Market Street, near Twentieth Street. The site of the Four Courts was a sort of promontory jutting into the lake and occupied originally by the mansion of Henry Chouteau, third son of Auguste. We have before us an account of the pond, running back fifty or sixty years ago, furnished by Mr. Richard Dowling. He says the head feeder of the pond was in old times known as Lyon Springs, and now as Rock Springs, which was for years a place of great resort, and the scene of dance and revelry. The foot of the pond was on Market Street. A ravine ran from Market Street north to about Pine Street, and there was a spring between Chestnut and Pine, on the west side of the present Ninth Street. The spring issued about fifteen feet above the bottom of the ravine. There was another spring on the north side of Market, east of Ninth. There was

[1] Let the St. Louis reader of this conceive of taking a solitary walk along Poplar Street from the Levee westward, and seeking the sweet sequestered shades of Gratiot Avenue for an interval of scholarly reflection.

[2] Naiads emptying their urns into Milk Creek sewer, and the Union Depot classic ground—for third and fourth class freight! But the place must have been pretty, or the memory of the old inhabitants would not have clung to it so tenaciously and so tenderly. Chouteau's pond and mill-seat, they were

by Mr. Chouteau on this streamlet; the dam forms a beautiful sheet of water, and affords much amusement, in fishing and fowling, to the people of the town. The common field of St. Louis was formerly inclosed on this bank, consisting of several thousand acres; at present there are not more than two thousand under cultivation; the rest of the ground looks like the worn common in the neighborhood of a large town, the grass kept down and short, and the loose soil in several places cut open into gaping ravines."

also a noted spring south of the present site of Winkelmeyer's brewery, which was a great place of resort for picnic parties and small Fourth of July gatherings.

The spring was resorted to frequently by Dr. Robert Simpson, John Shade, and Thomas Cohen, who spent the time fishing for croppie and bass. About three or four hundred yards south of the present Clark Avenue, a neck of the pond ran up nearly to a point a little west of the site of the Four Courts, which was called by the old inhabitants "Rack Row." About fifty-eight years ago a boat club was organized, and the club had their boat-house about three hundred yards north of Chouteau's mill. The company which started the club was composed of Capt. George H. Kennerly, Alexander St. Cyr, the Arnold brothers, and others. The members of the club wore a uniform of Scotch plaid pants and jacket.

At Chouteau's mill there was an embankment thrown up on the west side of the hill, which was stockaded with cedar pickets next to the water, and the banks were covered with sycamore-trees, and it was a pleasant resort, on account of the shade, for catching fish. The mill-dam was on the south side of the mill. The fall over the dam was about twenty feet down to the rock, and from the foot of this fall the descent was about thirty feet to the creek, forming, beside the cascade, a steep rapids. South of the mill-dam the ground rose to a considerable elevation, and on this rise of ground Col. Auguste Chouteau had a very fine orchard, comprising different varieties of fruit-trees. On the west side of the orchard the bank was about fifteen feet high; on the west side of the pond was a gradual slope, covered with hazel-bushes, scrub-oaks, persimmon, and grapevines. Most of the inhabitants, who lived in the centre of the town, would resort to this spot to wash clothes. Two or three women would club together, and one, furnishing a cart, would haul out all the clothes of the party. They had large iron pots in which to boil the clothes, and platforms extended out into the water at a depth of two feet, where the clothes would be put in, and, after pounding them out with paddles, producing the same effect as washboards, they would hang the clothes out to dry on the hazel-bushes. The mill-dam before alluded to broke about the year 1826, and a great many fish were caught by everybody, consisting of buffalo, bass, and croppies, and so many were thrown out on the bank as to create a stench so great that the trustees of the town had to get several loads of lime and cover the fish. Chouteau's mill was managed by Gabriel S. Chouteau, who is now eighty-four years old, and one of the oldest natives now in St. Louis. He managed the mill as a water-mill for several years. He had a valuable colored servant named Mosquetu, who was the head miller, a very faithful man. He filled the position many years, and when he retired Mr. Chouteau employed a man named Hoffman as head miller. Some years afterwards Mr. Chouteau put in a steam-engine and ran it until the mill was closed.

The flour made by Mr. Chouteau would compete with the best flour of to-day. The mill supplied the inhabitants with most of the flour consumed until immigration commenced, then most of the flour came from Cincinnati.

As before indicated, Chouteau's pond was generally fed from springs. Among those best known were the Marie Spring, the Curneau Spring, Rock Spring, and others.

This description by the observant Brackenridge seems to be graphic enough and accurate enough to bring the old town up before the eye. It may very well serve for the introduction to some account of the topography of St. Louis from the date of its foundation to the more recent and final settlement of grades and levels. And, in regard to the standard of grades and levels, it is proper to begin by describing the rather peculiar system which is employed in St. Louis for establishing and maintaining this standard. This is ascertained by means of what is called "the city directrix." The employment of this grew out of the following circumstances:

"In 1826 there was, as far as then known, unprecedented high water. The citizens wanted the high-water line established, so that afterwards streets could be graded and houses erected above the water-line. Mr. Paul, under instructions of the City Council, erected a monument as required. This monument was a dressed limestone column two feet square, and was set in front of the southeast corner of the then City Hall, on the Levee, near Market Street. This stone is yet in place, and stands across the curbstone in front of No. 4 South Levee. A hole was cut in this stone to set the monument of the high water of 1844, which was seven feet seven inches higher than in 1826. This last-mentioned monument was destroyed by fire in 1856.

"The top surface of Paul's monument was placed even with the highest line marked by the flood of 1826, and was officially declared the base-line for subsequent and additional surveys of the city, and its additions as to street grades. The curbstone of the sidewalk on the Levee from Plum Street to Franklin Avenue, formerly Cherry Street, was placed on a level of the base-line, and its grade is designated on the street commissioners' map as being at zero. This line was and is officially styled in the ordinances as the 'city directrix

"The elevation of this city directrix above the sea-level has been determined as follows:

"By the United States Signal Service, with barometer measurement, four hundred and four feet above the sea-level at Washington, D. C.

"By the United States Coast Survey, Lieut. Humphrey's barometer measurement, four hundred and eight and a half feet above the sea-level at Mobile.

"By the Pennsylvania Central and the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad surveys, with sight-levels of grades from Philadelphia to St. Louis, four hundred and twenty-eight and one-fourth feet above sea level at Philadelphia.

"These three observations were averaged, and the elevation of four hundred and thirteen and two-thirds feet determined."

[1] Some additional facts in relation to the directrix are necessary to complete our knowledge of the topography of St. Louis. The western limits of the city at that time were about on a line with the present Fifth Street, between Chouteau and Franklin Avenues. The citizens in improving their property, erecting new buildings, and grading streets, desired to have the flood-line accurately fixed and perpetuated, so that all the improvements could be safely located above high-water mark.

Col. Paul located the monument at a point then on the south

This system of measurement seems to be very perfect and very satisfactory. It has a definite base and unit of its own, and is accurately connected with other systems, and, through the coast survey, with the common hydrographic system of the whole country, that which is the basis of land surveys as well as water distance measurements. The result is to give us correct and graphic ideas of the city's topography. The area

east corner of the City Hall and Market, but now on the sidewalk in front of No. 4 South Levee. This monument was a heavy dressed limestone, two feet square, and is yet to be seen in place on the sidewalk. This stone was officially established by the City Council as the city directrix, and has continued so ever since. The top of the curbstone on the Levee from Plum to Cherry Streets is supposed to be kept on a horizontal line with the grade of the monumental stone, and is the "zero" and city directrix line in all surveys of elevations and grades in St. Louis.

About eighteen years after Col. Paul established the city directrix, the Mississippi River rose seven feet and seven inches higher than the flood of 1822.

This was the extraordinary high water of 1844, which continued from June 20th to July 14th. The water was for five days over seven feet higher than the city directrix. The highest point reached on the official gauge, read at that time by Mr. Leopold, was at 4 P.M., June 27th, when the water stood seven feet seven inches, or seven and fifty-eight hundredths feet above the directrix.

A few months after the flood of 1844 the City Council directed that a monument be placed on Col. Paul's monument to indicate to future generations the line of what was then known as the great flood. In accordance with the official directions, a dressed limestone obelisk ten feet high was placed on the initial point of the directrix. In and around this obelisk was cut a deep line, under which was cut the figures 1844, at the elevation of the high water of that year.

In the latter part of 1856 a row of stores, then known as the City Buildings, and located along the Levee from Market to Walnut Streets, was destroyed by fire, and the heat of the fire and the falling walls demolished the 1844 monument, and it was never replaced. The inlet cut into the Reno monument of 1826 to receive and hold the 1844 monument is yet to be seen in its original position on the Levee.

In 1863 the river was lower than it had been during the century, and the City Council instructed the city engineer to have a river gauge established, with the lowest grade of the water for that year used as the low-water mark. This gauge was of wrought iron bars, placed down the incline of the Levee between Market and Walnut Streets, near the initial point of the city directrix. The low-water mark was established at thirty-three and eighty-one hundredths feet below the city directrix, and in reading the gauge the distance below the city directrix is frequently given.

After 1826, as the city was enlarged in area, the city engineers, street commissioners, and public surveyors established "benches" or grade monuments at different points in the city above the original city directrix line. These benches, as they are called by surveyors, have been carefully measured as to elevation above the city directrix, and are frequently resurveyed to insure accuracy. From these benches, about one hundred and fifty in number, all measurements in St. Louis for street, sewer, railroad, and building grades are taken. The surveyors' field charts in the street commissioners' office and in the offices of several of the local surveyors record the location of these benches.

In the street commissioners' office at the City Hall there is a large street map of the city, on which are recorded the grades of improved streets above the city directrix. An examination of the map gives the information that St. Louis, in its area of sixty-two square miles, is situated on twenty-three knolls and hills, varying in elevation from 40 feet to 200 feet above the city directrix.

The highest elevation of land in the city is about one mile west of Shaw's Garden, or four miles southwest of the court-house. The elevation is 195 feet above the directrix, and on this place is the female hospital, which is 57 feet in altitude.

About half a mile southeast of the female hospital is located the insane asylum, a building 120 feet high, placed on elevation 180 feet higher than the directrix, and so situated as to be seen from points ten miles distant, and from two-thirds of the city.

The Christian Brothers' new college on Easton Avenue (St. Charles Rock road) is located on an elevation of 146 feet above the directrix.

The southeast end of Forest Park is 60 feet, and the southwest corner—1¼ miles distant—is 160 feet higher than directrix.

The highest elevation in O'Fallon Park is 110 feet.

The mound in Lafayette Park is 138 feet above directrix.

Below are given some of the principal high buildings in St. Louis, with the grade elevation of site above city directrix, and the altitude of the building in addition:

The west arcade of the Illinois and St. Louis bridge at the vehicle roadway is 68 feet, and the steam railroadway 48 feet above the Levee sidewalk or city directrix.

St. Louis elevator, Biddle Street and Levee, grade 3 feet, altitude 130 feet.

Belcher sugar refinery, new building, Dickson (Bates) and Lewis Streets, grade 29 feet, altitude 150 feet.

Shot-tower, half block north of Belcher's refinery, grade 10 feet, altitude 180 feet.

Central elevator B, Levee and Lombard Streets, grade 0, and altitude 147 feet.

Central elevator A, Twelfth and Cerre Streets, grade 36, and altitude 124 feet.

Chamber of Commerce, Third and Chestnut Streets, grade 50½ feet, and altitude 103 feet.

Missouri Republican building, Third and Chestnut Streets, altitude 112 feet.

Court-house, Fourth and Market Streets, grade 58 feet, and altitude to promenade 138 feet, and to apex of dome 179 feet.

McLean tower, opposite the court-house, altitude to promenade 145 feet, and apex of dome 170 feet.

New custom-house, corner of Eighth and Olive Streets, grade 51 feet, altitude of building 101 feet. The dome of this building will be 109 feet higher than the building. The promenade of dome will be 150 feet above sidewalk.

Singer building, Fifth and Locust Streets, grade 54 feet, and altitude 120 feet.

New York Trust Company's building, Sixth and Locust, grade 56 feet, and altitude 101 feet to edge of roof.

Lindell Hotel, Sixth Street and Washington Avenue, grade 48 feet, and altitude 110 feet.

New Southern Hotel, Fourth and Walnut Streets, grade 59 feet, and altitude 102 feet.

Four Courts, Twelfth Street and Clark Avenue, grade 45 feet, and altitude to apex of dome 140 feet.

Water-tower, Fourteenth Street and Grand Avenue, grade 98 feet, and altitude 154 feet; total elevation above directrix 252 feet.

of sixty-two square miles, the general plan of twenty-three hills and knolls, rising from forty to two hundred feet above the directrix, are data from which a map could almost be drawn without needing to see the place. The expansion of the city until it has spread over all this wide area and taken in all these knolls and hills is a history of a wonderful growth in wonderfully rapid periods. It is in fact a romance, very different from the monotonous story of Chicago's unfolding. For almost sixty years St. Louis was content to remain a little trading city under and on the side of a limestone bluff at the river's edge. Suddenly it climbed to the top of the bluff, found the high level country, and began at once to grow. The old French village and town crouched under the bank, quiescent and passive, like one who hugs the chimney-corner and smokes his pipe, too content with idle ease to be persuaded to move on. The new American city left the old town there undisturbed, and ran away from it to seek its fortune. After that was secured, it turned back to the old town, gave it a thorough shaking up, and dressed it out in such splendid new attire that it was not able to recognize itself any longer.

It is the literal fact that St. Louis did not begin to grow until the country recovered from the financial depression which succeeded the war of 1812–14, culminating in 1819. This depression was so great that it strangled enterprise and arrested immigration. The whole West was ruined by hard times and bad money, and business came to a standstill for the lack of a currency and a medium of exchange. St. Louis was arrested by these adversities just as she had begun to invite an enterprising American population. In 1820 it was very little improved from what it had been in 1780. It still lay all under the hill.[1]

Compton Hill reservoir, Lafayette and Grand Avenues, grade 150 feet, and altitude of walls 30 feet.

Fair-grounds elevator, grade 90 feet, and altitude to promenade 105 feet, and to apex 155 feet.

Below are given the grade, altitude, and total elevation of the principal church steeples in St. Louis. The churches are as follows:

Cathedral, on Walnut, between Second and Third Streets.

St. Patrick's, corner of Sixth and Biddle.

First Presbyterian, corner of Fourteenth Street and Lucas Place.

Second Presbyterian Church, corner of Seventeenth Street and Lucas Place.

Centenary Methodist, corner of Sixteenth and Pine Streets.

St. George's (Episcopal), corner of Chestnut and Beaumont Streets.

Second Baptist, corner of Beaumont and Locust Streets.

Pilgrim (Congregational), corner of Ewing and Washington Avenues.

St. John's (Methodist), corner of Ewing Avenue and Locust Street.

St. Alphonsus' Church, corner of Grand Avenue and Morgan Street.

The first column of figures given is the grade in feet of the site above the city directrix, the second column the altitude of the steeple from the sidewalk, and the third column the total elevation of the apex of the spire above the city directrix.

Churches.	Grade.	Altitude.	Total Elevation.
Pilgrim	130	230	360
Second Baptist	118	235	353
St. George's	114	175	289
Second Presbyterian	93	195	288
Centenary	80	205	285
St. John's (Methodist)	130	150	280
First Presbyterian	56	220	276
St. Patrick's	50	160	210
St. Alphonsus'	130	80	210
Cathedral	32	150	182

The grade, altitude, and elevation of the principal observatories in the city are as follows, the measurement being given up to the promenade or walk:

	Grade.	Altitude.	Total Elevation.
Insane asylum	180	120	300
Water-tower	98	154	252
Female hospital	195	57	252
McLean's tower	58	145	203
New custom-house	51	150	201
Court-house	58	138	196
Fair-grounds elevator	90	105	195
Shot-tower	10	180	190

The grades given above were taken from the street commissioners' map, and the altitudes were obtained from the architects or others who claimed to have positive information on the subject. (These figures and facts are from the *St. Louis Republican* of Dec 17, 1881.)

[1] We read in the recollections of Dr. R. Simpson, an early settler, who came to St. Louis from Maryland in 1809, having the position of assistant surgeon U.S.A., that the town was estimated to contain twelve hundred inhabitants, but few Americans, and those mostly attached to the government service. There were, with sundry cross streets, three main streets,—Main Street proper, Church, now Second Street, and Barn, now Third Street,—but this latter street did not extend farther north than about where now is Pine Street, where it met the forty-arpent lots.

The town was all under the hill, and laid out in squares, and these squares were divided into four lots, so that each owner had room for a garden and some fruit-trees. There were a few brick houses, but many of stone, some few frame, but mostly log buildings, some cabin-fashion and others in French style,—large logs, dressed on two sides, set some eight feet in the ground, with shingle roofs. A sample of the last, and the only one, I believe, left standing, is to be seen at the corner of Third and Plum Streets. Just such a house was on the lot I purchased in the fall of 1811, and in which I lived for a number of years. The shingles were thick, and instead of nails were hung with pegs or straps across the rafters, and made a very good roof, but was rather musical in windy weather. The best residence in the town was that of Col. Auguste Chouteau, who occupied one square of ground, surrounded by a high stone wall, with Main Street in front, the church in the rear, and between Market and Walnut. In speaking of streets, I call them by their present names.

The market square was bounded by Main, Market, Walnut Streets and the river. Maj. Pierre Chouteau occupied a large stone building in what was then called the northern part of the town. The Cabannes resided on a cross street south of Maj. Chouteau's. As you came down Main Street there were Sarpy's

What it was in 1809 it remained in 1818 and in 1822, when it was incorporated. Mr. Billon describes with distinctness what the town was in the former year when he first saw it. He says,—

"Until the incorporation of St. Louis as a city, in December, 1822, and the subsequent adoption of a system of grades for the streets of the city, there had been little, if any, change in the surface of the ground from its first settlement in 1764, a period of nearly sixty years, consequently on my arrival in the place in 1818, I must have found it almost in its primitive state.

"The river-front presented at that day a limestone bluff, extending from about the foot of Poplar Street on the south to above Roy's tower, at the foot of Ashley Street, on the north, this bluff being about on a level with the main street as far south as the centre of the village, at the Public Square, at an elevation of some thirty-five or forty feet above the ordinary stage of the river. From there south to Poplar Street it gradually sloped down to the level of the alluvial flat which bordered the river for about two miles further south.

"There were then but two roads to ascend from the river to Main Street, viz., at Market and Oak Streets. These ascents were very abrupt and rough, and had been roughly quarried through the limestone rock by the early inhabitants with crowbars and hammers to enable them to get to the river for water.

"Main Street, north from Market Street, was generally level, with, perhaps, a very slight ascent; going south from Market Street it ascended some four or five feet to the centre of the block, then Col. Chouteau's. From here it descended with about the same slope as the limestone bluffs to its terminus at Plum Street, where it ran into the river.

"Second Street was about on a level with Main Street near the centre of the village, but from Chestnut Street north to above Vine it was lower than Main, and of course in bad weather was always very muddy, and the lots on the east side were frequently several inches deep with water for days until it dried up by evaporation. The residents of this vicinage remedied it to some extent in 1778 by draining it through the cross street, now Chestnut.

"Second, south of Walnut, had about the same descent as Main Street south.

"Third Street, in the centre of the village, was a few feet higher than Second, but from Chestnut north it ascended gradually up to near our present Washington Avenue, perhaps some twenty-five feet in this distance. From here north it is nearly level. Southwardly, from about Walnut, it descended with about the same grade as Main and Second.

"Of Fourth Street, the highest part was from Elm to near Chestnut. Going north from Chestnut it descended precipitously to Pine, where a gully crossed the intersection of Second Street from northwest to southeast, carrying off the water from a large district north and west of this point, through the centre of the present Block 86 down Chestnut to the river. South from Elm, Fourth Street had a pretty steep descent for the distance of a few blocks, and from there about the same as Third. The very highest point on Fourth was at the intersection of Walnut, overlooking the country in every direction. On this spot the central stone tower was erected in 1780, and here the Spanish Governor constructed the garrison in 1794. There was no Fourth Street south of Elm until after 1822, Col. Easton's inclosure crossing it half-way to Fifth Street. South of this it was but a road, with two or three houses. The limestone bluff which fronted the place was nearly perpendicular. In seasons of low water in the river there was a wide sand-bar extending out a considerable distance from the shore, which when the water was at an ordinary stage was covered, leaving a narrow road of sand at the foot of the bluff. At seasons of high water it would completely cover this, and at times rise some eight or ten feet above the foot of the bluffs."

Brazeau's, Papin's, Conner's, Labadie's, and others. Gratiot occupied a large stone building at the corner of Main and Chestnut; opposite Gratiot, east, was the store of Hunt & Hankesser, the largest in the town. Old Madame Chouteau occupied a long, low building corner of Main and Chestnut, and south end of the same block was Antoine Chenie; opposite Chenie, east, was Pratte, and on the same block was Berthold.

There was, I think, but one house on the hill, the old Spanish garrison-house, with a round stone tower in front, just where



OLD STONE TOWER.

Walnut Street intersects Fourth Street. There were three other round stone towers, or at each end of the town, and one farther up Third Street. There was also a square stone bastion farther north.

St. Louis had been incorporated as a town in 1809 by the Territorial Court of Common Pleas. It was incorporated as a city by the Legislature in 1822. Previous to 1816 there had been no additions to the town as originally laid off by Laclede and Chouteau. In that year Chouteau and J. B. C. Lucas gave a square to the town for a court-house, and offered for sale a large tract on the west end of the town, from Fourth Street to Seventh.[1] This was the first ac-

[1] The following is Judge Lucas' advertisement of the proposed sale:

"The subscriber has been induced to lay out into lots about fifty acres of land, being part of his farm immediately adjoining the town of St. Louis, being comprised in the same plat, and by way of extension northwardly with the southerly new part of the town laid out by Col. Chouteau. These connected new parts perfectly correspond with the old part as to parallel and cross streets. The only difference is that the streets of the new part are nearly as broad again as those of the old part, that they are perfectly straight, and cross each rectangularly. The new site is mostly level and commanding, as it is on an average forty feet higher than the ground on

cession of territory. We will describe it more particularly a little farther on. The streets of St. Louis were not regularly named until 1826, though several of them bore names, as *Rue de l'Eglise*, *Rue des Granges*, *Rue Principale*, *Rue de Barrère*, etc. In July of that year an ordinance was passed adopting formal names.[1]

In 1826 the city had begun to grow, but had not yet quite got out from under the hill. In proof of this take the following from the "Impressions du Voyage" of his Highness Karl Bernhardt, duke of Saxe-Weimar, who visited St. Louis in 1826, in the month of April:

"St. Louis lies upon a rather high rocky foundation on the right bank of the Mississippi, and stretches itself out nearly a mile in length in the direction of the river.

"The most of the houses have a garden towards the water: the earth is supported by walls, so that the gardens form so many terraces. The city contains about four thousand inhabitants. It consists of one long main street, running parallel with the river, from which several side streets run to the heights behind the city. Here single houses point out the space where another street parallel with the main street can one day be built. The generality of the houses are new, built of brick two stories high; some are of rough stone and others of wood and clay in the Spanish taste, resembling the old houses in New Orleans. Round the city along the heights formerly ran a wall, but it is now taken away. At the corners stood massive round guard-towers, the walls of which one still can see. In a northern direction from the city are seven artificial hillocks, in two rows, which form a parallelogram. They belong to the much talked of Indian mounds and fortifications, of which numbers are found on the shores of the Ohio and Mississippi, and which are dispersed over these regions from Lake Erie to New Mexico. There exist neither documents nor traditions concerning the erection of these works, or of the tribe of people who erected them. In some a great quantity of human bones have been discovered, in others, on the contrary, nothing."

But from this period it sprang forward rapidly, and has never since ceased from its process of expansion and growth.

Professor Waterhouse, aided by Mr. Billon's invaluable manuscripts, has written the following concise and accurate sketch of the early topography of St. Louis for the present volume:

"For four or five years after its settlement St. Louis was called a trading-post. This title formed a part of its official designation. Then for about forty years the young colony bore the name of village. Nov. 9, 1809, St. Louis was incorporated as a borough town, and Dec. 9, 1822, it was invested by the State Legislature with the title of city. For more than half a century the physical features of St. Louis remained untouched by the hand of improvement. No public system of grading was undertaken prior to 1823. No changes materially altering the general surface of the ground were made before the incorporation of St. Louis as a city. Accordingly, the following facts observed in 1818, must present a substantially correct view of the site of St. Louis in its primitive condition. To avoid repetition and the employment of terms long since obsolete, the present names of streets and numbers of blocks are used in the description. A glance at Chouteau's map will show that some of the streets mentioned in this account were not in existence at that day, and are merely employed as a present means of identifying localities.

"In 1764 a steep limestone bluff occupied the place of the present Levee. It extended from the foot of Ashley to the foot of Poplar. Its height above the ordinary stage of the Mississippi was thirty-five or forty feet. From the Public Square between Market and Walnut there was a gradual descent to the

[2] Derived from Mr. F. L. Billon.

which the old town is situate, and presenting a full view of the Mississippi River for five or six miles down, and from several parts as far up, offering a horizon near as vast as on the ocean, and only limited at distant points for enhancement of its charms. Col. Chouteau and the subscriber have agreed to offer gratuitously to the county of St. Louis a whole square in the most central and best situation for a court-house and a suitable public area, exclusive of a lot intended for the use of a jail. The whole town, including the new part laid out and represented in the connected plat of Col. Chouteau and the subscriber (which will be deposited in the recorder's office in a few days), form an oblong, the breadth of which is equal to one-third on the whole length. By the present addition all goes to the breadth and nothing to the length. Thus the addition is doubly beneficial, as it tends also to render in future the town more compact.—JOHN B. C. LUCAS."

[1] An ordinance naming the streets of St. Louis.

WHEREAS, It is a desideratum with the citizens of this city to remove the difficulties and inconveniences which are daily experienced from the present names by which the streets of the city of St. Louis are designated; therefore,

Be it ordained by the Mayor and Board of Aldermen of the City of St. Louis, That all the streets running westward from the Mississippi River shall be called and known by the following names, to wit: The street known by the name of Market Street shall retain its present name, the first parallel or cross street north of said street shall be called Chestnut Street, the second shall be called Pine Street, the third shall be called Olive Street, the fourth shall be called Locust Street, the fifth shall be called Vine Street, the sixth shall be called Laurel Street, the seventh shall be called Prune Street, the eighth shall be called Oak Street, the ninth shall be called Cherry Street, the tenth shall be called Hickory Street, the eleventh shall be called Pear Street, the twelfth shall be called Willow Street.

SEC. 1. *And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid*, That the first parallel or cross street south of said Market Street shall be called Walnut Street, the second shall be called Elm Street, the third shall be called Myrtle Street, the fourth shall be called Spruce Street, the fifth shall be called Almond Street, the sixth shall be called Poplar Street, the seventh shall be called Plum Street, the eighth shall be called Cedar Street, the ninth shall be called Mulberry Street, the tenth shall be called Lombard Street, the eleventh shall be called Hazel Street, the twelfth shall be called Sycamore Street.

SEC. 3. *And be it further ordained*, That the streets running parallel or nearly parallel to the river Mississippi shall be called and known by the following names, viz.: The street nearest the river shall be called Front Street; the remaining parallel streets shall be named in numerical order, viz., First, Second, Third, etc.

SEC. 4. *Be it ordained*, That the register cause immediately to be put, at the expense of the city, index-boards at the intersection of the cross streets with the first street.

alluvial bottom, which began in the vicinity of Poplar Street and extended down the river nearly two miles. It was through this valley that the waters of 'La Petite Rivière' flowed to the Mississippi. The mouth of the Little River was a short distance below our present gas-works. Owing to a slight convexity of the river-front, the distance of Main Street from the edge of the bluff varied from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet.

"The highest ground on Main Street was in the rear of the Public Square, now block seven. From this central elevation there was a descent of about five feet to Market Street. From this point to the northern limits of Main Street the ground was level, or slightly rising. From the Public Square south there was a gradual slope to the foot of Plum Street, where, in consequence of a slight westward curvature in the river, Main Street terminated.

"With one important exception, Second Street had the same general outlines as Main Street, but from Chestnut Street to Vine Street there was a shallow depression, which after rains was muddy and almost impassable. In the street and in the lots on the east side the depth of the water was often over shoes. In 1778 this tract was drained into the gully which obliquely crossed Chestnut Street in its way to the river.

"On Third Street, from the centre of the village to Washington Avenue, there was a rise of twenty-five or thirty feet. From Washington Avenue to its northern extremity, Third Street was comparatively level. From the centre southward, Third Street followed the general slope of Main and Second Streets.

"In 1818, Fourth Street was not in existence. The line on which this street was subsequently laid out ran beyond the western limits of the village. Until about the time St. Louis assumed municipal honors Fourth Street terminated at Elm Street. About 1823, Col. Easton's land, situated at the intersection of these streets, was sold, the paling-fence which obstructed travel was removed, and Fourth Street was extended southward. The highest ground on this street was between Elm and Chestnut Streets; it was called 'the hill.' It was the water-shed between Ninth Street and the river. It was the most elevated land inclosed within the first limits of the city. From Chestnut Street there was a rapid descent to Pine Street. At this point a deep gully, which drained a large area lying northwest of the village, crossed Fourth Street in a southeasterly direction. North of Pine Street the surface of Fourth Street rose with a very slow and slight ascent. South of Elm Street the ground on Fourth Street gently declined to the valley of Mill Creek.

"The ground swell on Fourth Street was thirty-five or forty feet higher than the bluff, and consequently seventy or eighty feet higher than the river itself. In 1764, from Market Street down through the valley of Mill Creek, there was a heavy growth of forest-trees.[1]

"In 1818 a low sand-bank, from four hundred to six hundred feet wide, extended from the foot of Market Street to the southern extremity of the village. At the lower end of this bank there was a slight elevation, covered with groups of bushes. In after-years this knoll, insulated by the action of the river and enlarged by alluvial deposits, became Duncan's Island. At the base of the bluff there was a flat rock about one hundred feet wide. In high stages of the river this rock was always submerged, but in low water it afforded a dry and unobstructed foot-path from Market Street to Morgan Street. During high water the boatmen were compelled to land on the bottoms, and to make a long détour to reach the village.

"The original bounds of St. Louis were narrow. According to the plat of 1764, the trading-post stretched from Chouteau Avenue to Cherry Street, and from the river to near Fourth Street.

"At that time there was no street fronting on the Mississippi, the rear yards of the first line of buildings extended to the edge of the bluffs. Three streets ran parallel with the river. They were named Main (or Royal), Church, and Barn Streets.[2]

"The width of these streets was thirty-six French feet.[3]

"Eighteen cross streets ran west from the river. Their width was thirty French feet.[4] Walnut was then called La Rue de la Tour, because it led up to the tower on the hill, and Market was named La Rue de la Place,[5] because it formed the northern border of the Public Square. Only two or three of the other streets running west had distinctive names. They were merely lanes, on which there were no houses. In 1818 the village was divided into forty-nine blocks. Block 7, in the centre of the river-front, was called La Place, or the Public Square.[6] On this vacant space, after the cession to the United States, the

[1] In front of the whole land on the south of the town, where Mr. Soulard now lives, there was a bottom covered with heavy timber, which ended at the creek, just adjoining Judge Bent's place.—*Auguste Chouteau*, June 1, 1825: *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. ii. page 4.

The spot immediately where the town stands was very heavily timbered, but back of the town it was generally prairie, with some timber growing, but where the timber did not grow it was entirely free from undergrowth, and the grass grew in great abundance everywhere, and of the best quality; but where the inhabitants used to cut their hay was where Judge Lucas now lives, and between his house and the cottonwood-trees, it being all prairie.—*Baptiste Rivière*, July 29, 1825: *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. ii. p. 109.

[2] La Rue Principale (or Royale), La Rue de l'Eglise, and La Rue des Granges. In the early grants, Second Street was at first designated Une Autre Rue Principale. Second Street was sometimes called La Rue Barrère, from the name of a baker who for many years lived at the southwest corner of Third and Chestnut.

[3] A French foot was nearly thirteen English inches. In other villages the streets were sometimes still narrower. The streets of Robertsville were at first only twenty-four feet wide. —*Hunt's Minutes*, vol. ii. p. 15.

[4] The main streets were all of them laid out to be thirty-six feet (French measure) wide, and all the cross streets were laid out to be thirty feet (French measure) wide. The blocks were generally laid out to be two hundred and forty feet, fronting on the main streets, and running back three hundred feet to the other main street.—*Auguste Chouteau*, Sept. 8, 1825: *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. ii. p. 178.

The first settlers, not distinctly foreseeing the future greatness of St. Louis, laid out the streets to meet the needs of a small village. The probable reason for narrow streets was the greater ease of defense. Compactness permitted a shorter line of palisades and a greater concentration of forces.

[5] Market Street was also called La Rue Bonhomme.

[6] The northern part of Block 7 was then (1799) a public place of meeting for the inhabitants, and was called "La Place."—*Marie P. Leduc*, Nov. 7, 1825: *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. iii. p. 58.

It was used as a place of arms (Place d'Armes), for the use of the inhabitants.—*Charles Dehault Delassus*, Nov. 9, 1825: *ibid.*, p. 160.

The words "Place Publique," in the French language, mean an open space free of access in every direction.—*René Paul*, Nov. 16, 1825: *ibid.*, p. 73.

first public market-house was built.[1] Block 34, directly west of the Public Square, was selected by Laclede for his own residence. It was on this site that the spacious stone house called the Chouteau mansion was subsequently erected. Block 59, between Second and Third Streets, was reserved for the Catholic Church and cemetery. The blocks between Walnut and Market Streets were three hundred French feet square; all the rest of the blocks had a frontage of two hundred and forty by a depth of three hundred French feet. Within the limits of the village the original grants to settlers were commonly restricted to a quarter of a block; a few favored individuals obtained half-blocks, and in three or four instances official distinction, meritorious service, or social dignity secured the concession of a whole block. In 1818 there were only two approaches from the river to the town. These led up Market and Morgan Streets. The ascent was steep, rocky, and difficult. Under the town organization no steps were taken to provide additional means of access, but soon after the adoption of a municipal government other streets were cut down through the bluff to the river."

The boundaries of St. Louis County, as officially laid down in connection with the general land-office system of the United States, give the following limits: Beginning in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River, due east of the mouth of the river Maramec; thence due west to the middle of the main channel of the Maramec River, at the mouth thereof; thence up the Maramec River, and with the middle of the main channel thereof, to a point where the township line between T. 43 and 44 N. of the base-line crosses the same; thence west with said line to the main channel of the Maramec River, where the said channel again crosses the same; thence up the Maramec River, and with the middle of the main channel thereof, to a point where the range-line between R. 2 and 3 E. of the fifth principal meridian crosses the same; thence north with said line to the middle of the main channel of the Missouri River; thence down the Missouri River, and with the middle of the main channel of the said river, to the mouth thereof; thence due east to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River; thence down the Mississippi River, and with the middle of the main channel thereof, to the place of beginning.

The county of St. Louis is subdivided into five municipal townships, namely: Carondelet, St. Louis, St. Ferdinand, Bonhomme, and Maramec.

The township of St. Louis begins at a point in the main channel of the Mississippi River due east of the junction of Morin's Creek and river Gingras; thence due west across the river Gingras to the mouth of Morin's Creek; thence southwardly with said creek to where it crosses for the first time the northeast line of a New Madrid location, by virtue of certificate No. 94, in T. 45 N. R. 7 E.; thence northwestwardly with said line to the northwest corner of said claim; thence southwestwardly with the northwestern line of said claim to where it intersects the township line, between T. 45 and 46 N. of the base-line; thence west with said township line to where it crosses the range-line, between R. 5 and 6 E. of the fifth principal meridian; thence south with said range-line to the corner of T. 44 and 45 N., R. 5 and 6 E.; thence eastwardly with the boundary line of Carondelet township to the main channel of the Mississippi River; and in the main channel thereof to the place of beginning.

The township of Carondelet, which has been in part incorporated with St. Louis, begins at a point in the main channel of the Mississippi River due east of the southeast corner of the commons of the city of St. Louis; thence due west to the said southeast corner; thence westwardly with the southern boundary line of said commons to the southwest corner thereof; thence northwardly with the western line of said commons to where the same intersects the line dividing T. 44 and 45 N. of the base-line; thence west with said dividing line to the line dividing R. 5 and 6 E. of the fifth principal meridian; thence south with said range-line to its intersection with the southeast boundary line of survey No. 1933, in T. 44 N., R. 5 and 6 E.; thence southwestwardly with said southeast line, and following the course of said line, to the middle of the main channel of the Maramec River; thence down said Maramec River, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to its mouth; thence due east to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River; thence up said Mississippi River, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the beginning.

The village or hamlet of St. Louis, as laid out by Laclede and Auguste Chouteau in 1764, and as mapped by the latter in 1780, was bounded by Third Street on the West and the Mississippi River on the east; by Cherry Street (now Franklin Avenue) on the north, and what is now Poplar Street on the south. It contained forty-nine blocks,—fifteen between the river bluffs and the first or principal street, extending from the present Poplar Street on the south to Cherry Street on the north; nineteen between the first and second streets, from our Lombard Street south to Cherry Street north; and fifteen between the second and third streets, from Lombard Street south to Vine Street north. Fourth Street almost exactly marked the line of fortifications drawn and began by Chouteau in 1780, and completed in 1794.

In 1804, and at the time of the town's incorporation in 1809, its boundaries were the following: The

[1] "The market was built on it about A.D. 1811."—*Mackay Wherry*, Nov. 9, 1825: *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. iii. p. 61.

north line was about one hundred and forty feet north of Franklin Avenue (formerly Cherry Street), between the river and Broadway. The west line was along the present west side of Broadway from Franklin to Washington Avenues; thence diagonally from the southwest corner of Third Street and Washington Avenue to the southwest corner of Fourth and Market Streets; thence to the southeast corner of Fifth and Gratiot Streets; thence diagonally to the east side of Fourth Street, between Papin (formerly called Lombard) Street and Chouteau Avenue; and thence diagonally to the north side of Rutger Street, between Main and Second Streets. The south line was diagonally northeast from Rutger Street, near Main Street, to the then river at Papin (formerly called Lombard) Street, at about Main Street.

After the incorporation of the "town of St. Louis" by the Court of Common Pleas for the district of St. Louis, on the 9th of November, 1809, the board of trustees of the town, by an ordinance dated Feb. 25, 1811, established the following as the boundaries of the place for municipal purposes:

"Commence at the river Mississippi at low-water mark, at or near the windmill of Antoine Roy; then due west to the east line of the forty arpent lots on the hill back of St. Louis; thence along the line of said lots to Mill Creek; then down said creek to its mouth; thence up the river Mississippi along low-water mark to the place of beginning.

"WILLIAM CLARK, *Chairman pro tem.*
"CLEMENT B. PENROSE.
"BERNARD PRATTE."[1]

[1] The word *arpent* and its plural, *arpens*, occur constantly in the old French and Spanish records of Upper and Lower Louisiana and Canada, and it must be clearly understood, or these records can only produce confusion. Arpent, the French for an acre, is a measure of length, and of surface likewise. The French used to say "an acre long," just as we say "a mile long." They say "an arpent of land," or "ten arpens of land," just as we say "an acre of land." Singularly enough, there is no precise measurement for the arpent; its length and its superficial quantity varied greatly according to the different provinces of France. In one place it meant five-sixths, in another it meant seven-eighths of an acre. Consequently, when our American surveyors began to verify the French and Spanish surveys, it became necessary to establish an arbitrary value for the French measures in order to have a common and unvarying standard. This was done very early, and a table was prepared and printed for the guidance and government of surveyors. A copy of this table, as originally printed, in old type upon a broadside of coarse paper, lies before us now. It is as follows:

Lineal Measure.

French.	United States.
72 feet are equal to	77 feet.
6 perches are equal to	7 poles.

	Chains.	Links.
1 perch is equal to	0	29.166
2 perches are equal to	0	58.333
3 " "	0	87.5
4 " "	1	16.666
5 " "	1	45.833

This town incorporation of St. Louis was granted upon the petition of two-thirds of the taxable inhabitants to the court, which, by act of the Territorial Legislature, had discretionary power in the premises. The petition was presented Nov. 9, 1809, and on the same day the judges (Silas Bent, president, Bernard Pratte and Louis Labeaume, associates) granted the charter and franchises, and provided for five trustees, to be elected by the vote of the tax-payers, to act as town commissioners. The boundaries of St. Louis, as expressed in the charter, were as follows:

"Beginning at Antoine Roy's mill on the bank of the Mississippi, thence running sixty arpens west, thence south on said line of sixty arpens in the rear until the same crosses to the Barrière Denoyer; thence due south until it comes to the Sugar-Loaf; thence due east to the Mississippi; from thence by the Mississippi to the place mentioned."

	Chains.	Links.
6 perches are equal to	1	75
7 " "	2	4.166
8 " "	2	33.333
9 " "	3	62.5
10 " (one lineal arpent) are equal to	2	91.666
2 lineal arpens are equal to	5	83.333
3 " "	8	75
4 " "	11	66.666
5 " "	14	58.333
6 " "	17	50
7 " "	20	41.666
8 " "	23	33.333
9 " "	26	25
10 " "	29	16.666
100 " "	291	66.666
1000 " "	2916	66.666
12 arpens, lineal	35	
84 "	245 *	
27 arpens, 4½ perches are equal to	80 †	

Superficial Measure.

288 arpens are equal to		245 acres.
	Chains.	Links.
1 arpent is equal to	0	85.07
2 arpens are equal to	1	70.14
3 " "	2	55.21
4 " "	3	40.28
5 " "	4	25.35
6 " "	5	40.42
7 " "	5	95.49
8 " "	6	80.56
9 " "	7	65.625
10 " "	8	50.69
100 " "	85	06.34
1,000 " "	850	69.44
10,000 " "	8506	94.44

Arpens.	Perches.		Acres.
1	17.551	make	1
2	35.012	"	2
3	52.653	"	3
4	70.204	"	4
5	7.755	"	5
7	5.306	"	6
8	22.857	"	7
9	40.408	"	8
10	57.959	"	9
11	75.510	"	10
117	55.102	"	100
1,175	51.020	"	1,000
11,755	10.204	"	10,000

6002.50 acres = 7056 arpens = 1 league square.

640 acres = 752 arpens 32.64 perches = 1 mile square.

* Side of a league square.
† Side of a mile square.

A further incorporation of the town as a city occurred Dec. 9, 1822. The extended boundaries were described as beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River, due east of the southern end of a bridge across Mill Creek, at the lower portion of the town of St. Louis; thence due west to a point at which the western line of Seventh Street extended southwardly and intersected the same; thence northwardly along the western side of Seventh Street, and continuing in that course to a point due west to the northern side of Roy's tower; thence due east to the middle of the main channel of the river Mississippi; thence with the middle of the main channel of the said river to the beginning.

This boundary, in brief, was: On the north, Ashley Street to Broadway, thence west along Biddle Street to Seventh Street; the west line, Seventh Street, from Biddle Street to Labadie Street; and the south line, Labadie Street to Fourth Street, and Convent Street from Fourth Street to river.

Within these limits the town contained an area of 385 acres, on which there were 232 brick and 419 frame dwellings, containing a population of 5000. The taxable property was increased from $424,560 to $810,064, and the tax increased from $3763 to $3823.80 annually.

Besides extending the limits of the town this year, the rate of taxes was increased from one-third to one-half of one per cent.

Réné Paul, who was the first city engineer of St. Louis, surveyed and mapped out the city as it was in 1823. The original map, made by Mr. Paul, was lost ten or twelve years ago, but an authenticated copy has been preserved in the present street commissioners' office.

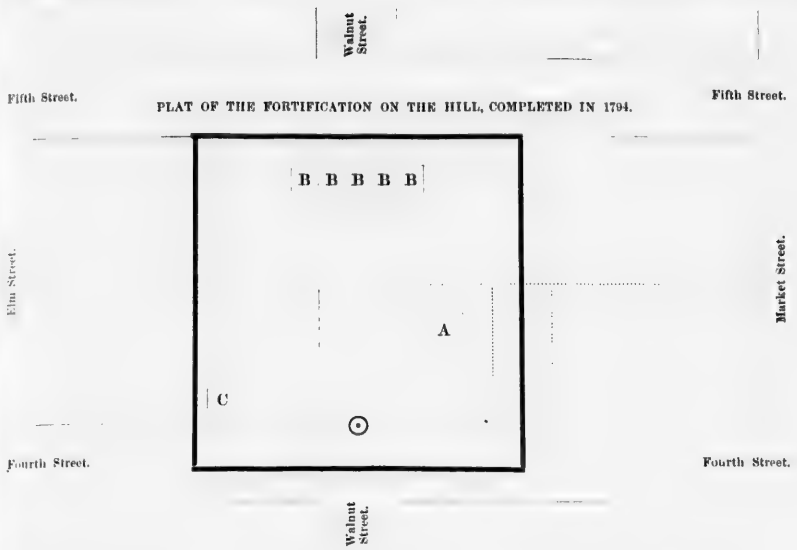
In 1851, to show the rapid growth the city had made in the interval of less than thirty years, its boundaries were as follows:

"All that district of country contained within the following limits, to wit: Beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River due east to the southeast corner of St. George, in St. Louis County; thence due west to the west line of Second Carondelet Avenue; thence north with the said west line of said avenue to the north line of Chouteau Avenue; thence northwardly in a direct line to the mouth of Stony Creek; thence due east to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River; thence southwardly with the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River to the place of beginning,"

which district was divided into six wards. The city was then allowed to maintain for its protection and clearance a hospital, poor-house, and work-house. The City Council, now increased to twenty-four members, with two boards, with officers as we now find them, the stated sessions, and all the powers were set down, their right to appropriate was limited, and they were generally held to check in their doings. In like manner, the particular duties of the mayor and the ministerial officers heretofore or now created were laid down, and the election of the lot provided for. So additional powers were granted as to the improvement of streets, the maintenance of a police force, and so on generally to the last chapter.

The first survey of the town was made in accordance with the direction of Laclede, the founder, by Auguste Chouteau, under the Spanish government, and in 1781, the year succeeding *l'année de grand coup*, or the Indians' attack, a full account of which will be found in a succeeding chapter. The object of the map was to show the original grants of land by the French and Spanish governments, and also to illustrate the plan of fortification proposed by Chouteau, but never completed. The original map and field-notes are still preserved, and in the possession of Theophil Papin, of St. Louis, whose grandfather assisted in making the surveys. The map, which is inscribed in French, "St. Louis of the Illinois, fortified by Don Francisco de Cruzat, Lieutenant-Colonel and Lieutenant-Governor of the western part of the Illinois in 1780," presents and locates the town, the demilunes, the bastions, the gates, the government house, the church, the Public Square, Mill Creek, and the several lots and blocks occupied by individuals and their residences. Chouteau himself said of this plat in a memorandum over his own signature, dated in 1825, "In regard to the line of fortification, I only *traced* it in 1780, by order of the government." He also says that this plat made by him in 1764 was not by order of the government, but to commemorate his services as one of the founders of St. Louis. F. L. Billon furnishes the accompanying satisfactory diagram and description of the original fortifications of St. Louis:

The "Fort on the Hill" (so called by the old inhabitants of the village) was completed and occupied by the one company of Spanish soldiers usually kept at this post in the year 1794. It was a square inclosure of three hundred French feet on each of its four sides, inclosed with palisades firmly set in the ground. Its eastern front line was about in the centre of our present Fourth Street, extending west to about the east line of Fifth Street, and from the centre of the present Block No. 104 on the south to near the centre of Block No. 103 on the north, and embraced the ground covered by our present Walnut Street, from Fourth to Fifth, sixty feet wide, the north half of our present Block No. 104, on which



PLAT OF THE FORTIFICATION ON THE HILL, COMPLETED IN 1794.

The square in the centre of the plat represents the fortification as inclosed within the palisades, with the buildings therein, viz.:

A—Commandant's House.
B—Barracks for the Soldiers.
C—Powder Magazine.
⊙—Central Tower, used as the Guard-House.

stood the original Southern Hotel, one hundred and twenty feet, and the same quantity, one hundred and twenty feet, of Block 103, north of Walnut, to within about twenty-four feet from the south line of the "Tyler Granite Buildings." This point was selected for it by the then Spanish Governor, for the reason that the road leading up to it from the main street of the village (our present Walnut Street) was at that day, and for long years thereafter, the principal cross street of the village, the so-called "Governor's house" being at the southeast corner of our present Main and Walnut Streets, and from which point there was an unobstructed view of the main entrance to the fortification, in a direct line with the centre of Walnut Street.

The east line of the fortification was about forty feet from the brow of the hill, along which ran a road north and south, and in laying out Fourth Street, by Chouteau and Lucas, in 1816, it took these forty feet and about forty feet more from the east line of the fortification grounds for that purpose, and in extending Walnut Street west it took a piece sixty feet wide through the precise centre of the old fortification ground, leaving the stone tower in the centre of the street, with a roadway on each side. The buildings within the fortification were those designated on the plat. There were some eight or ten small cannon, principally field-pieces, kept, mounted, in the fort during the Spanish occupation of it, some ten years, which were removed by the Spanish commandant on the evacuation of the country.

After the transfer to the United States in 1804, the barracks were occupied by the United States soldiers for a couple of years, when, the cantonment at Bellefontaine having been established by Gen. James Wilkinson, in 1806, the troops were removed to that point, and these works were abandoned for military purposes. The commandant's house and the stone tower were subsequently made use of, for a time, for a very different purpose than that for which they were originally designed, as appears from the following extract from the records of the Court of Oyer and Terminer of the Territory, March term, 1806.

April 4th, "on application to Governor Wilkinson, he granted to the authorities of the village to make use of the military guard-house [the tower] in the fort on the hills as a jail until one could be built."

Dec. 19, 1806, "the court ordered the house in the garrison to be repaired for the use of the courts, and a stove and wood to be furnished for the jail."

This building was occupied by the Territorial Courts of Common Pleas and Oyer and Terminer

for some ten years until 1816, in which year, Lucas and Chouteau having laid out their first addition to the town, when the ground of the old fort, being Chouteau's private property, as part of his large mill tract, was cut in two by the extension of our present Walnut Street through it, and lot No. 5, on which this house stood, was purchased by M. McGirk, a lawyer, who occupied it a few years until his removal to Montgomery County, subsequently by John B. Smith and others. McGirk sold it to N. Paschal, and Paschal to Mrs. Samuel Perry in 1836, who removed it to make way for a modern brick dwelling.

The old round tower was the town jail until the county court built the jail, in 1817–19, on the southeast corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets. William Sullivan, who purchased from Chouteau in 1816 the half-block upon which the Southern Hotel was subsequently erected, and had built a small frame and log house at the northeast corner of his lot, where he lived for a number of years, was the jailer at the old tower.[1]

[1] In regard to these works of defense, the government house, prison, and other points indicated on Chouteau's map, we have the following additional interesting particulars, gathered through the indefatigable industry of Mr. Billon, who never leaves a subject until he has exhausted all the information attainable in regard to it. Governor De Leyba's successor, Cruzat, he says, immediately on his arrival, sought to make provision for the protection of the village from further inroads of savages like that of 1780.

In pursuance of this purpose, he authorized Mr. Auguste Chouteau, who had drawn for Mr. Laclede, in 1764, the original plat of the village, to sketch off a line of defenses outside of and to include the village as then laid off. (See plat 1780.)

Mr. Chouteau, although a well-educated man, was not as yet a military man, and in drawing out his line of fortifications, which look very well and regular on paper, perhaps did not take into consideration the necessity of firm and solid ground upon which to erect the stone portions of the defenses, viz., the bastion and the towers; so that when, in after-years, these works were actually erected, they were compelled, from the nature of the ground on the spot assigned them in the plat, to deviate therefrom in some of them, and place them at other points, where no doubt the ground was more suitable, as subsequent events conclusively proved.

By the original plat these defensive works were to have been a stone bastion at both the northwest and southwest corners of the then village, a central round tower of stone on the west line of the village inclosure, and four stone demi-lunes (half-moons) at the northeast and southeast corners of the village on the river-bank, and the other two on the west line of the village, equidistant between the central tower and the bastion, and a stockade of strong posts firmly planted in the ground, and fastened to each other near the top.

This stockade was put up immediately, and the northwest bastion and northeast two demi-lunes commenced the same year, 1780. The work was then suspended, the panic having passed over in consequence of the peace of 1783.

In 1797, fearing another attack from Canada, the works were resumed, and four circular towers of stone were substituted in place of the half-moons, more solid and less expensive to erect. In lieu of the southwest stone bastion a large block-house of strong timbers was erected.

These works were never completed, and after the transfer to the United States gradually fell into decay and eventually disappeared.

The tower, which if erected on the spot designated for it in 1780 would have been found a little east of Fourth Street, just below Locust (in Block 88), was erected on Block 90, on the west side of Third, a little north of the centre of the block, between St. Charles and Washington Avenue, and fully two hundred yards northeast of the spot assigned for it on the plat. The foundations of this tower, projecting partly into Third Street, remained there until 1825, when they were removed to make way for the Union engine-house. The ground here, originally some five or six feet higher, was cut down to conform to the established grade.

The wooden block-house in lieu of the southwest stone bastion was situated near the bank of Mill Creek, about on the north line of our present Chouteau Avenue, about midway between Third and Fourth, in Block 74. It was used for some years before its removal by butchers in that vicinity as a slaughter-house, being convenient to the creek in which to throw their offal, and was finally removed after the incorporation of the city.

The southeast tower of stone, built near the spot designed for it on the plat, was found to be on Block No. 46, near its northwest corner, a little east of Second Street, and just south of Sycamore, a new street, laid out and added to the city plat by Col. René Paul, the first "city" engineer.

The stone tower on the west line, between the central tower and the block-house, was located near the line of Fifth, a little south of Poplar, where the high ridge began to slope west to the creek.

The northeast tower stood on the limestone bluff on the river-bank, a little north of the foot of Cherry Street.

I have but a vague recollection of its remains, it being in a locality not much frequented in my day. These so-called half-moons on the plat were, when erected, all circular towers of about twenty-five feet in diameter, and about the same in height. These towers were never completed; that at the junction of Fourth and Walnut Streets, being used for a number of years after our acquisition of the country for the town prison, had a temporary roof; the others were uncovered.

The spaces from tower to tower, as laid down on the plat with projections and recesses, would seem to indicate that they were to have been built of stone. If so, the idea was quickly abandoned, as the stockade put up the same year, 1780, was simply a straight line of pickets, firmly set in the ground, and bound together near the top by sapling withes.

The northwest bastion was built of stone, just within the line of the present Block No. 68, at the southeast corner of what are now Cherry Street and Broadway, 1880.

The central tower of stone was placed in the centre of our present Walnut Street, on the west line of Fourth Street; built in 1797.

Col. René Paul, surveyor for the city at the time of its incorporation, who had been in St. Louis since October, 1808, and was surveyor from 1815, and the city's official surveyor from 1823 to 1838, testified as follows in regard to the site of the

In a very complete and accurate digest by the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (April 2, 1882) of the real estate history of the city, it is said that, in 1765, M. Aubri, the Governor at that time of the French prov-

fince of Louisiana, gave to M. St. Ange de Bellerive, commandant at the post of St. Louis, authority to grant the royal domain, and that

"When the territory came in possession of the Spanish government, Piernas, the Lieutenant-Governor, confirmed all of the

old fort in the case of Baldwin *et al vs.* Board of Public Schools:

"I surveyed the extension of Walnut Street through the fort, which was in part north and south of Walnut Street. The round tower on Walnut was in the fort; the Block 103 was entirely on Chouteau's land, with the exception of the southeast corner, McClirk's lot; the common line cut off about six feet on Walnut, making a very acute angle on Fourth; north, the fort was partly on the Fourth Street and on the two Blocks 103 and 104; the powder magazine, at the south end of the fort, on Sullivan lot, the southeast corner of the Southern Hotel; part of the remains were removed in excavating for the hotel. Fourth Street had been cut down at that point in grading it some six feet or so, which exposed them for many years. The old fort was removed by Paul in extending Walnut Street through Chouteau's addition."

About the supposed graveyard, near the fort, Mr. Billon adds:

"Mr. Gabriel S. Chouteau informs me that 'after the possession of the place by Capt. Amos Stoddard, of the United States army, in 1804, the few American soldiers who accompanied him were quartered in the barracks on the hill, which had been previously occupied by the Spanish troops at this post, generally a single company of some forty men; that naturally a death would occasionally occur among them, and not being Catholics and entitled to interment in the cemetery, the only burial-place in the village, they were buried just back of the barracks buildings, between it and where is now Market Street, the ground around the barracks being at that time all open. Besides the soldiers, other persons, residents of the village not Catholics, were occasionally buried there.

"'After the establishment by the United States of the military post at Bellefontaine, on the Missouri, which became the headquarters of the United States military in the West, these troops were removed to that point, and the old barracks were abandoned.

"'Col. Chouteau, who had long been the owner of this ground, then gave notice that he would no longer permit any interments on his land. The interments on this ground ceased from that time, and in a very few years after their discontinuance, there being no headstones to mark the graves, and the grass and bushes growing up around the place, there was nothing left to indicate that the ground had ever been used for such a purpose, and it was only in later years that, in excavating for cellars, the remains of human beings were thrown up, which gave rise to the conjecture that a graveyard had once existed on the spot. Mr. Chouteau supposes that during the years it was so used the interments on this ground might have numbered some fifty or more.'

"It was owing to the circumstances above detailed that Chouteau and Lucas, in disposing of lots in the first addition to the town of St. Louis, made by them in May, 1816, inserted a special stipulation in each deed that the ground should never be used for burial purposes.

"Since the foregoing was written I have obtained the following:

"Oct. 28, 1815, Col. Chouteau gives notice in the *Missouri Gazette* of this date, 'That he will not permit his land on the block adjoining the court-house, in the town of St. Louis, to be made use of as a place of burial, and cautions the public against trespassing in future, as he will institute suits against all so trespassing.

"'Oct. 12, 1815. AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU.'

"June 1, 1816, James Sawyer gives notice in the *Missouri Gazette* that 'he has purchased from Col. A. Chouteau lot No. 6, in his new addition on the hill, adjoining the court-house, on which lot are some graves, and being about to build, he gives this notice to the friends of those there buried, so that they may remove their remains if they think fit to do so.

"'JAMES SAWYER.'

"From these notices it appears that the stone house in the fort ground was still used for a court-house until the lot was purchased by McClirk from Chouteau, in May, 1816, when it became the property of McClirk with the ground, who took possession of it."

"The first house built in St. Louis," continues Mr. Billon, "was the large stone in Block 34, which was always the central point of the village and subsequent 'town.' This house, built by Laclede in 1764 for Maxent, Laclede & Co., of New Orleans, and designed by him at the day for his business and residence, was a very large house for the time and place, being sixty feet front on the street by twenty-four deep, and divided off on the principal floor in five rooms,—a large central room twenty-four feet square, and four smaller ones at the corners.

"This centre room was for nearly twenty years the government hall. The basement, about ten feet high from the level of the ground, divided as above stairs into several compartments, was also for about the same length of time as quarters for the troops, and while so occupied was usually styled the garrison.

"The ascent to the main floor was by outside steps to a gallery in front and rear, and there were narrow stairs to a high garret under the steep roof at two of the corners inside.

"This house was occupied by Governors St. Ange, Piernas, Cruzat, and De Leyba during their respective administrations, and by Cruzat a second time until 1783, when he bought the Martigny house at the corner diagonally opposite and removed there. After St. Ange was succeeded in the government by Piernas, having no family, he had his room and board in the house of Mrs. Chouteau, Main and Chestnut, until his death, Dec. 26, 1774.

"The wife of De Leyba died in this house in 1779, and he himself June 28, 1780, one short year thereafter.

"After the hall of government had been removed by Cruzat across the street, Laclede being dead and the house unoccupied for a number of years, it went rapidly to ruin, and the property was sold by Maxent (the owner), of New Orleans, at public sale, Jan. 6, 1789, to Auguste Chouteau, who almost rebuilt it anew, and occupied it for forty years, until his death, in 1829, and his widow for some years thereafter. Chouteau inclosed the whole block, three hundred feet square, with a high stone wall, the original fence of stakes having completely decayed away during its occupation by the Spanish government.

"In the year 1774, there being no village prison, Governor Piernas had Laclede construct a small one of fifteen by twenty feet against one of the gable ends of this stone house, where it might at all times be under the supervision of the

ince. The provincial capital at that time was at New Orleans, and but a few St. Louis titles were fully confirmed, as the expense and time required to go to New Orleans was more than the majority of the inhabitants of the village of St. Louis could give. At that period in the history of St. Louis it took between five and six months to go to and return from New Orleans. The St. Louisans subsequently, in buying and selling land, waived the objection to a complete title. Subsequent proceedings in the United States courts confirmed many of these grants. Under the Spanish and French governments in St. Louis lands were granted upon personal petitions, and occupied similarly to the present homestead grants of the United States, except that no money payments were required, and it was necessary for the petitioner to be a member of the Roman Catholic Church.

"When the province in which St. Louis was situated was conveyed by the French to the United States, land speculators created a panic and 'beared' real estate by claiming that the local grants of land not confirmed in title by the Governor-General of the province would not be considered valid by the United States. The holders of such real estate immediately sold to the agents of the speculators at very low rates. Many alleged fraudulent land claims were created during this land panic, and those claims for over seventy years afterwards caused property litigation in the courts, but at present all of them have been finally settled, except in two or three instances."

orderly sergeant and soldier or two who had charge of the government chamber, and were constantly in attendance on the Governor."

And finally, in respect to the residence which the several Spanish Governors occupied, Mr. Billon says, "There never was in St. Louis a house built expressly for the occupation of the Spanish Governors. On the original plat of the village, the north half of Block No. 6, at the southeast corner of Main and Walnut Streets, is marked as the government lot, because during the last twenty years or so of the French and Spanish combinations this house was occupied by the four last Spanish Governors successively from Cruzat's second term, viz.: Cruzat, Perez, Trudeau, and De Lassus, the government being simply tenants, and paying rent for it to the original owners of the property.

"The original owner of this lot was John B. Martigny, one of those who came over with Laclede from the other side in 1764-65, and obtained a verbal grant for the same. He was a noted man in the village for a number of years, and a captain in the militia of the post.

"On this lot Martigny built in 1766 a stone house of forty feet front by twenty-five deep, divided into several rooms. He lived in it for a number of years, and sold the property to Governor Cruzat on July 10, 1783, during Cruzat's second term as Governor. Cruzat removed the government chamber from the large house on the opposite side of the street, built by Laclede in 1764, to this house, which he occupied with his family some four years; and when about to leave the country at the expiration of his term of office, he sold it to Auguste Chouteau, Aug. 23, 1787, whose property it remained until after his death, Feb. 25, 1829, a period of over forty years, and to his estate subsequently. After it became the property of Chouteau it continued to be occupied by each successive Spanish Governor, and it was in this house that the documents relating to the transfer of this Upper Louisiana to the United States were executed and the transfer consummated. Hence it might appropriately be called the 'Government House,' and was doubtless so marked down on the old plat in subsequent years.

"This old house had a history for over thirty years after the transfer to the United States. From its central location, Main and Walnut Streets, which for many years before and after was the principal cross street of the village, leading up from the Governor's house to the 'Fort' on the hill, it was the most noted house in the village previous to and after the change of government.

"It continued to be occupied as the government house by Capt. Stoddard during his brief sojourn here as Governor until Sept. 30, 1804.

"1805 and 1806, Maj. William Christy occupied it as a public-house until he built for himself a frame house on the land he had purchased, just northwest and adjoining the village, on the hill, where he opened a farm in 1807, and resided for a few years, upon which land he subsequently laid out 'Christy's first addition to St. Louis.'

"1807, it was occupied by Gen. Wm. Clark, the first superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis.

"1808, November, by Maj. Rezin Webster as the 'Eagle Tavern.'

"1810, June 27th, reopened by Maj. Christy as the 'Missouri Hotel.'

"1814-15, Mr. Horace Austin succeeded Maj. Christy, [illegible]

"1816, January 27th, Thomas Peebles, the '[illegible]' last public-house. 'Washington Hall,' at M[illegible] and [illegible] the 'Green-tree Tavern,' on Second [illegible] ing been open as public-houses, this old house [illegible] used as [illegible]

"1817, December, Stephen [illegible], 'broker's and [illegible] office.'

"1818, January 29th, store in part of the [illegible]. During its occupancy as a public-house it had been [illegible] enlarged the addition of several rooms on the ground floor.

"1821, May, John J. Lacroze, confectioner, in the north part; Asa Wheeler and Daniel D. Page, bakers and [illegible] south part.

"This house, but a one story, originally forty feet front, has been extended south some twenty feet. After we became a city, in 1823, they were Nos. 27, 29, and 31."

This is a fair general statement of the subject, but still some qualifications and explanations are necessary in the premises. St. Ange probably had no authority of a definite character. He was acceptable to the French; his presence was necessary to the preservation of order, and he was willing to act, in connection with the notaries named in Chapter IV., as *locum tenens* until the Spanish authority should be established. His grants, with the sanction of the notaries as a proof of their regularity, thus became the acts of a *de facto* government, which it was good policy on every hand to recognize and uphold. But there would probably have been many difficulties, had it not been for the fact that real estate had little practical value and could be obtained by every one in the greatest abundance, and without any material outlay. Many of the first concessions of lots are very obscure and vague in the description of the location and the metes and bounds. There was no particular landmark for a starting-point, no base-line for surveys. French immigrants from Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres, and other settlements on the east bank

of the river, not choosing to live under the British authorities, came over to St. Louis and took up their abode there, some occupying lots simply upon the basis of the Governor's verbal assent, and building on lands to which they had none but a title of courtesy. It was this which led to the employment of the "Livres Terriens," or land-record books, the first entry in which was made under date of April 27, 1766. But, in fact, to quote the words of Mr. Billon, who has most thoroughly investigated the original land titles of primitive St. Louis,—

"Lands and lots originally were of little or no value in themselves, as they were freely bestowed upon any person on the sole condition that he would improve them for his own habitation within a year and a day from the date of his grant. If within that time he bestowed the least labor possible on the land, no matter how trivial, grubbing a small portion, cutting down a tree, or anything else, he had virtually complied with the conditions of the grant, and could dispose of it as he pleased; otherwise he had forfeited it, and it reverted to the domain, to be regranted to any other who might apply for it. Consequently lots had no other value for many years after the birth of the village than that of the improvements put upon them. When a sale of a house took place it was for the house only, the lot, no matter if large or small, even to the extent of a block, going with the house. There are several instances on record where a lot has been sold for ten or twelve dollars merely to repay the seller for the labor he might have bestowed on it.

"There were also not a few instances where houses and lots were sold verbally, without written deed, a verbal sale being good when the consideration had been paid. If sold on time it was considered mortgaged for the payment, if not paid for when due it was considered forfeited, and the first owner had a right to sell it again to a new party, and the title good. If it had been sold on time, and a third party had gone security for the payment, the party paying the money when due became the legal owner, and could sell it and make a valid title to the same. For these reasons the chain of title is broken in a number of cases."

Mr. Billon adds that after the affair of 1780 the village made so little progress

"For the next twenty years, and so few lots were applied for, that there was but little necessity for extending the village limits. Three blocks were added to the south end, with but one house on each; fourteen on the west side of the Third Street, with as many new houses on the ascent to the high land back of the village; and the four already mentioned in the northwest corner, without any improvements thereon, so that in 1804 the village plat stood thus:

		Added.	Total.	With Houses.	Vacant Block.
1st row of blocks.....	15	1	16	15	1
2d " " "	19	2	21	21	..
3d " " "	15	5	20	17	3
4th " " "	...	14	14	11	3
	49	22	71	64	7

A few years before the purchase by the United States, and when it was becoming daily more evident that before long the country would pass from the possession of Spain, many grants of lands were made by the Spanish officials throughout the country. There were no vacant lots left to concede in the village, all having been granted or in the possession of individuals. South of the village to Carondelet, and west, there were no more lots nor lands to grant; there remained contiguous to St. Louis but the piece of land north of the village above mentioned. This was conceded by Governor Delassus, in the years 1799–1800, to various individuals, viz.: Clamorgan, Soulard, Yosti, Egliz, and others, in pieces of from five to ten arpens fronting east on the river, and running back up the hill to the east line of the forty-arpent lots. These several pieces of land adjoined each other consecutively, there being no roads left between or through them, the northernmost cross-road from the river west then being our present Morgan Street. There was then no Cherry Street, it being but a narrow lane between what are now Blocks Nos. 24 and 25, the only road at that period through these lands being a continuation of the main street northwardly, and was called the road to Roy's mill.

The article in the *Globe-Democrat* proceeds to give a list of "the original property-owners in the old town and village of St. Louis prior to and at 1809, according to the survey of Auguste Chouteau, made in 1781 or 1782, and afterwards confirmed by surveys made in 1823 by René Paul for the city, and made in 1838 by Joseph C. Brown for the United States government." We owe it to Mr. Billon that we are here able to present, in a compact form and regular order, a full list of the lots, owners, and improvements in St. Louis during the whole period from 1764 to 1823, inclusive, with all the dates and every other circumstance requisite to perfect intelligibility and accuracy. The collection and arrangement of such a mass of material was a most laborious task, but to Mr. Billon it has been a labor of love. The lists may be trusted as giving an exhaustive history of real estate transactions in St. Louis during the first fifty-seven years of its existence, and we owe it to Mr. Billon to present his lists as he prepared them, without omitting any particular or neglecting any detail.

I.—LOTS DESIGNATED IN CHOUTEAU'S MAP.

In 1764, when Chouteau traced out the original plat of the embryo village of St. Louis, under the direction and instruction of Laclede, his stepfather, the following were the only lots designated thereon as being then in possession of individuals:

In block now

No. 2, the north one-half.

No. 8, the south one-half, Jean de Lage.

No. 16, the block, Louis Honore Tesson, concession Feb. 6, 1770, to Louis Honore Tesson.

No. 25, the block east half, John B. Cardinal.

No. 31, southwest one-fourth, John B. Provenchere, concession Feb. 15, 1768, to J. B. Provenchere.

No. 34, block, Laclede Liguest, concession Aug. 11, 1766, to Laclede.

No. 44, block, Gabriel Descary.

No. 50, north one-half, concession Aug. 6, 1767, to René Buet.

No. 54, northwest one-fourth.

No. 58, northwest one-fourth, Michel Rollet.

No. 60, southwest one-fourth, concession Jan. 3, 1770, to Eugene Pouré.

No. 64, northwest one-fourth, Deshetres.

II.—THE CONCESSIONS OF LANDS AND VILLAGE LOTS.

During the temporary French government eighty-one grants of lots in the village of St. Louis had been made by St. Ange and his associates, from No. 1, April 27, 1766, to No. 81, Feb. 7, 1770.

Upon the largest portion of these lots the grantees had built their residences. A few of these parties having neglected to comply with the conditions of the grant, viz., to commence some improvement on it within a year and a day, had forfeited it, and it reverted to the domain, to be granted to a second party. These eighty-one recorded grants added to those that had been previously verbally granted by St. Ange and his associates, about absorbed all the lots of the village.

As soon as the Spanish authority was established at New Orleans by Don O'Reilly in 1769, orders were sent up to St. Louis to stop the concession of lots and lands until the Spanish authority should be established in this upper region, accordingly the last French concession was made on Feb. 7, 1770.

On the arrival of Piernas, and his assumption of the government on May 20, 1770, his first step was to select a surveyor, which he did by appointing M. Martin Duralde to the office, with instructions to proceed at once to the survey of the lots which had been granted by the temporary French government. This duty he performed, and made report of his registry and plat on the 23d of May, 1772.

The first recorded concession of a village lot is by,—

	Lots.
Governor Piernas, July 13, 1771; last, April 24, 1775.....	14
Governor Cruzat, Feb. 29, 1776; last, Sept. 4, 1777.....	6
Governor De Leyba, July 23, 1778; last, Jan. 20, 1780.....	7
Governor Silvio de Cartabons, Sept. 7, 1780.....	1
Governor Cruzat, May 30, 1783; last, Oct. 5, 1787.....	3
Governor Perez, June 25, 1788; last, Sept. 22, 1791.....	7
Governor Trudeau, July 20, 1793; last, May 16, 1799.....	12
Governor De Lassus, Sept. 2, 1799; last, Nov. 21, 1803–5..	55
Add those previously granted by French government..	75
Whole number of lots conceded in the village from 1766 to 1803.....	130

And a few concessions north of and adjoining the village.

III.—REGISTER OF CONCESSIONS OF LOTS IN THE VILLAGE OF ST. LOUIS, FROM THE FIRST ONE, GRANTED APRIL 27, 1766, TO THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. TAKEN FROM THE ORIGINAL "LIVRES TERRIENS."

1766.

1. April 27, B. 13. To Joseph Labuscière, procureur du Roi, 150 by 300 feet, from the principal street to the river, on one side Chancellier's lot, the other a street.

2. April 30, E. ½ of 61. To Joseph Calvé, 240 by 150, on the second grande rue, on each side a cross street. (Reverted to the crown.)

3. May, N. W. ¼ of 27. To Jean Marie Thoulouse, 120 by 150, front on a street passing in rear of Laclede's lot, running to the lot of Bequette, on one side Honore Sans Souci, on the other the royal domain.

4. May 3, N. ½ of 8. François Bissonnet, 120 by 150, on the first main street to the Mississippi, on one side Rondeau, the other a cross-road.

5. June 2, E. ½ of 58. André Auguste Condé, Surgeon, 240 by 150, on west side of Second, on each side a cross street, running back to royal domain.

6. June 10, N. E. ¼ of 29. François Eloy, 120 by 150, on Main, on one side Jean Baptiste Jacquemin, the other a cross street in rear royal domain.

7. June 30, S. E. ¼ of 66. Louis Deshetres and Nicholas Leconte, 120 by 150, on Second opposite Sans Souci, one side a cross street, the other royal domain.

8. July 4, N. W. ¼ of 37. Jean Prevot, 120 by 150, front on Bourbon Street, rear Du Breuil, one side Baccannet, the other a cross street.

9. July 20, N. E. ¼ of 37. Louis Du Breuil, merchant, 120 by 150, on Royal Street, in rear Jean Prevost, on one side Jacques Labé, on the other side a cross street, going to the river. He also received a concession at same time for the north half of Block 4, which he had previously purchased from Jos. Marchetand.

10. Aug. 5, N. E. ¼ of 43. Thomas Blondeau, 120 by 150, front on Royal Street, on one side M. De Volsay, on the other and the rear royal domain.

11. Aug. 5, S. E. ¼ of 41. Jacques Lacroix, 120 by 150, front on Royal Street, rear royal domain, on one side Martigny the other a cross street from De Volsay.

12. Aug. 10, B. 13. Jos. Labuscière, an additional 60 by 150, added to and in continuation of the first concession made him.

13. Aug. 11, B. 34. Laclede Liguest, 300 feet square, from Royal Street to Second, to the square reserved for the church on one side, on one side a cross street from Marcereau and Hubert the other from Taillon.

14. Aug. 12, N. E. ¼ of 33. Laclede Liguest, 120 by 150, front on Royal Street in rear Roger Taillon, on one side lot of Joseph Taillon, on the other a cross street separating it from Veuve Marechal.

15. Aug. 15, B. 42. Pierre François de Volsay, officer of marines, 240 by 300, from the river to the second grande rue, one side a cross street from the lot of Blondeau and Lamy on the north another cross street.

16. Aug. 15, N. W. ¼ of 43. Michel Lamy, 120 by 150, on second grande rue, east by Blondeau, one side the cross street from De Volsay, south the royal domain.

17. Aug. 20, W. ½ of 29. Jean Bap. Butand, 240 by 150, on one front Cotin and F. Eloy, on the other a grande rue, on each side a cross street.

18. Aug. 21, N. E. ¼ of 30. Alexis Marie, 120 by 150, on grande rue, on rear lot of l'Arche, one side Langoumois, the other a cross street.

19. Aug. 23, N. E. ¼ of 60. Louis Desloriers, a lot on a grande rue, on one side Jos. Calvé, on the other Francis Delin, in rear the royal domain.

20. Aug. 27, S. E. ¼ of 28. To François La Chapelle, 120 by 150, on la grande rue, opposite Labuscière, on one side cross street from F. Eloy, the other side lot of Laurent, near royal domain.

21. Aug. 27, N. E. ¼ of 28. To Philibert Gagnon, dit Laurent, soldier, 180 by 150, on grande rue from Labuscière, near royal domain, one side a cross street, the other La Chapelle.

22. Aug. 28, S. ½ of 5. Julien La Roy, 120 by 150, on Royal Street, east Mississippi, on one side a cross street from Du Breuil, the other lot of Guyon.

23. Oct. 1, centre of B. 41, on Second. Pierre Lacroix, a lot on grande rue, in rear Sans Quartier, one side Berger, the other royal domain.

24. Oct. 30, S. ½ of 12. Jean Bap. Hervieux, royal armorer, 120 by 150, on Main, to the Mississippi, one side Louis Chancellier, the other a street from Dechene.

25. Nov. 15, N. ½ of 12. Louis Chancellier, 120 by 150, on

Main, opposite F. Eloy, to the river, one side Hervieux, the other a cross street from Labuscière.

1767.

26. May 10, S. E. ¼ of 27. Roger Taillon, 120 by 150, on Main, rear royal domain, one side cross street from Philibert Gaignon, the other Sieur Devin (Alexis Marie).

27. May 18, reverted S. ½ of 43. Jos. Labuscière, 180 by 300, on the river street, rear royal domain, on one side Blondeau and Lamy, the other a cross street.

28. June 12, B. 15, reverted. Belestre, 240 by 150, on the river street, one side a cross street, the other Lefebvre Desbruisseau.

29. June 12, N. E. ¼ of 27 and S. E. ¼ of 26. Alexis Marie (Devin), 240 by 150, on the river street, rear royal domain, one side Roger Taillon, the other a cross street.

30. June 30, S. ½ of 14. Lefebvre Desbruisseau, 120 by 150, Main Street to river, one side lot of Belestre, the other a cross street from Labuscière.

31. July 1, Block 50. Louis Lambert, dit Lafleur, 240 by 300, on one grande rue to another, on each side a cross street.

32. July 2. Pierre Fanché, merchant, 240 by 150, on the street west of Montardy, running back to hill, cross street each side. This grant reverted, and was granted to Dagobert, Feb. 2, 1769, and again to A. Marie, Sept. 7, 1769.

33. July 10, N. ½ of 56. Jean Ortes and Jean Cambas, 120 by 300, one side a cross street between Legrain, on the other Baccannet.

34. Aug. 6, N. E. ¼ of 50. Réné Buet, 120 by 150, on Second, opposite Lamy, one side cross street from Lambert, the other and rear the royal domain.

35. Aug. 8, S. W. ¼ of 57. Jean de Lage, 120 by 150, on Third, in rear Legrain, one side Beauvalet, the other a cross street.

36. Aug. 9, N. ½ of 14. Jean M. Tonouze, a lot ordinary size, on Main to the river, one side the cross street from Belestre, the other royal domain.

37. Aug. 10, S. W. ¼ of 30. Claude Tinon, 120 by 150, on Second, rear Langoumois, on one side F. l'Arche, the other a cross street.

38. Aug. 10, N. W. ¼ of 57. Lambert Beauvalet, 120 by 150, on Third Street, rear Jeannette, free negress, on one side Jean De Lage, the other a cross street from Placy.

39. Aug. 12, S. E. ½ of 52, reverted. Antoine Donnay St. Vincent, 120 by 150, on Second, one side Tinon's lot, the other cross street from Lambert, rear royal domain.

40. Sept. 15, N. E. ¼ of 38. Jean Comparios, ou La Pierre, 120 by 150, Main, one side la Veuve Hebert, the other a cross street.

41. Sept. 20, N. W. ¼ of 50. Réné Buet, 120 by 150, on a grande rue, one side Barsalou, the other a cross street, rear royal domain.

42. Sept. 20, S. ½ of 50. Nicholas Barsalou, 120 by 300, fronts on a grande rue, one side Réné Buet, the other a cross street.

1768.

43. Jan. 2, N. E. ¼ of 61. Jean B. Valleau, surgeon in Spanish service, 120 by 150, on the street to the chapel, back to the hill, same lot to Calvé.

44. Feb. 15, S. W. ¼ of 31. Jean B. Provenchere, 120 by 150, on Second, rear Gamache, one side the cross street from Paul Kiercereau, the other Thibault.

45. April 30, N. W. ¼ of 40. Jean Salé Lajoie, 120 by 150, on Second, rear of Carrier, one side Petit, the other the lot of ——. This concession was first to Martin Duraldé, and then to Salé, July 3, 1769.

46. April 3, S. E. ¼ of 60. Francis Delain, 120 by 150, on Second, rear Eugene Pouré, dit. Beausoliet, one side Delorier, the other cross street from the church.

47. May 1, S. ½ of 9. Louis Beor, 120 by 150, on the grande rue, opposite Veuve Marechal, to the Mississippi, one side Renaud, the other cross street from Bissonnet.

48. May 1, N. ½ of 51. De Volsay, officier, 120 by 300, one side Belestre, the other a cross street, front on 2d, rear on the King's road.

49. May 1, E. ½ of 49. Guillaume Bizet, 240 by 150, from Second to Third, rear royal domain, one side Barsalou, the other side the creek.

50. Sept. 16, S. ½ of 51. Picoté Belestre, 120 by 300, front and rear large streets, one side De Volsay, the other a cross street from Buet.

1769.

51. Feb. 7, N. E. ¼ of 53. Bouchard, 120 by 150, on Second, one side the Veuf Durant, the other a cross street, rear the royal domain.

52. Feb. 7, N. E. ¼ of 26. Louis Dufresne, 120 by 150 north, one side Durcy, the other side Deshetres, front on grande rue, rear the hill royal domain.

53. Feb. 7, S. E. ¼ 25. Louis Deshetres, 120 by 150, on one side Amour Louvienne, the other Gagne, front a large street, rear royal domain to hill.

54. Feb. 7, S. E. ¼ of 52, on Second. Laurent Trudeau, 120 by 150, one side Tinon, the other a cross street from De Volsay.

55. Feb. 7, S. E. ¼ of 63. Joseph Langlois, 120 by 150, on one side Laroche, the other a cross street from Roy, rear royal domain.

56. Feb. 7, N. W. ¼ of 27. Alexis Marie, 120 by 150, an additional piece to the first, rear the road to the barns, the two sides royal domain.

57. Feb. 7, S. ½ of 43. Antoine Morin, 120 by 300, from the Mississippi to Second, one side Blondeau and Lamy, the other royal domain.

58. Feb. 7, S. E. ¼ of 84. Antoine Hubert, 150 feet square, one side the road to creek, another the street opposite the cemetery, the other the road to the Barrière à Guyon.

59. Feb. 7, S. W. ¼ of 28. François Durcy, 120 by 150, one side the lot he acquired from François Deschapelles, front the road or hill, one side Laurent, the other the cross street from Eloy, Jr.

60. Feb. 7, N. E. ¼ of 83. —— Chauvin, 150 by 120, a large street, between Laderoute, one side road to Taillon's Mill, the other and rear royal domain.

61. Feb. 7, S. W. ¼ of 40. Pierre Lacroix, 120 by 150, at one end Jean Comparios, the other end Second Street, one side himself, the other a cross street from Durand.

62. July 17, N. E. ¼ of 55. Kierq Marcheteau des Noyers, 120 by 150, for a barn, one side a cross street from Baccannet, the three other sides the royal domain.

63. July 17, S. W. ¼ of 44. Jean Paille, 120 by 150, one end Second Street, the other royal domain to the Mississippi, one side Morin, the other a cross street.

64. July 17, N. ½ of 45. St. François, 120 by 150, one end Second Street, the other Mississippi, one side a cross street, the other the creek.

65. July 18, N. E. ¼ of 84. Jacques Denis, 120 by 150, on 3d, opposite the church, west the Barn Hill, on one side Hubert, on the other a cross street from Beausoliel.

66. July 18, S. ½ of 38. Veuve Hebert, 120 by 150, Main to the Mississippi, one side Pierre Pery, dit Lapierre, the other a street from Veuve Beaugenou.

67. July 18, S. E. ¼ of 83. Laville, tailor, 120 by 150, Third, near the Barn Hill, one side Chauvin, the other a cross street from Montardy.

68. July 18, S. W. ¼ of 27. Antoine Sans Souci, 120 by 150 at north part, at one end Vallière, the other end the hill, royal domain, one side Marie, the other a cross street from Phil. Gagnon Laurent.

69. July 18, N. W. ¼ of 28. Philibert Gagnon, 180 by 150, behind his first piece, in front himself, rear Second Street, one side Durcy, the other a cross street from Sans Souci.

70. July 18, N. E. ¼ of 35. Nicholas Choret, 120 by 150, on Main, rear lot of Hubert, one side Deschamps, the other a cross street from Laclede.

1770.

71. Jan. 10, S. ½ of 56. Au Rivière, dit Bacca, 120 by 300, Second to Third, one side Cottin and Hortig, the other a cross street from Ant. Baccannet.

72. Jan. 10, S. W. ¼ of 37. Antoine Baccannet, 120 by 150, on Second, rear Jacques l'Abbé, one side Lafleur, the other a cross street.

73. Jan. 12, S. ½ of 1. Pierre Roy, a lot, Main to the river, opposite Comparios, dit Gascon, one end Sarpy under Blondeau, the other end a cross street from Hunand's lot.

74. Jan. 31, S. W. ¼ of 26. John B. Vifvarenne, 120 by 150, at one end La Chapelle, the other end the hill, one side a cross street from Marie, the other side Louis Dehetres.

75. Jan. 31, N. ½ of 60, should be the west half. Eugene Pouré, dit Beausoliet, 120 by 300, at one end Delin, the other end fronts a cross street between the Presbytery, in rear another cross street.

76. Feb. 1, I say S. E. ¼ of 54. Nicholas Beaugenou, 120 by 150, one side Turgoy, N. E. of 54, the other cross street between Bouchart, front on Second.

77. Feb. 2, N. E. ¼ of 3. Alexis Marie, 120 by 150, at the end of the Main Street, rear l'Arch, one side Langoumois, the other a cross street from Orte

78. Feb. 3, S. W. ¼ of 61. Francis Bissonnet, 150 by 160, at the foot of the hill, one side a cross street or gully, the other side Jacques Marechal, one side Louis Bissonnet, the other royal domain.

79. Feb. 6, S. W. ¼ of 62. François Marechal, 120 by 150, one end Moreau, the other royal domain, one side Roy, the other a cross street from Bissonnet.

80. Feb. 6, B. 16. Louis Honore Tesson, 240 by 150, from Main to river, one side a cross street from Guyon, the other a cross street from Beor.

81. Feb. 7, N. E. ¼ of 31. John B. Bequet, le meunier, 120 by 150, on Main rear Thibault, one side Gamache, cross street from Langoumois.

The foregoing eighty-one concessions are recorded in "Livre Terrien" (land-book) No. 1, the first fourteen of which were granted by St. Ange, the military commandant, and Lefebvre, judge, and the remaining portion by St. Ange and Labuscière. At the foot of the last page is written: "Arrêté le sept Fevrier, mil-sept-cent-soixante-dit [stopped Feb. 7, 1770].

(Signed) "LABUSCIÈRE."

The second book, Livre Terrien No. 2, contains no concessions of lots in the village as then called, but is made up of the notes of Martin Duralde, the king's surveyor, of his conveys of tracts of land in the surrounding country outside of the village.

Land Book No. 3 (Livre Terrien).

1771.

1. July 13. To Amable Guyon, a lot 60 feet square for a barn, back of the village.

2. Jan. 20. Gillaume Bizet, a lot 60 feet square for a barn, back of the village.

1772.

3. April 25. Rivière, dit Baccannet, a lot 60 feet square for a barn, back of the village.

4. June 10. Philibert Gagnon, a lot 60 feet square for a barn, back of the village.

1773.

5. June 21, S. E. ¼ of 54. Chas. Bizet, 120 by 150, one side Roubidou, the other Durand.

6. Jan. 16. Jno. B. Hervieux, 60 feet square, adjoining Calvé and Chancellier, on two sides the royal domain.

7. Sept. 3, S. part of Block 7. Benito Basquex, 60 by 150 on Rue Principale, one side a cross street from Martigny, the other sides royal domain.

1774.

8. June 4, N. E. ¼ of 52. Joseph l'Ardoise, 60 by 150.

1775.

9. April 11, S. W. ¼ of 55. Gregoire Kiercereau, 150 by 150.

10. April 11, Block 61. Louis Bissonnet, 60 feet square for barn, back of village.

11. April 11, N. E. ¼ of 52, on Second and Third. Nicholas Beaugenou, a lot for a house.

12. April 16, S. W. 40. Pedro Caillon, 120 by 150. I think the lot first conceded to Pierre Lacroix.

13. April 16, S. W. ¼ of 52. Alexis Loise, 120 by 150, continuation of Laville's lot, one side a cross street from De Volsay near Beaugenou, other side royal domain.

14. April 24, S. E. ¼ of 64. Diego l'Arrivé, 120 by 150, near the Barn Hill, on a grande rue, one side Calvé, the other cross street from Laroche.

1776.

15. Feb. 29. Louis l'Ardoise, 60 feet square for a barn, back of village.

16. March 11, S. W. ¼ of 63. Alexandre Rondo, 60 feet square for barn, back of village.

17. March 12. Louis La Sudray. (Reunited to royal domain.)

1777.

18. Feb. 4. François Marechal, 120 by 150. The same as to Caillou previously.

19. Sept. 4, not located. Pierre Bissonnet, 120 by 150 grande rue to the Mississippi, one side Rigauche, the other royal domain.

20. Sept. 4, N. E. of 25, reverted. Joseph Rivet, 120 by 150, grande rue, on one side Leconte, the other royal domain. Same lot to Deslorier.

1778.

21. July 23. Nicholas Lecompte, 240 by 150, Main to river, Block 15.

22. Dec. 22, N. E. ¼ of 25. François Deslorier, forger [smith], 120 by 150, north end of the village, on Main, one side Nicholas Lecompte, other side and rear royal domain.

1779.

23. March 11, N. W. ¼ of 25. Jean B. Lepire (Lapierre) 120 by 150, north end of village, on Main, one side John B. Cardinal, cross street, the other royal domain.

24. April 15, S. ¼ of 6, east part. Louis Ride, 80 by 150, one side the Mississippi, the other himself, one side cross street from A. Guyon, the other from Martigny.

25. Aug. 10, S. W. ¼ of 52. Pierre Montardy, 180 by 150, one end himself, the other royal domain, one side Nicholas Beaugenou, the other cross street from De Volsay.

26. Sept. 15, S. E. ¼ of 24. Jean Bapt. Brugierre, 120 by 150, north end village, one end Main Street, opposite Guil. Lecompte, one side cross street from Desloriers, the others the royal domain.

Of the 26 concessions of village lots in St. Louis recorded in Livre Terrien No. 3,—

Nos. 1 to 14, from July 13, 1771, to April 24, 1775, were granted to Don Pedro Piernas.

Nos. 15 to 20, from Feb. 29, 1776, to Sept. 4, 1777, were granted to Don Francisco Cruzat.

Nos. 21 to 26, from July 23, 1778, to Sept. 15, 1779, were granted to Don Fernando de Leyba.

Livre Terrien (Land Book) No. 4.

1780.

1. Jan. 20, S. ½ of 45. Alexis Cotté, 120 by 150, at south end on road to the bridge, east Mississippi, one side lot of St. François, deceased, the other the creek.

2. Sept. 7, N. E. ¼ of 46. Auguste Amiot, 120 by 150, adjoining the above on the south to the creek.

1783.

3. May 30, N. W. of 54. Elizabeth Vijet Vachard, 120 by 150, one side cross street from Greg. Kiercereau, the other from Laurent and Taillon.

1786.

4. Aug. 11, N. E. ¼ of 54. Francisco Flory, 60 by 150, one Carlos Tayon, the other l'Ardoise.

1787.

5. Oct. H. Saucier, 180 feet square, near the gate and Sans Souci, Block 66.

1788.

6. June 25, N. E. ¼ of 81. Regis Vasseur, 120 by 150, on grande rue (Third), a cross street from Botelar, other side royal domain.

7. March 1, N. W. ¼ of 44. Carlos Leveille (colored), 60 by 150, near Louis Ride, the Mississippi, and royal domain.

8. Sept. 2. Augustin Amiot (colored), 120 by 150, adjoining the lot, in Block 45, of the negro Carlos above, on the road to Catalan.

1789.

9. Aug. 21. J. B. Martigny, 180 by 150, Rue Principal, for Baptiste Petit.

10. Aug. 27. Genevieve Rouzier, veuve Louis Bissonnet, 120 by 150, in Block 89, west of the village, near the barn of Cerré and Chouteau.

1790.

11. May 5. Pedro Troye, 120 by 150, near Fostin and Gabri l Melody and royal domain.

12. May 16. Jacinto San Cir, 180 by 150, adjoining Martigny on Main.

1791.

13. May 12, N. W. ¼ of 79. Ann. Camp, veuve, 120 by 150, on a cross street, west royal domain.

14. Sept. 22, N. W. ¼ of 85. Antoine Reynal, 80 feet square, on the hill.

1793.

15. July 20, Block 67. Ester, mulattress, 240 by 300, west side of Second, rear of Clamorgan, one side cross street from Veuve Dupuy, the other from Jas. Brazeau.

The concessions of village St. Louis lots in Book 4 are: No. 1, from Fernando de Leyba; No. 2, from Silvio Francisco de Cartabona; 3, 4, 5, from Francisco Cruzat; 6 to 14, Manuel Perez; and 15, Don Zeñon Trudeau.

"I, Don Zeñon Trudeau, captain in the regiment of Louisiana, Lieutenant-Governor and commander-in-chief of the western part of the Illinois, certify the present register of concessions, containing 76 pages of writing.

"St. Louis, Sept. 20, 1793. ZEÑON TRUDEAU."

In Book No. 5 of concessions I find but four of the lots in the village of St. Louis, as follows, viz.:

1793.

No. 1. Sept. 27, N. W. ¼ of 28. To Ester, 120 by 150, on second main street, back of the residence of Clamorgan and opposite her first grant.

1794.

2. Oct. 20, N. E. part Block 65. Pierre Baribeau, 164 on Second by 220 deep west up the hill, and running south to St. André.

1795.

3. June 29, S. ½ of 85. Antoine Reynal, 150 feet on Third by 300 deep to the line of the "Rue du Fort," south Market St.

1796.

4. July 20, S. W. ¼ of 79. Antonio Reihl, 120 by 150, one side lot of Pedro Labbadie, on another the Widow Camp.

These concessions were from Don Z. Trudeau.

Book No. 6 relates exclusively to concessions in the villages of San Fernando (St. Ferdinand) and à Robert (now Bridgton).

NOTE.—The concessions of St. Ange and Lefebvre and Labuscière are in the French language, being made prior to the assumption of the Spanish authority; those of the Spanish Governors, Piernas, Cruzat, De Leyba, Peres, and Trudeau, are chiefly in Spanish. In a few instances the same lot has been granted a second and a third time to different parties, the first perhaps not complying with the conditions of the grant, which in every case gave the party one year in which to enter into possession, by either inclosing it or improving it in some manner to indicate his intention of occupying it.

"*General Notice* to Frederick Bates, Esq., Recorder of Land Titles in and for the Territory of Missouri: Sir,—For the benefit of all parties interested, please to record the registered concessions of Livres Terriens Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, on file in your office. St. Louis, Nov. 28, 1812. Thomas F. Riddick, Pierre Chouteau, Gregoire Sarpy, Julius de Mun, Charles Gratiot, Bernard Pratte, B. G. Farrar, John McKnight, Alexander McNair, Wm. C. Carr, John P. Cabanné, Auguste Chouteau, M. P. Leduc."

IV.—OWNERS OF THE LOTS AND DESCRIPTION OF THE HOUSES IN THE VILLAGE OF ST. LOUIS, MARCH 10, 1804.

Block 1, south half, Pierre Roy, Jr., vacant lot, no house.

Block 1, north half, Charles Vachard, house 20 by 17, built by Gilles Chernin, 1765.

Block 2, south half, John Bap. Lebeme, house of posts, 30 by 20, built by Hortiz in 1795.

Block 2, north half, Pierre Gueret, Sr., stone house, 35 by 25, built by Alexis Cotte about 1770.

Block No. 3, north and south halves, Gregoire Sarpy, house of posts, 40 by 20, another, 20 by 15, built by Louis Marcheteau Denoyers, 1766, and south half house of posts, 23 by 20, built by Laroche about 1766.

Block 4, south half, Paul Guitard (2d), log house 20 feet square, another of 20 feet in rear, Marcheteau.

Block 4, south 60, Hyacinthe Egliz, houses of posts, 25 square, built by Louis Marobeteau.

Block 4, north half No. 60, François Brichenette, house of posts, 20 by 18, built by Pedro Lupien, dit Baron, 1770.

Block 5, south half, François Liberge, stone house, 30 by 22; another, posts on wall, 20 by 23, Leroy, 1766; the stone, 1786.

Block 5, north half, Wm. Heberte Lecompte, stone, 40 by 26, built by Amable Guion, Sr., 1766.

Block 6, south half, Joseph Robidou (second), stone house 66 feet, by himself, with stone bake-house in the rear, and one of posts, 25 by 30, by L. Ride, 1770.

Block 6, north half, Auguste Chouteau, a stone house, 40 by 25, built by Jno. B. Martigny, first owner, about 1768.

Block 7, south part, Auguste Chouteau, an old house of posts, 58 by 32, and an old warehouse of posts 30 feet square.

Block 7, north part, Place Publique, house of posts on wall, 50 by 40, built by Robideau about 1770.

Block 8, south half, Bernard Pratte, Sr., the above line.

Block 8, north half, Jno. B. Truteau, stone house, 45 by 20, on south part, built by F. Bissonnet, first owner, 1768.

Block 9, south half, Veuve Sil Labadie, stone house, 50 by 25, built by Pepin, 1770; another, stone store, 32 by 36, at corner, 1785.

Block 9, north half, Benito Vasquez, house of posts, 30 by 25, built by Réné Kiersereau, first owner, 1766.

Block 10, south half, Ante Vincent Bouis, house of posts on walls, 40 by 20; also a store, 40 by 25, three stores built by Marie, 1776.

Block 10, north half, 47½, A. V. Bouis, vacant lot, no house.

Block No. 10, north half, 72 half, Louis Brazeau, Sr., stone house, 38½ by 24, on south part, built by Brazeau about 1790.

Block 11, south half, Regis Loisel, house of posts, 25 by 20, built by Bayet prior to 1786.

Block 11, north half, James Rankin, house of posts, 40 by 22, 30 feet south of corner, by Mainville, 1765 or 1766.

Block 12, south half, Andre Landreville, house of posts, 30 by 15, and in rear a stone horse-mill 30 by 40, 1783.

Block 12, north half, Auguste Chouteau, stone house, 30 by 24, built by Louis Chancellier, first owner, 1779.

Block 13, Gabriel Cerré, stone house, 60 by 30, 1708, and large stone warehouse, by Perraute, 1770.

Block 14, south half, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., house of posts, 30 by 20; another, 26 by 16, Deshetre, 1780, Debrusseau, 1766.

Block 14, north half, John and Nicholas St. André, house of posts, 20 by 18, blacksmith-shop, built by Thebault, 1768.

Block 15, Paschal L. Cerré, old house of posts, used as carpenter-shop.

Block 16, Nicholas Hebert Lecompte, house of posts, 20 by 18, at southwest corner, built by Louis Tesson Honore, 1770.

Block 17, south half, Margaret Laquaisse, original grantee, no house.

Block 24, south half, Genevieve Beauvais, original grantee, no house.

Block 25, northeast quarter, François Delorier, house of posts, 20 by 18.

Block 25, northwest quarter, Antoine Recontre, or Patrick Lee, no house, vacant ground.

Block 25, southeast quarter, 80 feet, Patrick Lee, stone house, 30 by 20, built by Clamorgan, 1800.

Block 25, southeast quarter, 40 feet, Jacques Clamorgan, children, small stone house on corner, 1800.

Block 25, southwest quarter, Jacques Clamorgan, vacant ground, no house.

Block 26, northeast quarter, Jacques Clamorgan, stone house, 35 by 20, built by Chancellier, 1781, small house posts, 20 by 15.

Block 26, northwest quarter, James (or Jacques) Clamorgan, small house of posts, by Dehetres, 1769.

Block 26, southeast quarter, James Clamorgan, house of posts, 25 by 20, by La Chapelle, about 1770.

Block 26, southwest quarter, James Clamorgan, old barn, built by John M. Cardinal, about 1777.

Block 27, north half, Joseph Brazeur, Sr., house, 25 by 40, 1786.

Block 27, southeast quarter, Ante V. Bouis, stone house, 67 by 40, unfinished, 1800, another, 40 by 12.

Block 27, southwest quarter, Auguste Chouteau, house of posts, 41 by 17, mill, 40 by 30, stone stable, 22 by 10.

Block 28, north half and southwest quarter, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., stone house, 75 by 45, built by Clamorgan, 1785, old house of posts, 20 by 25.

Block 28, southeast quarter, John Bap. Ortes, vacant lot, no house.

Block 29, north half, Antoine Soulard, on northwest quarter, house of posts, 20 by 30; on northeast quarter, small house of posts, log barn.

Block 29, south half, Antoine Roy, on southeast quarter, house of posts, 40 by 23; Cambas & Ortes, southwest quarter, house, 20 by 18.

Block 30, north half, Emilien Yosti, house posts, 30 by 22; Alexis Marie, 1766; on northwest quarter, small house posts.

Block 30, southeast quarter, Veuve Gen. Rou Bissonnet, house of posts, 15 by 20, by John B. Bidet Langoundis, 1766.

Block 30, southwest quarter, Auguste Chouteau, stone house, 34 by 25, by Jean Pepin Lachance, about 1773.

Block 31, northeast quarter, Charles Simoneau, small house of posts, about 15 feet square.

Block 31, northwest quarter, Paul Trimo, small house of posts, by Thibault, about 1770.

Block 31, southeast quarter, north 60 feet, pur Martin La douceur, south 60, Louis L. Torneau, old house of posts, built by Gamache, 1766.

Block 31, southwest quarter, John Bap. Provenchere, house of posts.

Block 32, northeast quarter, Joseph Marie Papin, stone house, 40 by 25, by Deshetres, first owner, 1766.

Block 32, northwest quarter, Jacques Chauvin, house of post 25 by 20, by Paul Greg. Kiersereau, first owner, 1766.

Block 32, southeast quarter, Charles Gratiot, stone house, by 36, and stone kitchen, 25 by 20, by J. M. Papin, 1785, also store by Gratiot in 1797.

Block 32, southwest quarter, Charles Gratiot; there had been on the southwest quarter house of posts, 18 by 15, and barn, F. Bissonnet, 1766.

Block 33, northeast quarter, Veuve Chouteau; on northeast quarter, stone house, 50 by 34, built by Laclede, 1766.

Block 33, northwest quarter, Veuve Chouteau, stone house 32 by 22, built by Labrose, 1767.

Block 33, south half, Pierre Chouteau, stone house, 48 by built by Jos. Tay in 1765.

Block 34, Auguste Chouteau, stone dwelling, 60 by 23, wa house, 50 by 30, cabin stables, all stone, by Laclede.

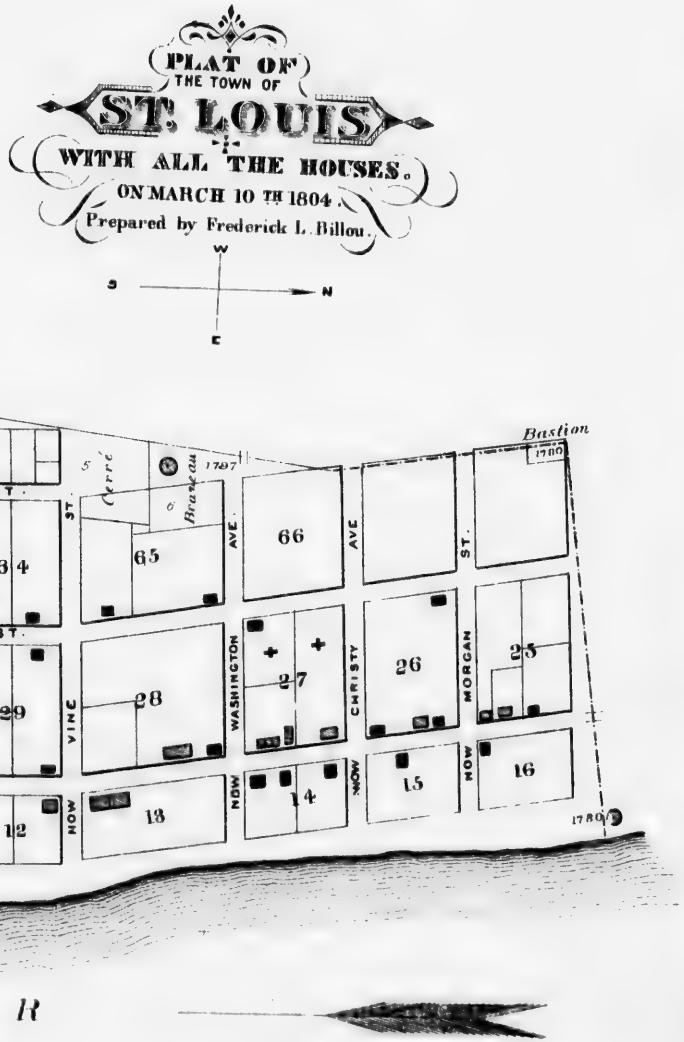
Block 35, northeast quarter, William Herbert Lecomp stone house, built by himself, about 1783.

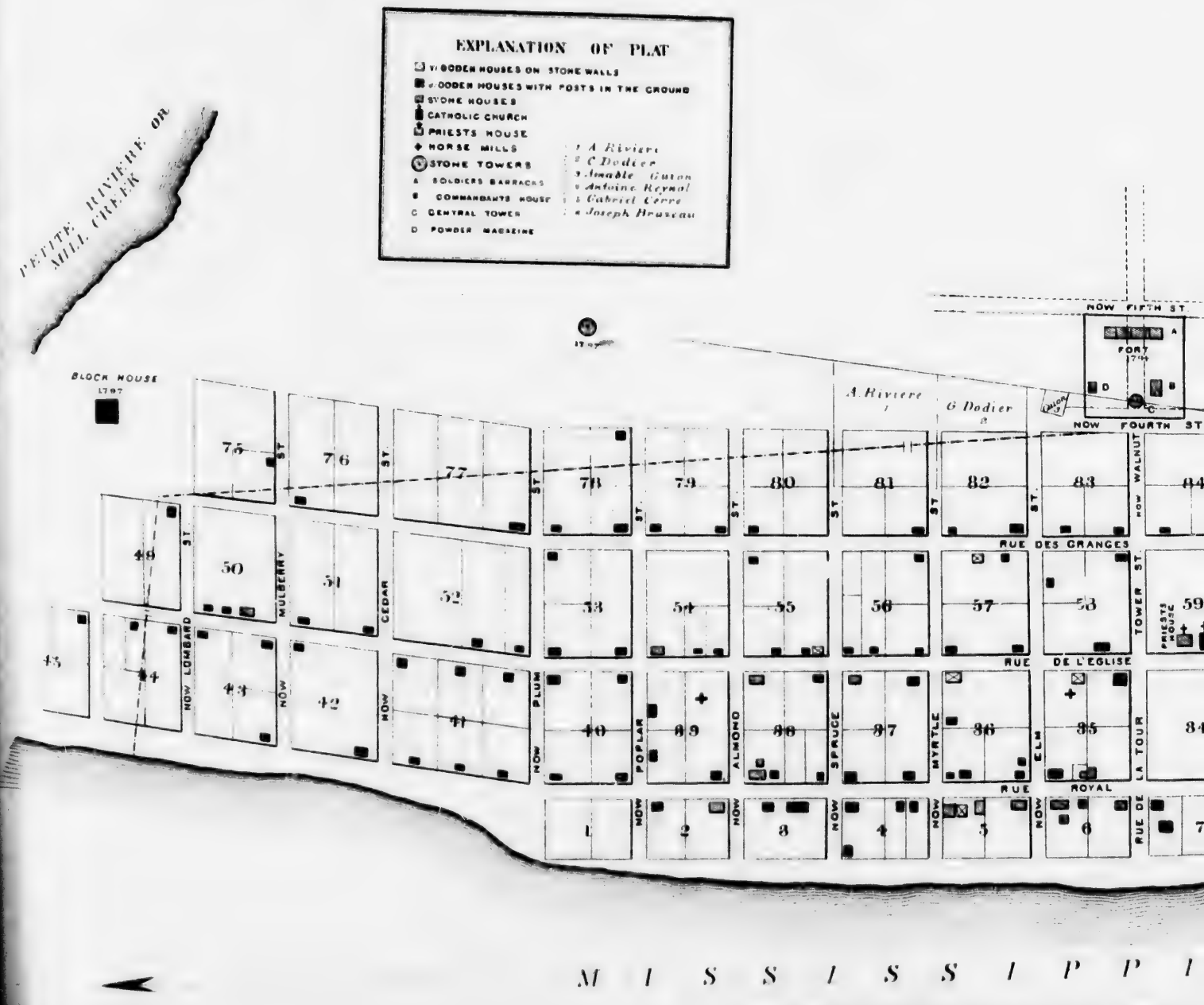
Block 35, northwest quarter, Jno. B. Dorral Desgrosselli house of posts, 40 by 20, by Jacques Denes, 1766.

Block 35, southeast quarter, François Valois, house of po 45 by 22, by Deschamps, 1766, small stone, 25 by 40, north corner.

Block 35, southwest quarter, Jno. B. Tison, joiner, hous posts, 20 feet, also an old horse mill.

Block 36, northeast quarter, Charles Sanguinet, Sr., hou

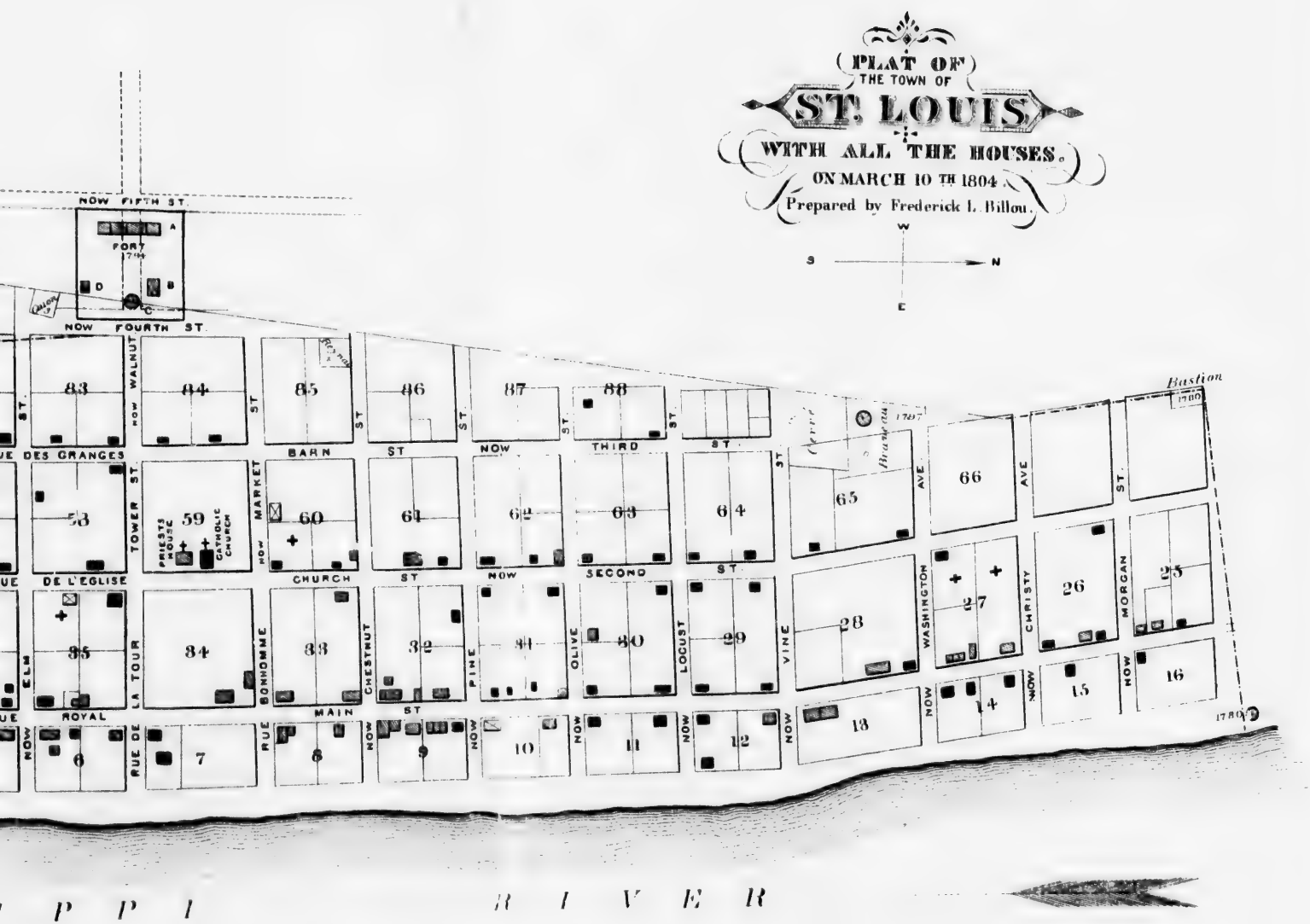

PLAT OF
THE TOWN OF
ST. LOUIS
WITH ALL THE HOUSES.
ON MARCH 10 TH 1804.
Prepared by Frederick L. Billon.
W
S
N
E
87
88
ST.
THIRD
62
63
64
SECOND
91
OLIVE
90
LOCUST
89
VINE
28
WASHINGTON
27
CHRISTY
26
MORGAN
25
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
NOW
5
Cerré
6
Brazeau
1797
65
66
AVE.
Bastion
1780
1780
R I V E R



[NOTE.—The black dotted lines, beginning at the half moon at the North-east corner of th
represent the palisades put up immediately after the "Affair of May 26, 1780." T
lots were not numbered until after the incorporation of the City, in 1803.]

PLAT OF THE TOWN OF ST. LOUIS WITH ALL THE HOUSES. ON MARCH 10 TH 1804.

Prepared by Frederick L. Billon.



alf moon at the North-east corner of the Plat and running around the villiage to the river at blo k 44,
r after the "Affair of May 26, 1780." They had all disappeared before 1804. The blocks of the town
rporation of the City, in 1823.]

posts, 28 by 1
1766.
Block 36, so
posts, 20 by 16,
quet, Sr.
Block 36, nort
25 by 20, built b
Block 36, sout
25 by 20, by Ve
Block 37, north
25, Louis Dubre
Block 37, nort
by 25, Provost o
Block 37, sout
by 30, Jacques L
Block 37, south
30 by 25, built by
Block 38, north
house of posts, bu
Alexis Marie, Jr.,
Block 38, north
by 18, by Martin
Block 38, south
30 by 22, and ston
Block 38, southw
stone house, 30 by
Block 39, north
25, Nicholas Beau
Block 39, southe
posts, by Joseph B
Block 39, southw
posts, 27 by 16, by
Block 40, northe
25 by 20, by Chas.
Block 40, northwe
by 15, barn, 20 by
Block 40, southea
by 18, by François
Block 40, southw
posts.
Block 41, northea
25 by 20, barn, 20 b
Block 41, centre s
18, by Joseph L. Ma
Block 41, southea
by 20, by Jacques L
Block 41, 2d nor
posts, 25 by 20, Pier
Block 41, 2d centr
square, Gilles Chemi
Block 41, 2d south
of posts, 12 by 15, Gi
Block 52, Gabriel
François De Volsay,
Block 43, northeast
30 by 20, Thomas Bl
Block 43, northwes
posts, 25 by 20, Miche
Block 43, south hal
Block 44, north hal
20, by Gabriel Descary
Block 44, south half,
house of posts, built by
Block 44, south half
Block 45, north half
St. François, first own

posts, 28 by 14, and other small one by Louis Desnoyers, 1766.

Block 36, southeast quarter, Joseph A. Hortiz, house of posts, 20 by 16, and a smith's shop, same size, by J. B. Becquet, Sr.

Block 36, northwest quarter, Gregoire Sarpy, house of posts, 25 by 20, built by Ga. Dodier, Jr., about 1770.

Block 36, southwest quarter, Gregoire Sarpy, house of posts, 25 by 20, by Veuve Dodier, Sr., 1766.

Block 37, northwest quarter, Patrick Lee, house of posts, 40 by 25, Louis Dubreuil, 1766.

Block 37, northwest quarter, Patrick Lee, house of posts, 30 by 25, Provost or Leroy, 1766–70.

Block 37, southeast quarter, Philip Fine, house of posts, 22 by 30, Jacques Labbe Noise, first owner.

Block 37, southwest quarter, Louis Bonpart, Sr., stone house, 30 by 25, built by Antoine Rivière, 1774.

Block 38, northeast quarter, north 60, Michel Rollet, small house of posts, built by Pierre Perq; same quarter south 60, Alexis Marie, Jr., vacant lot, no house.

Block 38, northwest quarter, Ann Camp, house of posts, 25 by 18, by Martin Barum, blacksmith, 1768.

Block 38, southeast quarter, Francis M. Benoit, stone house, 30 by 22, and stone kitchen, 20 by 25, 1768.

Block 38, southwest quarter, Veuve François Broz Charleville, stone house, 30 by 25, by Eugene Alvarez, 1780.

Block 39, north half, Antoine Flandrin, house of posts, 35 by 25, Nicholas Beaugeno, 1765.

Block 39, southeast quarter, Veuve Noise, dit Labbe, house of posts, by Joseph Hebert, 1765–66.

Block 39, southwest quarter, François Caillou, old house of posts, 27 by 16, by J. B. Petit, first owner.

Block 40, northeast quarter, Charles Vachard, house of posts, 25 by 20, by Chas. Carrier, prior to 1766.

Block 40, northwest quarter, Louis Beaudoin, house of posts, 18 by 15, barn, 20 by 30.

Block 40, southeast quarter, Calvin Adams, house of posts, 15 by 18, by François Marcheteau, 1766.

Block 40, southwest quarter, Louis Caillou, small house of posts.

Block 41, northeast sixth, Alexandre Grimeau, house of posts, 25 by 20, barn, 20 by 20, by T. Hunand, 1766.

Block 41, centre sixth, Joseph Guittare, house of posts, 20 by 18, by Joseph L. Martigny, first owner.

Block 41, southeast sixth, Antoine Smith, house of posts, 25 by 20, by Jacques Lacroix, first, 1766.

Block 41, 2d northwest sixth, John Bap. Marli, house of posts, 25 by 20, Pierre Berger, first owner, 1766.

Block 41, 2d centre sixth, Joseph Roy, house of posts, 14 feet square, Gilles Chemin, first, 1766.

Block 41, 2d southwest sixth, Flora (free mulattress), house of posts, 12 by 15, Gilles Cheman, first, 1766.

Block 52, Gabriel Cerré, house of posts, 30 by 20, Pierre François De Volsay, 1766.

Block 43, northeast quarter, John B. Latresse, house of posts, 30 by 20, Thomas Blondeau, first, 1766.

Block 43, northwest quarter, Louis Charbonneau, house of posts, 25 by 20, Michel Lami, first, 1766.

Block 43, south half, Eustache Caillou, house of posts.

Block 44, north half, Francis Tayon, house of posts, 23 by 20, by Gabriel Descary, first, 1766.

Block 44, south half, north 60, Charles Laveille (colored) small house of posts, built by himself in 1788.

Block 44, south half, south 60, vacant land, no house.

Block 45, north half, Andre Roy, house of posts, 20 by 20, by St. François, first owner, 1769.

Block 45, south half, A. Cotté, or Eus. Caillou, no house on it then.

Block 46, north half, Jno. B. Petit, no house had been built on it.

Blocks 47 and 48, Francis Tayon, owner, vacant ground, no house until 1812.

Block 49, south half, François Ride.

Block 49, north half, Antoine Morin, house of posts.

Block 50, Antoine F. Saugrain, stone house, 40 by 30, two or three other small buildings, by René Buet, 1767.

Block 51, south half, Pierre Duchouquette, house of posts, 20 by 25, built by Picoté Belestre, 1768.

Block 51, north half, Antoine Morin, house of posts built by himself, 1789–90.

Block 52, south half, 180 feet, Auguste Chouteau, to third.

Block 52, centre, 120 feet, François Liberge, to third, house of posts and an old barn, by Claude Tinon, 1766.

Block 52, north 60, François Duchouquette, to third, house of posts, 25 by 20, by Valets, 1778.

Block 53, southeast quarter, Antoine Flandrin, house of posts, 30 by 20, built by Simon Coussot, 1789.

Block 53, southwest quarter, Veuve P. Rigauche, house of posts, by Gabriel Becquet, about 1790.

Block 53, northeast quarter, Philip Rivière, house of posts, 20 by 18, by Joseph Bouchard, 1769.

Block 53, northwest quarter, Philip Rivière, no house on the lot.

Block 54, south half and northwest quarter, Peter Didier, stone house, 40 by 20, built by Charles Dissette, 1773–74.

Block 54, northwest quarter, south 60 feet, Hyacinthe Amelin, small house of posts.

Block 54, northwest quarter, north 60 feet, John Bap. Domine, house of posts, 15 feet square, built by Fleury, dit Grenier, 1786.

Block 55, southeast quarter, Pierre Quenel's heirs, house of posts, 20 by 20.

Block 55, southwest quarter, Nicholas Beaugenou, house of posts.

Block 55, north half, Manuel Lisa, house of posts on a wall, 25 by 20, barn, etc., built by John B. Lorain.

Block 56, south, 50 by 175, John B. Girard, small house of posts, built by Antoine Baccanet, 1770.

Block 56, 50 by 125, Manuel Lisa, no house.

Block 56, 70 by 300, Joseph Descary, house of posts, 15 square, built by Dufaut about 1790.

Block 56, northeast quarter, Charles Gratiot, old house of posts, 22 by 18, built by Ortes about 1768.

Block 56, northwest quarter, Vincent Guitard, house of posts, 24 by 20, by Planche in 1771.

Block 57, southeast quarter, Alexis Lalande, house of posts, 20 by 17, built by Antoine Oliviere, 1782.

Block 57, northeast quarter, Marie Jeannette, free colored woman, a house of posts, 25 by 20, built by herself in 1766.

Block 57, west half, Marie Rose Sallé Dite Lajoye, house of posts on stone wall, 25 by 20, by Juan Sallé, 1770.

Block 58, east half, Charles Sanguinet, house of posts, 30 by 20, by Auguste Condé, 1766.

Block 58, northwest quarter, Charles Sanguinet, house of wood, 25 by 20, built by M. Rollet, Sr., about 1770.

Block 58, southwest quarter, Paul Guittard, Sr., shoemaker, small house of posts, 20 by 18, built by Joseph Rivard about 1774.

Block 60, southeast quarter, Joseph Robidou (2d), an old horse-mill of posts and a house, Reynal, 1794.

Block 60, northeast quarter, John B. Dumoulin, stone-mason, small house of posts, a small store, 20 by 30, 1794.

Block 60, west half, Eugene Alvarez, house of posts on wall, 25 by 35, large barn, by Eug. Pouré, 1770.

Block 61, east half, Veuve Susan Dubreuil, stone house, 52 by 26, frame 20 feet, 1772.

Block 61, northwest quarter, Veuve Susan Dubreuil, barn, 30 feet.

Block 61, southwest quarter, Veuve Therese Chouteau, vacant lot, no house.

Block 62, south half, Arend Rutgers, house of posts, 31 by 23, built by Antoine Reilte, about 1790.

Block 62, northeast quarter, Francis Derouin, stone house and posts, built by Lacroix about 1800.

Block 62, northwest quarter, Joseph Lacroix, no house on the lot, being the orchard, etc., on the above.

Block 63, southeast quarter, Veuve François Bissonnet, stone house about twenty feet square, by Gingembre about 1793.

Block 63, southwest quarter, Antoine Reynal (St. Charles), vacant lot, no house.

Block 63, northeast quarter, Madame Margaret Laquaisse, small house of posts, 18 by 25, by Laroche, first owner, 1766.

Block 63, northwest quarter, Antoine V. Bouis, vacant lot, no house, an old barn.

Block 64, south half, Veuve Desantels (Louis Lemonde), small house of posts, by Julien Leroy, 1767.

Block 64, north half, François Jourdan Labrasse, log house, 15 by 18.

Block 65, south, 120 by 250, Joseph Laprise, log house, 20 by 18, built by Juan St. André, first owner.

Block 65, north, 164 by 220, Pierre Barribeau, house of posts, built by himself, 1795.

Block 66, Auguste Chouteau, vacant ground, no house.

Block 75, northeast quarter, John B. Duplesq, from E. Caillou, small log house by E. Caillou.

Block 75, claimed by James Mackay, vacant land.

Block 75, south half, claimed by Joseph Labrosse, vacant, no house.

Block 76, north half, Joseph Fayon (St. Charles).

Block 77, south third, Veuve F. B. Charleville, small house of posts.

Block 77, centre third, M. P. Leduc, vacant ground, no house.

Block 77, north third, Paschall Leon Cerré, house of posts, 45 by 33, barn, cabin, etc., built by Caillou about 1794.

Block 78, south half, Louis Delisle Bienvenue, house of posts, 25 by 20, built by Delisle, 1786.

Block 78, northeast quarter, Joseph Charleville, house of posts, 25 by 18.

Block 78, northwest quarter, Joseph A. Hortiz, house of posts, built by Louis Dumot, 1795.

Block 79, southeast quarter, Joseph Labbadie St. Pierre (colored), house of posts, 18 by 20, by Louis Vachard, 1797.

Block 79, southwest quarter, Joseph Labbadie St. Pierre (colored), vacant lot.

Block 79, northeast quarter, Esther Lorgan (free colored), small house of posts, built by herself, 1798.

Block 79, northwest quarter, Anna Camps' heirs, vacant lot.

Block 80, south half, Samuel Solomon, house of posts, 25 by 18, built by Réné Dodier, 1796.

Block 80, northeast quarter, Louis Bourq, vacant lot.

Block 80, northwest quarter, Cath. Crepeau Tougat Laviolette, vacant ground.

Block 81, south half, Gregoire Sarpy, vacant ground.

Block 81, northeast quarter, Regis Vasseur, house of posts.

Block 81, northwest quarter, Greg. Sarpy under Rivière, vacant, no house.

Block 82, southeast quarter, Louis Bourq, house of posts, 22 by 20, built by Moulardq, first owner, 1770.

Block 82, southwest quarter, Louis Bourq, vacant lot.

Block 82, northeast quarter, Manuel Lisa, house of posts on a wall, 40 by 24, by Moulardq, 1766.

Block 82, northwest quarter, Gabriel Dodier (St. Charles), vacant lot.

Block 83, southeast quarter, David Rohrer, house of posts, 25 by 20.

Block 83, northeast quarter, Jean Derouine, house of posts, built by himself, 1795.

Block 83, west half, vacant land.

Block 84, southeast quarter, Marie La Bastille (free colored), small house of posts, built by Denaux, blacksmith, 1771.

Block 84, northeast quarter, Catharine Crepeau Tougard, small house of posts, very old.

Block 84, west half, public land, vacant.

Block 85, south half, Eugene Alvarez, his barn lot, no house.

Block 85, north half, Antoine Reynal, of St. Charles, eighty feet square at northwest corner, no house.

Block 85, balance of one-half, public land, no house.

Block 86, southeast quarter, Veuve Chouteau's barn, no house.

Block 86, northeast quarter, Veuve L. Chevallier's barn, no house.

Block 87, south half, Sanguinet and Vasquez, barn, no house.

Block 87, northeast quarter, Alexis Pecard, Sr., barn, no house.

Block 87, northwest quarter, Louis Brazeau, Sr., barn, no house.

Block 88, southeast quarter, Joseph Lacroix, small house of posts, built by himself about 1797.

Block 88, northeast quarter, Louis Buor, small house of posts, by Louis Buor, 1797.

Blocks 89 and 90 were barn lots of various persons, without houses.

Blocks 106 and 109, Alvarez and Marli, were vacant lots, no houses.

STONE DWELLINGS.

1. Pierre Guerette, Sr.	Block	2
2. François Liberge.	"	5
3. William Hebert Lecompte	"	5
4. Joseph Robidon (2), bake-house	"	6
5. Auguste Chouteau	"	6
6. John Baptiste Truteau	"	8
7. Veuve S. Labbadie, and store	"	9
8. Louis Brazeau, Sr.	"	10
9. Auguste Chouteau, and mill	"	12
10. Gabriel Cerré, and warehouse	"	13
11. Patrick Lee	"	25
12. Clamorgan's children	"	25
13. James Clamorgan	"	26
14. Ante V. Bouis, and store	"	27
15. Pierre Chouteau, Sr.	"	28
16. Auguste Chouteau	"	30
17. Joseph M. Papin	"	32
18. Charles Gratiot, and kitchen	"	32
19. Veuve Bourgois Chouteau	"	33
20. Same	"	33
21. Pierre Chouteau	"	33
22. Auguste Chouteau, and warehouse	"	34
23. William Hebert Lecompte, and store	"	35
24. Louis Bompart (1)	"	37
25. François M. Benoit, and kitchen	"	38
26. Veuve Charleville	"	38
27. Antoine F. Saugrain	"	50
28. Pierre Didier	"	54
29. Veuve Dubreuil	"	61
30. François Derouin	"	62
31. Veuve François Bissonnet	"	63
32. Joseph Brazeau	"	27
Benito Vasquez, store	"	9
Charles Gratiot, store	"	32
33. Bernard Pratte, part stone, etc.	"	8

RECAPITULATION.

Stone dwellings	33
" kitchens	2
" warehouses	2
" stores	5
" horse-mill	1
" bake-house	1
Stone buildings	44
Dwellings of posts of stone walls	7
" of posts and logs	131
Houses in the village in 1804	182

This agrees substantially with Stoddard, who, in his "Louisiana," says that "when he received possession, March 10, 1804, St. Louis contained about 180 houses in all." He must have counted them.

Such was St. Louis of 1804, when it passed to the possession of the United States.

[The term "house of posts," which is so often used above, illustrates the French mode of building log houses as contradistinguished from the English. The latter lay the logs horizontally, joining them at the corners; but the French used the logs vertically, planting the bottom of the post in the ground like a palisade, and joining them by weatherboard ties, just as described by Dr. Simpson in another page in this chapter.]

V.—STONE BUILDINGS PUT UP IN ST. LOUIS FROM THE YEAR 1804 TO MAY, 1821.

When built.	No.	Owners.	Description.	Location.	Blocks.	Occupants May, 1821.
1804	1, 2	André l'Andreville.	Two stone stores.	87, 89 N. Main, removing his old house of posts at the corner.	12	L'Andreville.
1809	4	Antoine Roy.	A small store.	92 N. Main.	29	William Dugan.
1807	3	John Campbell & White Matlock.	Warehouse 16 by 60.	90 S. Main, Mason's Hall of Louisiana Lodge, No. 111, 1808–11.	37	D. Allen & M. Brown.
1810	5	Rufus Easton.	Large dwelling and office.	S. W. cor. Elm and 3d.	82	R. Easton & J. Bright.
1811	7, 8, 9	Antoine Dangen.	Three small stone shops.	57, 59, 61 S. Main.	5	May, White, Smith, *et al.*
"	6	Mme. P. Lami Duchouquette.	Dwelling and tavern.	118 S. Second.	55	Mme. Lami tavern.
1812	10	John B. C. Lucas.	Dwelling-house.	7th above Market.	184	The first house built on the hill.
"	11	Antoine Chenie.	Bake-house, back of his residence.	N. W. cor. Market and Main.	33	Everson, a baker.
"	12		The market-house with 12 stalls.	On Public Square.	7	Commenced business Sept. 1, 1812.
1812–13	13	René Paul.	Two-story store and dwelling.	65 N. Main, afterwards extended it in rear.	11	Giles M. Samuel & Co.
1813	14	Christian Wilt.	Stone building for lead-factory.	In rear of 85 N. Main.	11	Unoccupied.
1814	15	Ephraim Town.	Two-story dwelling-house.	On river-front above Market.	8	H. Von Phul's residence.
"	16	Veuve Papin.	Two-story add. to her old house.	38 Main.	32	Ward & Rollins.
1814–15	17	Antoine Renaud.	Small dwelling.	186 N. Main.	25	Francis Monet.
1815	18	Francis Clement.	" "	Chestnut E. of 3d.	61	Francis Clement.
"	19, 20	Aug. & Louis Brazeau.	Two small one-stories.	South side Olive below Main.	11	Aug. Brazeau.
1816	21	John B. D. Belcour.	Two-story stone and dwelling.	76 S. Main.	36	J. B. D. Belcour.
"	22	Aug. Alvarez.	One story with gallery.	N. W. cor. 3d and Market.	85	Luke E. Lawless.
1817	23		The county jail commenced this year.	S. E. cor. 6th and Chestnut (finished 1820).	Lucas' add., 114	Sherib Brown & others.
1818	24	Jos. V. Garnier.	Dwelling-house.	S. E. cor. 7th and Walnut.	Chouteau's add., 133	Joseph V. Garnier.
"	25	Hyp. & Sil. V. Papin.	Blacksmith-shop.	S. side Pine above Main.	32	Papins.
"	26	Barthelemy Arnaud.	Dwelling-house.	S. E. cor. 3d and Locust.	63	Jno. & Thos. Bothick.
1819	27	Pat'k M. Dillon.	Warehouse.	N. W. cor. Green and Water.	15	Sold it unfinished to R. Easton.
"	28	Wm. Deakers, Sr.	Dwelling-house.	N. W. cor. 6th and Elm.	Chouteau's add., 112	Mrs. D. Deakers.
"	29	Thomas Brady.	Missouri Hotel.	168 N. Main.	26	David Massey.
1820	30	John Brady.	Stone warehouse.	On Water above Cherry.		Brady & McKnight.
1818	31	Aug. Gulber.	Small dwelling.	S. side Locust above 4th.	Lucas' add., 99	Aug. Gulber.
"	32	Gen. Wm. Clark.	Stone warehouse.	S. E. cor. Vine and Water.	12	John Bacchus.
"	33	Manuel Lisa.	Stone warehouse 26 by 67½.	S. W. cor. Chestnut and Water.	8	Mo. Fur Company.
			Stone dwellings in the near vicinity of the town, 1821.			
1810	34	Antoine Roy.	Large stone dwelling.	Near his wind-mill on the river-front at foot of Biddle.		Renard.
1818–19	35	Wm. Christy.	Large two-story stone dwelling.	N. St. Louis near the foot of N. Market.		Christy.
1780	36	Ant. Soulard.[1]	One-story stone.	E. side Carondelet Ave. opposite Park Ave.		Soulard's widow.
"	37	John B. Duchouquette.	One-story built by Jos. Brazeau, Sr.	River-bank at the foot of Lami.		J. Duchouquette.
1807	38	Silas Bent.	Stone dwelling, water-mill, etc.	River-bank N. of the Arsenal grounds.		S. Bent.

[1] Soulard's house was posts on wall; must have been built by Cerré, as he had a concession of this after 1780.

VI.—A COMPLETE LIST OF THE BRICK BUILDINGS IN AND CONTIGUOUS TO ST. LOUIS IN MAY, 1821.

When built.	No.	Owners.	Description.	Locality.	Blocks.	Occupants, 1821.
1812	1	Bartholomew Berthold.	Two-story store and dwelling.	11 N. Main.	8	Berthold & Chouteau.
"	2	William Smith.	" " "	7 "	8	Smith & Ferguson.
1813	3	Christian Wilt.	" " "	85 "	11	Joseph Hertzog.
"	4	Manuel Lisa.	" " "	21 "	8	P. J. & J. G. Lindell.
1816	8	McKnight & Brady.	Double two-story, two stores and boarding-house above.	42 " (1816, T. Kibby's "Washington Hall.")	32	Thomas McGuire.
"	9	Same.		44 N. Main.	32	Bernard Gilhooly.
1815	5	Wm. C. Carr.	Two-story dwelling, the first.	99 S. Main.	3	Gen. Atkinson and others.
"	6	Syl V. & Hyp. Papin.	Two offices, and dwelling above.	34 N. Main.	32	M. P. Leduc.
1816	7	William Clark.	Two-story store and dwelling.	55 "	10	Then vacant.
"	10	William Rector.	Two-story dwelling and office.	East side 3d above Vine.	65	Wm. Bennett's Hotel.
1817	11	Bernard Pratte, Sr.	Two-story store and dwelling.	5 N. Main.	8	B. Pratte & Co.
"	12	Robert Simpson.	" " "	68 S. Main.	36	Daniel C. Boss & Co.
"	13	Abraham Bird.	Two-story store and warehouse in rear.	66 "	36	Wm. H. Savage & Co.
	14	Thompson Douglass.	Two and one-half-story dwelling, and Masonic Hall in attic.	Elm above Main, north side.		Lieutenant-Governor William H Ashley.
	15	Thos. McKnight.	Small dwelling.	202 N. Main.		Thomas McKnight.
7-18	16	Robert Collet.	Double two-story, two stores and dwellings above.	82 S. Main.	37	Charles Hastings.
	17	Same.		84 "	37	C. March and S. Ober.
1818	18	Robert Collett.	One-story store.	88 "	37	John Nicholson.
				3 N. Main. These were the old Pratte House, with new brick fronts.		Kerr, Bell & Co.
						Caleb Cox.
"	21	Bernard Pratte, Sr.	Two-story warehouse.	N. W. cor. Market and River.	8	John Crawford.
"	22	Thomas Hanley.	Two-story stores and vaults below.	S. W. cor. Water and Morgan (60 front).	15	Thomas Hanly and others.
"	23	William Clark.	Large two-story residence.	103 N. Main (removing Chancellor's old store).	12	Gen. William Clark.
"	24	Same.	Large brick for Indian office and museum.	101 N. Main.	12	Clark's office, etc.
"	25	Antoine Chenie.	Two-story store.	4 "	33	Tracy & Wahrendorff.
"	26	Jos. Henderson.	Two-story dwelling.	108 S. Main.	38	Vacant.
"	27	Thos. F. Riddick.	Two-story residence.	South 4th below Poplar.	109	Thomas F. Riddick.
"	28	The Baptist Church.	40 by 80 feet.	S. W. cor. Market and 3d.	84	For general purposes; Geyer's office basement.
"	29	Alexander Neave.	One-story warehouse, 40 front.	72 N. 2d.	63	A. Scott & W. K. Rule.
"	30	John Jones.	Two and one-half-story dwelling.	S. W. cor. 2d and Green.	66	Patrick McDonald.
1818–19	31	Patrick M. Dillon.	Two-story store.	153 N. Main.	15	George H. Robb.
"	32	Elijah Beebe.	Two-story store and dwelling.	8 "	33	Elijah Beebe
"	33	Thos. McGuire.	Small dwelling.	Market W. of 8th.	Chouteau's add., 190.	Thomas McGuire.
"	34	Jabez Warner.	Double two-story dwelling.	East side 4th above Olive.	Lucas' add., 88	J. Warner and others.
"	35, 36	Thos. Winstanley.	Two two-story dwellings.	North side Spruce above 5th.	Chouteau's add., 110.	Mrs. C. Reed and others.
1819	37	Gabriel Paul.	Two two-story stores and his dwelling above.	71 N. Main.	11	James Arnold & Co.
"	38	Same.		73 "	11	Gabriel Paul.
"	39	Aug. Chouteau.	Two-story store and dwelling.	17 S. Main.	7	Paul & Ingram.
"	40	Same.	" " "	19 "	7	Wallace, Howell & Co.
"	41	Same.	" " "	21 "	7	Vacant below.
"	42	Same.	" " "	23 "	7	" " "
"	43	Same.	" " "	25 "	7	Brand & Detandebaratz.
"	44	Manuel Lisa.	" " "	17 N. Main.	8	James Clemens.
"	45	Same.	" " "	19 "	8	Jno. and Geo. Collier.
"	46	John Holbrook.	" " "	78 S. Main.	37	Jason Holbrook.
"	47	Stephen Gay.	" " "	80 "	37	Same.
"	48	James Loper.	Two-story dwelling.	119 "	3	James Loper.
"	49	Robert Patton.	" "	6 S. 3d.	84	Vacant.
"	50	Jos. Charless, Sr.	" "	S. E. cor. Market and 5th.	Chouteau's add., 103.	Joseph Charless.
"	51	H. S. Geyer.	" "	S. W. cor. " "	Chouteau's add., 113.	Alex. Ferguson.
"	52	John and Jerry Jones.	" "	S. E. cor. Market and 6th.	Chouteau's add., 113.	Vacant.
"	53	Joshua Barton.	One-story office, etc.	N. W. cor. " "	Chouteau's add., 184.	Jos. Barton and Ed. Bates.
"	54	Christ. M. Price.	Brick livery-stable.	4th above Market.	85	Smith & Waddingham.
"	55	Chas. Besseron.	Two-story dwelling.	Pine above Main.	31	Chas. Besseron.
"	56, 57	Same.	Two one-story offices.	" " "	31	H. M. Breckenridge, Drs. Williams and Leningnon.
"	58	Eulalie Guitard.	One-story dwelling.	Olive above 6th.	Lucas' add. 29	Eulalie Guitard.
1819–20	59	Aug. P. Chouteau.	Two-story store and dwelling.	94 N. Main.	William Deane.	
"	60	Aug. Alvares.	One-story dwelling.	3d above Market.	85	Mrs. Agnes Gay's school.
"	61	Chris. M. Price.	Two-story "	12 S. 3d.	84	Chris. M. Price.
"	62	Thompson P. Williams.	" "	93 "	56	Jos. and W. James.
"	63	Ellen Leroux.	" "	Elm above 4th.	Chouteau's add., 105.	Madame Leroux.
"	64	Peter Ferguson.	" "	Olive above 5th.	Lucas' add., 117.	Peter Ferguson.
"	65	Bank of Missouri.	Banking-house.	6 N. Main, 1818 by 19.	33	Bank of Missouri.
"	66	James Kennerly.	Two-story store and dwelling.	57 "	10	James and George H. Kennerly.
"	67	Pryor Quarles.	One-story.	S. W. 4th and Myrtle.	106	Benj. J. Seward.

VI.—A COMPLETE LIST OF THE BRICK BUILDINGS IN AND CONTIGUOUS TO ST. LOUIS IN MAY, 1821.—*Continued.*

When Built.	No.	Owners.	Description.	Locality.	Blocks.	Occupants, 1821.
1820	68	Josiah Bright.	Large warehouse, 45 feet.	N. W. Water and Morgan, four stores.	16	O. C. Smith, Thomas January, Jno. Campbell, Thomas Hempstead.
"	69–78	John Jones row.	Ten one-story offices.	Market east from 4th to alley.	85	William Lucas, Alex. Gray, and others.
"	79	Arch. Gamble.	Double one-story dwelling.	S. S. Market above 5th	Chouteau's add., 113.	Arch. Gamble.
"	80	Michael Traynor.	Small dwelling.	N. W. cor. 4th and Green.	Christy's add.	Michael Traynor.
"	81	James O'Tool.	" "	N. E. cor. 6th and St. Charles.	Connor's add.	James O'Tool.
"	82	Jean Louis Provencher.	One-story dwelling.	N. E. cor. 2d and Pine.	31	E. Block and H. Shurlds.
"	83	Gen. Wm. Rector.	Two-story for land-office.	4th, Vine and St. Charles.	Connor's add., 90.	Land-office.
"	84	Abr'm Gallatin.	One-story shop.	S. S. Walnut above Main.	35	W. Orr's register office.
"	85	Daggett & Haldeman (Wilt).	Two-story store and dwellings.	75 N. Main.	11	Daggett & Haldeman.
"	86	Jacob Fry.	Double story for dwelling.	East side 4th below Locust.	Lucas' add., 188.	Shidley, Fry, and others.
"	87	Bishop L. William Dubourg.	Two-story college building.	2d below Market.	59	St. Louis College.

The following brick houses, although not within the town limits, were in the near vicinity, and were the residences of parties whose business was in the town:

When built.	No.	Owners.	Description.
1816	88	Col. Elias Rector.	Two-story residence near the first large mound, northwest of the town, on the upper road to the cantonment at Bellefontaine (now Block 689).
1819	89	Wm. C. Carr.	Small brick dwelling, northwest of the town, stood on the south part of Carr Street, just west of its junction with Broadway (was removed in opening Carr Street, 183–).
"	90	Wm. C. Carr.	Two-story brick dwelling, built for him by McCollough & Ferguson, northwest of town, stood in our present Fifth Street, a little south of Wash Street, occupied by Robert Wash in 1821.
1819–20	91	Silvestre Labbadie.	One-story dwelling, North Main, above Mullanphy's brewery, near his ox-mill, at southwest corner of present Ashley Street.
"	92	Governor Alex. McNair.	Large two-story dwelling, west side of Broadway, near the first mound, on the upper road to the cantonment at Bellefontaine, a little south of our present O'Fallon Street.
1820	93	Thomas English Carpenter.	Small brick dwelling on Broadway, just north of McNair's residence, a little north of our present O'Fallon Street.
"	94	Judge John B. C. Lucas.	Brick dwelling, one-half mile out on south side St. Charles road, now forming part of the Missouri Park, between 13th and 14th Streets.
"	95	William Stokes.	Large residence, two miles west of the jail, now Pine Street and Leffingwell Avenue.
"	96	James Mackay.	Two-story dwelling, southwest of the town, afterwards part of the convent building, within the walls on 6th below Labbadie Street, recently taken down.
			Omitted in their Proper Places.
1817	97	Matthias McGirk.	One-story brick office, south 4th, west side, above Walnut (Chouteau's add., Block 103), occupants, 1821, D. Barton and James H. Peck.
1818	98, 99	George Casner.	Two brick dwellings, one story, north 5th, west side, below Locust (Lucas add., 117), Bradley and others.
1818–19	100	The first Catholic Cathedral.	On the west side of 2d, or Church Street, between Market and Walnut, 59.
1819	101	Aug. Chouteau.	One-story brick warehouse of 40 by 80 feet along the river-front, southeast corner of his north half of Block No. 6.

VII.—FRAME AND LOG HOUSES BUILT IN ST. LOUIS FROM MARCH 10, 1804, TO MAY, 1821.

When built.	No.	Owners.	Description.	Location.	Blocks.	Occupants May, 1821.
1805	1	Joseph Laprise.	Small frame dwelling.	106 N. W. cor. Vine and 2d.	65	Bart. Tobin, laborer.
1806	2	Geminin Beauvais.	Log house.	138 N. Main, extension.	24	Vacant.
"	3	Mme Benite Vasquez.	"	206 " " north of village.		Mme. Vasquez.
1807	4	Wm. Christy.	Frame.	Green above 3d, north of town.		Vacant.
1808	5	Jos. Philibert.	Log.	112 N. 2d.	65	Mary Dolan.
"	6	Mary Martigny (colored).	"	4th, east side, N. E. cor. Cedar.	77	Mary Martigny.
1809	7	Chas. Vachard.	"	91 S. 3d.	56	Vacant.
"	8	Francis Berard.	"	203 N. Main, extension above town.		Vacant.
1809–10	9	Madame Laprise.	"	205 " " " "		Aug. Durocher.
1810	10	Antoine Rencontre.	"	214 " " " "		Jacob Hawken.
"	11	Same.	"	218 " " " "		Richard Robinson.
"	12	Elijah Smith.	Double frame.	S. E. cor. Main and Poplar.	1	Fred'k Mullett.
1807–8	13	Stedman, Wescott and Tharp.	Frames for tan-yard.	121 to 129 S. 2d.	39	Jno. and Sam'l Rankin, tanners.
1811	14	Normand McKenzie.	Frame dwelling.	N. E. cor. Myrtle and 3d.	57	Vacant.
"	15	Alfred Crutsinger.	Log "	77 N. Church.	30	A. Crutsinger, hatter.

VII.—FRAME AND LOG HOUSES BUILT IN ST. LOUIS FROM MARCH 10, 1804, TO MAY, 1821.—*Continued.*

When built.	No.	Owners.	Description.	Location.	Blocks.	Occupants May, 1821.
1811	16	Jacques Perras.	Log dwelling.	S. 2d, west side, above Myrtle.	57	Jas. Perras
"	17	Dr. B. G. Farrar.	Double frame dwelling.	8 N. 2d.	60	Dr. B G. Farrar.
"	18	James Baird.	Large frame shop.	3d below Spruce, 40 by 70 (various uses).	80	At the time Methodists.
"	19	John P. Pourcelli.	Small log.	128 S. Main.	39	William Stewart and others.
1812	20	André l'Andreville.	Log store.	91, 93 N. Main.	12	Jno. Cowan, grocer.
"	21	Madame Pescay.	Two-story frame store and dwelling.	46 S. Main.	35	Phil. Millandon.
"	22	David Delaunay.	Frame store	56 N. Main.	31	Jos. Yard, furniture.
"	23	Bazile Bissonnet.	Log.	171 "	16	Jno. B. Leconte, laborer.
"	24	Mrs. Sally Adams.	"	S. Main, east side, below Poplar.	1	Wm. Duncan.
"	25	Toussaint Benoist.	Frame or log.	101 N. 2d.	64	Thos. Johnston and others.
"	26	Madame Laquaisse.	Log.	80 "	63	Jane Hardin.
"	27	Victoria Lousel (colored).	"	114 "	65	Wm. Howard, turner.
"	28	Marie Belfort.	"	S. Main below Mulberry.	43	Batiste Belfort.
1813	29	Geminin Beauvais.	Frame dwelling.	192 N. Main.	24	Maj. Thos. Forsythe.
"	30	Francis Williams (Hodgins).	Log.	200 " above town.		Jas. Lakenan, guns.
"	31	Louis Belsey.	"	223 " "		Jno. B. Gagnon, boat.
"	32	Laurent Lanodière.	Frame dwelling.	234 N. Main, above town.		L. Lanodiere.
"	33	Joseph Papin.	" "	S. W. cor. Vine and 3d.	80	Joseph Papin, grocer.
"	34	Samson Furr.	" "	N. 3d above the bastion, above town.		M. E. Wilson's school
"	35	Guyol de Guiran.	Log and stone.	2d below Poplar.	40	Dr. Gebert and others
"	36	Matthew Kerr.	Large two-story frame (2 stores below)	77 and 79 S. Main, cor. of Myrtle.	4	Johnson, Campbell & Co., nail manufactory, etc.
"	37	M. P. Leduc.	Two-story frame.	39 N. 2d.	32	A. L. Magenis, lawyer
"	38	Wm. Morrison, c. Kansas.	Frame store.	60 N. Main.	31	Essex & Hough, books.
1814–15	39	William C. Carr.	Small frame.	N. 3d above bastion, north of town.		Eliza Mulligan, widow
"	40	Daniel Shope.	Frame and log.	85 S. 3d, for "Green-Tree Tavern."		H. C. Davis.
"	41	Phillipson & Habb's brewery	Frame buildings.	N. Main, in extension north of town.		M. Murphy and others.
1815	42	Farrar & Walker.	Frame for their apothecary.	68 N. Main.	30	Farrar & Walker's shop.
"	43	William C. Carr.	Small frame.	56 S. Main.	36	Grimsley & Stark.
"	44	Thos. F. Riddick.	Large frame store and warehouse rear.	58 "	36	John Shackford & Co.
"	45	James Irwin.	Two-story frame dwelling.	72 S. 3d.	82	Col. Sam'l Hammond
"	46	" "	Frame house or shop in rear.	Myrtle above 3d.	82	Jas. Irwin, carpenter
"	47	Philip & Henry Rochedlaye.	Frame house and shop in rear.	26 Myrtle.	37	Philip Rochedlaye.
"	48	Alex. McNair.	Frame dwelling.	3d below Spruce.	80	Zebulon Pendleton.
"	49	" "	" "	" "	80	Teacher and others.
1814	50	Eden Bunch.	" "	S. 3d below Plum.	52	Sarah Labrosse, etc
1815	51	John Lee.	Log house.	N. 3d above the bastion, northwest of town.		Mary Lee, widow.
"	52	Toussaint Benoist.	Two-story frame.	2d below Poplar.	53	James Fitzsimmons, grocer.
"	53	Madame Phil. Riviere	" "	" "	53	Madame Riviere
"	54	Felix Fontaine.	Frame.	87 N. 3d.	64	Felix Fontaine, laborer.
"	55	Francis Lebeau.	Log.	700 N. 2d.	64	Francis Lebeau, carpenter.
"	56	Paul Prime.	"	3d above Pine.	87	Paul Prime.
"	57	Louis Destré.	"	84 N. 3d.	88	Madame Julie.
"	58	" "	"	86 "	88	Bernard Dignon
"	59	David Monestes.	"	Locust below 2d.	29	D. Monestes, carpenter
"	60	Celeste Ambroise.	"	" "	29	Madame Ambroise
1816	61	John B. Beaufils.	Two-story frame dwelling.	89 S. 3d.	56	Henry Adams, carpenter.
"	62	Clement B. Penrose.	" "	N. E. cor. Pine and 2d.	62	Risdon H. Price.
"	63	Josiah Brady, batter.	" "	E. side 3d above Chestnut.	61	A. Faris & Geo. Pitzer
"	64	Josiah Brady, batter.	One-story frame shop.	N. E. cor 3d and Chestnut.	61	Vacant.
"	65	Peter Primm.	Two-story dwelling.	S. side Elm above 2d.	57	Peter Primm.
"	66	Abraham Gallatin or Charless	Two-story dwelling and kithen.	27 S. 2d.	"	Beck & Spalding and others.
"	67	Louis Sol Mignueron.	Two-story dwelling and shop.	97 N. Main	12	L. S. Mignueron, gunsmith.
"	68	Michael Tesson.	" " "	On hill, Market above 5th.	Chouteau.	Vacant.
"	69	Wm. Sullivan.	Two-story dwelling and shop.	South side Walnut, above 4th.	"	Wm. Sullivan, justice
"	70	Moses Scott.	Two-story dwelling.	Elm above 4th	"	Moses Scott, justice
"	71	Geo. Everhart.	Frame.	Myrtle below Main	5	A. Sutton, cabinet maker.
"	72	Jos. Vasquez.	Log.	208 N. Main, north of town.	"	Louis Ray, butcher
"	73	Hyn Vasquez.	"	210 " " "	"	H. & J. Vasquez
"	74	Chris Smith.	"	28 Myrtle.	37	Jacob Varner.
"	75	Same.	"	30 "	37	Jno Greggs, carpenter
1816–17	76	Daniel Freeman.	Frame addition to "Green-Tree Tavern."	85 S. 2d.	37	Jacobs & Blanchard
1817	77	Alex. McNair.	Large two-story frame.	Spruce above Main	37	Josh Lane, boarding
"	78	Thos. Cartmill.	Frame, two or three tenements.	South side, Spruce above Main	38	Richard Dunlavy and others.

VII.—FRAME AND LOG HOUSES BUILT IN ST. LOUIS FROM MARCH 10, 1804, TO MAY, 1821.—*Continued.*

When built.	No.	Owners.	Description.	Location.	Blocks.	Occupants May, 1821.
1817	79	Wm. Cabeen, carpenter.	Frame shop.	3d above Chestnut.	61	Vacant.
"	80	John S. Russell.	Two-story frame.	17, north side of Myrtle.	36	J. S. Russell and others.
"	81	John Kessacker.	Log.	10 " " "	36	J. Kessacker, grocer.
"	82	Nero Lyons.	Frame dwelling.	24, south " "	37	Mrs. Sherkey, widow.
"	83	Jos. Leblond.	" "	66 N. 2d.	63	J. Leblond and others.
"	84	Daniel Sheple.	" "	83 S. 2d.	37	Roger Collins, tavern.
"	85, 86 87, 88	Col. A. Chouteau.	Row of four frame shops.	33, 35, 37, 39 S. Main.	6	R. Milligen, tailor, in 33; Dagget & Blair, watchmakers, in 35; Daniel Harrison, cordwainer, 37; Johnson & White, hatters, 39.
"	89	Sam'l Mount.	Frame carriage-shop.	S. E. cor. 6th and Locust.	Lucas.	Sam'l Mount.
"	90	Same.	" blacksmith-shop.	" " " "	"	Same.
"	91	Jno. Bobb.	Log dwelling.	N. E. cor. 7th and Walnut.	Chouteau.	Jno. and Wm. Bobb.
"	92	Alexis Lalande.	Small log.	South side Elm, above Main.	36	Alexis Amelin.
"	93	Francis Valois.	Large house of posts on wall, 60 feet front, high basement.	North side Elm, above Main.	35	Fran. Valois and others.
1816-17	94	Moses D. Bates.	Two-story frame dwelling.	201 N. Main, back, north of town.		Capt. Jas. McGunnegle, U.S.A.
1817	95	Jno. H. Reed.	" " "	N. W. cor. 3d and Almond.	80	Sarah Sparks, widow.
"	96	Jno. Sawyer, sold to Salmon Giddings.	" " "	Market above 4th.		Court-rooms below, clerk's office and school room above.
1818	97	Aug. P. Chouteau (Sarrade).	" " "	54 N. Main	31	Jno. Sarrade, confectioner.
"	98	Theophilus Smith.	" " "	91 S. Main.	4	Barlow & Jas P. Spencer, chairs.
"	99	Ephraim Town.	Two-story frame dwelling and office.	South side Chestnut below 2d.	33	Post-office, Elias Rector, P. M.
"	100	Col. Eli B. Clemson.	Large dwelling.	N. W. cor. Olive and 6th.	Lucas.	Geo. F. Strothers, U.S. receiver.
"	101	Jno. C. Potter.	Small "	81 and 83 N. 2d.	30	Chris. Boyd, grocer.
"	102	L'Ange Allard, built by Jos. Montagne, 1815.		67 N. 3d.	63	L'Ange Allard, carter.
"	103	Moses D. Bates.	Two-story dwelling.	S. E. cor. Laurel and 3d.	65	Thos. Hempstead, U.S. Indian agent.
"	104	S. Gantt and Jno. Campbell.	" " double house.	West side 5th, below Elm.	Chouteau.	B. and P. McGinn & Quigley, but. hers.
"	105	Jeremiah Connor.	Large frame dwelling.	N. W. cor. 2d and Laurel.	66	Thos. H. Benton.
"	106	Evariste Maury.	Two-story frame.	30 S. 2d.	58	Episcopal Church in 1821.
"	107	Oliver C. Smith.	Small store, and billiards back.	82 "	56	Al. Skinner & Co., and others in rear.
"	108	Isaac H. Griffith, carpenter.	Frame store.	74 N. Main.	30	Josh. Armitage, merchant.
"	109	Same.	"		30	Jos. Bonju, jeweler.
"	110	Same.	Small frame theatre.	In rear of above.	30	
"	111	Alex. McNair.	Frame for office of register.	Spruce above Main.	37	Garret Anderson's office.
"	112	Laurent Pruget.	Small frame.	107 S. 2d.	38	Smith & Dougherty, grocers.
"	113	Madame Widow Bonis.	One-story frame store.	49 N. Main.	10	Fred'k Becket, tailor.
"	114	Same.	" "	51 "	10	Peter A. Lebeaume.
"	115	Same.	" "	53 "	10	Daniel Moore, bacon store.
"	116	John Little.	Small frame store for Hoffa's shop.	27 "	9	John Hoffa, barber.
"	117	Chris. Wilt.	Frame wagon-shop.	77, 79 "	11	John Frame, blacksmith.
"	118	John B. Gigaire.	Log dwelling.	98 N. 2d.	64	John B. Giguire, laborer.
"	119	Francis Creely.	Log dwelling of posts.	N. E. cor. Market and 3d.	60	Francis Creely, carpenter.
"	120	Madame Veuve Pescay.	Two-story frame.	E. side 7th above Elm.	Chouteau.	Her gardener's house.
"	121	Jos. Montague.	Blacksmith-shop and dwelling.	N. E. cor. Olive and 3d.	63	Joseph Montague.
"	122-123	McKnight & Brady.	Two log wagon-shops.	181, 185 N. Main.	16	Earl & Light, and Daniel Carter.
"	124	Frederick Dent.	Three frame stores (Smith's).	10 N. Main.	33	Jonas Christman, butter.
"	125	Same.	" "	12 "	33	Jacob Eckstein, tailor.
"	126	Same.	" "	14 "	33	Dr. H. L. Hoffman, drugs.
1819	127	Wm. Carr Lane.	Two-story dwelling.	127 S. Main.	2	Dr Wm Carr Lane.
"	128	Batiste Geblair.	Small dwelling.	S. E. cor. 5th and Locust.	Lucas.	Batiste Geblair.
"	129	Francis Deronin.	Log dwelling.	3d below Walnut.	"	F. Deronin.
"	130	R. H. Price, by D. B. Hill.	Frame.	W. side 3d above Vine	90	David B. Hill, carpenter.
"	131	Same.	"	" " "	90	Nehemiah Bates, butcher.
"	132	Same.	"	" " "	90	H. Waddle & J. Ramsey, grocers.
"	133	Mrs. Eliza Fair.	Two-story dwelling.	S. E. cor. 4th and Chestnut.	55	James Conklin, tailor
"	134	Toussaint Benoist.	" "	W. side 2d Poplar.	53	Cheney Osborn, hatter.
1819-20	135	John R. Guy.	Double frame.	228 N. Main, N. of town.		John R. Guy.
"	136	Bernet Vasquez.	Two-story frame.	208 " " "		Vacant.
"	137	Oliver C. Smith.	" "	Myrtle above 3d.	32	O. C. Smith.
"	138	Jason Holbrook.	Frame.	14 Myrtle.	37	Ed Horrocks, baker.

VII.—FRAME AND LOG HOUSES BUILT IN ST. LOUIS FROM MARCH 10, 1804, TO MAY, 1821.—*Continued.*

When built.	No.	Owners.	Description.	Location.	Blocks.	Occupants May, 1821.
1818–20	139	Stephen Gay.	Log house.	20 Myrtle.	47	Mary Shannon, widow.
"	140	Same.	Carpenter's shop.	In rear No. 16 Myrtle.	37	Lavoille & Rupley.
"	141	Simon Sanguinet.	Small log	S. side Almond W. of 2d.	54	Vacant
"	142	William Brown.	Small frame.	S. side Cedar E. of 4th.	76	Wm. Brown, pump-maker.
"	143	Nicholas Verdin.	Frame carpenter's shop.	S. E. cor. Olive and 5th.	Lucas.	N. Verdin and others
1820	144	Reuben Neal.	Small frame office.	N. side Chestnut above 4th.	"	[illegible] Conrad, clerk [illegible] ery Court.
"	145	Beriah Cleland (Bright).	Two-story dwelling.	N. E. cor. 6th and Chestnut.	"	[illegible] Cleland, car- [illegible].
"	146	Beriah Cleland (Bright).	Small frame.	6th above Chestnut.	"	[illegible] Clegg, grocer.
1821	147	Morton and Rochel lave.	Large frame, several tenements.	S. 2d below Plum.	52	[illegible] Morton and others.
1820	148	James Moore.	Frame (Carr).	N. E. cor. 2d and Cherry.	24	Jas. Moore, carpenter.
"	149	Joseph Kaufman.	" (Christy).	W. side 4th above Green.	Christy's.	Jos. Kaufman, butcher.
"	150	Francis Fouche, carpenter.	"	N. side St. Charles above 5th.	Connor's.	F. Fouche, carpenter.
"	151	Francis Rochford.	"	" " "	"	F. Rochford, teacher.
"	152	Lakenau & Hawken.	Two-story log.	N. 2d above Cherry, north of town.		William Hughey, laborer.
"	153	Alfred Moore.	Small frame.	S. side Poplar above 2d.	53	Henry Peterson, laborer.
1821	154	Joseph Klunk.	Frame shop.	S. E. cor. 3d and Chestnut.	60	Joseph Klunk, stone-cutter.
"	155	James J. Purdy.	" "	3d below Chestnut.	60	J. J. Purdy, carpenter.
"	156	John L. Sutton.	Frame house.	91 S. Main.	4	Madame A. Tellier, widow.
"	157	John Finney, Sr., and Thos. Kelle.	Two-story house.	S. side Washington Ave. above 5th.	N. W.	John Finney and Thos. Kelle, laborers.
			Omitted in their Regular Places.			
1806	158	Louis Guittard.	Small posts.	82 S. 3d.	81	Louis Guittard.
"	159	Pre Datcourute.	" "	88 "	87	John Lutresse, boatman.
1818	160	Louise Truteau.	Log dwelling.	S. side Pine above Main.	52	Vacant.
1815	161	Sampson Furr.	" "	N. side of Oak east of Main.	16	Eliz. Hale [illegible] Dooley
1817	162	Abraham Gallatin.	Small log shop.	S side of Walnut east of 2d.	35	Nathan' [illegible]
1818	163	M. D. Bates or Paul Anderson.	Frame warehouse.	On Water above Cherry, under the bluffs.		Kirk [illegible] etc. [illegible]
"	164	Gabriel Philibert.	Frame.	N. E. cor. Water and Laurel.	14	Philli[illegible] tax [illegible]
1817	165	Thomas Hanly.	Frame stores.	On his lot of 25 feet front on river above Oak.	16	Hanly, [illegible] soap and [illegible]
1818	166	John Dunn.	Log blacksmith-shop.	On river on McK. & B.'s lot, next to Hanley	16	John Dunn.
"	167	Réne Paul.	Small log.	On the river N. W. cor. Olive.	11	J. Gill & Scollin, grocers.
"	168	Paul Loise.	" "	On Gen. Clark's lot below Pine.	10	Paul Loise, Ind. in
"	169	Alexander Nash.	One or two small logs	N. side of Oak above the steamboat warehouse.	16	Mary Barclay, widow.
			Outside the Town Limits.			
"	170	John B. N. Smith.	One-story frame dwelling.	About three miles southwest of the "town," near the Gravois road, in after-years known as the McDonald place, in Block 57 of the St. Louis Commons,—yet standing in 1870.		
1820	171	Col. John O'Fallon.	Large double two-story frame dwelling northwest of the town. In after-years when the town limits were extended beyond, it was at the N. W. cor. of 9th and Franklin Ave.			
1806–7	172	Fred'k Connor.	Frame dwelling.	S. 2d, S. W. cor. of Lombard.	49	David Hughes.
1807	173	Francis Ride.	Log "	S. 2d, west side, N. W. cor. Hazel.	49	Batiste Morin
1810–12	174	François Caillon.	"	West side 2d, above Hazel.	49	F. Caillon.
1812	175	Eustache Caillon.	"	East " " below "	45	Veuve Marie Laland
1813	176	Isaac Septlivres.	" of posts.	West " " " "	48	Pierre Provencher.
1815	177	Robert Duncan.	"	East " " north of bridge.	46	R. Duncan
"	178	Vital Beaugenou.	"	West " 3d, N. W. cor. of Cedar.	77	Vital Beaugenou
"	179	Michel Morin.	"	" " above Cedar.	77	Michel Morin.
1816–17	180	Thos. F. Riddick.	Small frame.	4th, S. E. cor. of Mulberry St.	75	George Everhard
1814–15	181	Joseph Brazeau, Jr.	Two-story frame dwelling on the river-bank, about 1¼ miles below town, between Duchonquette & Bent's, now in suburb St. George			Col. Chas. Delassus.
1818–19	182	Sil. Labbadie's.	Ox-mill for sawing lumber, on the river-bank above town, foot of Ashley St.			Sil. Labbadie
1810–15	183	Bap. Molaire.	Log.	East side 3d, above Olive.	63	Bap. Molaire.
1820	184	François Poirier.	"	West side 2d, below Hazel.	47	Fren's Poirier.
1812	185	Cath. Crevier.	"	" " " above Morgan.	68	Antoine Crevier.
1810	186	Wm. Christy.	"	" " 3d, " "	93	D. V. Walker.
to	187	"	"	" " " " "	93	Alphonse Wetmore.
1815	188	"	"	" " " " "	93	Ambrose Nowell and Osborne.
1812	189	Alex. Bellisime.	Dwelling of posts.	East side 3d, below Poplar.	58	James Murphy.
1815	190	"	"	" " " " "	83	Alfred Moore.
1818	191	Pierre Belleville.	"	" " " " "	83	Belleville.

VII.—FRAME AND LOG HOUSES BUILT IN ST. LOUIS FROM MARCH 10, 1804, TO MAY, 1821.—*Concluded.*

When built.	No.	Owners.	Description.	Location.	Blocks.	Occupants May, 1821.
1819	192	Jos. Joyalle.	Frame.	East side 3d, below Spruce.	55	Joyalle.
1818–20	193	François Bompart.	Log.	S. E cor. 3d and Plum.	52	F. Bompart.
1812	194	Joseph Salois.	"	East side 3d, above Olive.	63	J. Salois.
"	195	John B. Beardfils.	Frame.	N. W. cor. 3d and Walnut.	84	John Hall.
1816	196	Jos. Labarge.	"	West side 3d, above "	84	J. Labarge.
1818	197	Jos. Lacroix.	"	66, 68 N. W. cor. 3d and Olive.	88	Thornton & Kennedy.
1815	198	Jos. Brazeau, Jr.	Posts on wall.	S. W. cor. 2d and Myrtle.	56	E. English.
1816	199	Abraham Gallatin.	Small frame.	South side Walnut, east of 2d.	35	N. Seymour.
"	200	Fran's Bompart.	Small log, for blacksmith-shop.	North side Spruce, east of 2d.	37	Bompart's shop.
1817	201	John B. Hortis.	Small dwelling.	S. 2d, east side, below Mulberry.	43	Hortiz's residence.

The first addition made to the town of St. Louis after its incorporation by the Court of Common Pleas was that of Chouteau and Lucas, referred to above. With the record of the sale of these lots we complete Mr. Billon's exhaustive catalogue of early real estate transactions in the city. His materials come down much later, and in the same complete shape as regards each lot, but there is not space in which to give them without injustice to other branches of the subject.

VIII.—THE PLAT OF THE FIRST ADDITION TO THE TOWN OF ST. LOUIS, MADE BY CHOUTEAU AND LUCAS IN MAY, 1816, IS RECORDED IN BOOK F, PAGES 2 AND 3, IN THE RECORDER'S OFFICE. LOTS SOLD BY THEM FROM THAT DATE TO THE YEAR 1818, AS FOUND OF RECORD.

By Chouteau.

				Lots.	Feet.	Price.	Book and Page.	Present Location.
1	Alexander Stuart.	May	22, 1816	33, 34, 51, 52	288 by 270	$1200	E 486	The block from Market to Walnut, and 5th to 6th.
2	Matthias McGirk.	"	24, "	5	144 by 135	600	E 488	N. W. cor. 4th and Walnut.
3	James Sawyer.	"	27, "	6	144 by 135	250	F 17	S. W. cor. 4th and Market.
4	Moses Scott and Samuel Hammond.	"	27, "	3, 32 (22?)	115 by 222	500	F 66	N. side of Elm from 5th to Chouteau's east line, 48 feet west of 4th.
5	Michael Tesson.	June	4, "	50	124 by 135	300	F 466	N. E. cor. Market and 6th.
6	Pryor Quarles.	"	5, "	24	114 by 135	291	F 26	N. E. cor. 5th and Myrtle.
7	Marie P. Leduc	"	8, "	67 and 82	117 by 270	500	E 522	N. side of Market from 6th to 7th.
8	Joseph Charleus.	"	18, "	19, 20	288 by 135	742	G 378	E. side of 5th from Market to Walnut.
9	Charles Lucas.	"	18, "	31, 32	288 by 135	600	H 109	W. side of 5th from Walnut to Elm.
10	William Sullivan.	Aug.	17, "	4	115 by 135	450	F 99	S. W. cor. of 4th and Walnut.
11	John Bobb	Jan.	8, 1817	65, 66, 83, 84	288 by 270	1500	G 278	A block from Market to Walnut, and 6th to 7th.
12	William Sullivan.	March	11, "	21	114 by 135	300	F 200	S. E. cor. of 5th and Walnut.
13	René Paul.	April	1, "	35	135 by 135	300	G 208	N. W. cor. of 5th and Market.
14	Stoughton Gantt.	"	1, "	29	114 by 135	300	G 110	W. side of 5th from Elm to Myrtle.
15	John Campbell.	"	1, "	30	114 by 135	300	G 112	
16	John Marsh.	May	20, "	64	114 by 135	318	F 296	S. W. cor. of 6th and Walnut.
17	John Dales.	June	22, "	25, 26	228 by 135	600	F 342	E. side of 5th from Myrtle to Spruce.
18	Madame Pescay.	"	26, "	86	114 by 135	400	F 347	N. E. cor. of 7th and Elm.
19	Dr James Minor.	"	26, "	27	114 by 135	400	F 362	N. W. cor. of 5th and Spruce.
20	Dr Pryor Quarles.	"	26, "	53	114 by 135	400	F 363	S. E. cor. 6th and Walnut.
21	Col. Robert Quarles.	"	26, "	28	114 by 135	400	F 364	S. W. cor. of 5th and Myrtle.
22	Rufus Easton.	Sept.	11, "	1, 2	228 by 55 and 80	300	F 390	W. side of 4th from Elm to Myrtle.
23	Madame Pescay.	Oct.	1, "	63	114 by 135	400	G 99	N. W. cor. 6th and Elm.
24	Madame Garnier.	"	28, "	85	114 by 135	300	G 48	S. E. cor. of 7th and Walnut.
25	Isaac H Griffith.	Jan.	13, 1818	131, 132	228 by ——	600	K 161	E. side of 7th from Spruce to Almond.
26	Thomas McGuire.	Feb.	26, "	93, 94	—— by 270	450	G 76	N. side of Market from 8th to 9th
27	Thomas F. Riddick.	April	23, "		9804 sq. feet	191	G 154	E. side of 5th between Poplar and Plum.
28	Gabriel Paul.	June	14, "	61, 62, 88	{ 228 by 135 } { 114 by 135 }	800	G 209	{ W. side of 6th, Elm to Myrtle, and N. E. cor. 7th and Myrtle.
29	Thomas Winstanley.	Aug.	27, "	57, 58	228 by 135	800	G 398	E. side 6th from Myrtle to Spruce.
30	Thomas F. Riddick.	Sept.	23, "		qu'ty not spec.	100	G 387	E. side of 5th near Poplar.
31	John B. C. Lucas.	Oct.	16, "	91, 92	97½ & 88 by 270	500	K 324	N. side of Market from 7th to 8th.
32	Ellen Leroux.	June	3, 1816	23	115 by 135	300	P 415	S. E. cor. of 5th and Elm.
	William Deakers.	——	— 1818	54, 55	ea. 114 by 135	Not on record.		N. E. and S. E. cors. of 6th and Elm.

By John B. C. Lucas to Theodore Hunt, Anthony F. Saugrain, Charles Gratiot, William Christy, and Thomas Brady.

				Lots.	Feet.	Price.	Book and Page.	Present Location.
1	Jail Commissioners.	June	25, 1816	49	115 by 135	$5	F 43	S. E. cor of 6th and Chestnut.
2	Josiah Bright.	July	12, "	48	114 by 135	325	J 107	N. E. cor. of 6th and Chestnut.
3	Henry Von Phul.	Dec.	20, "	38, 47	114 by 270	640	F 135	S. side Pine, 5th to 6th.
4	George Casner.	Jan.	14, 1817	42	114 by 135	450	F 298	S. W. cor. 5th and Locust.
5	Samuel Mount.	"	14, "	43	114 by 135	350	F 300	S. E. cor. 6th and Locust.
6	Lilburn W. Boggs.	Feb.	8, "	70	115 by 135	300	F 160	S. W. cor. of 6th and Pine.
7	Jude and Jabez Warner.	May	20, "		120 by ——	350	F 259	N. E. cor. of 4th and Olive.
8	William Rector.	Aug.	5, "	13	115 by 135	350	F 445	S. E. cor. 5th and Locust.
9	Col. Eli B. Clemson.	"	5, "	73, 74, 75, 76	228 by 270	2000	G 67	Block from 6th to 7th, Olive to Locust.
10	Eulalie Guitard.	Nov.	5, "	77	115 by 135	318	F 470	S. E. cor. of 7th and Olive.
11	Adrian Lucas.	Dec.	11, "	9, 16	115 by 270		F 511	N. side of Pine from 4th to 5th.
12	William Cabeen.	"	20, "		125 by 131	350	G 312	S. E. cor. of 4th and Locust.
13	Ann L. Hunt.	"	20, "	39, 40, 45, 46	228 by 270		H 387	Block from 5th to 6th and Pine to Olive.
14	Peter Ferguson.	Sept.	18, 1818	44	115 by 135	700	G 377	N. E. cor of 6th and Olive
15	George C. Sibley.	Dec.	16, "	72	114 by 135	800	H 101	S. W. cor. of 6th and Olive.
16	Wat Lourey.	Jan.	19, 1819	37	114 by 135	1000	H 155	N. W. cor. of 5th and Chestnut.
17	Nicholas Verdin.	Nov.	22, "	N. ½ of 15	57 by 135	250	H 540	S. E. cor. of 5th and Olive
18	Reuben Neal.	Dec.	31, "	17, 18	228 by 135	1200	J 31	E. side of 5th from Chestnut to Pine.
19	Daniel Marsh.	April	14, 1821	S. ½ of 15	57 by 135	350	K 448	E. side of 5th below Olive.
20	David Shepherd.	Oct.	25, "	part of 68	28 by 135	250	K 401	W. side of 6th between Market and Chestnut.
21	Britton Mount.	Sept.	9, 1822	S. ½ of 41	57 by 135	225	L 131	N. W. cor. 5th and Olive, south half.
22	Asa Wilgus.	"	9, "	N. ½ of 41	57 by 135	175	L 132	N. W. cor. 5th and Olive, north half.

Reconveyances in Chouteau's Addition.

James Sawyer to Salmon Giddings, May 1, 1817, 40 by 144, part of lot 6, F 242, south side Market above 4th.
Alexander Stuart to H. S. Geyer, Sept. 17, 1818, 120 by 270, part of 34 and 51, G 373, south side Market 5th to 6th.
Same to same, 24 by 270, balance of 34 and 51, H 419, south part of same lots.
Thomas Winstanley to Jacob Reed, March 16, 1819, 228 by 135, 57 and 58, H 229, east side of 6th, Myrtle to Spruce, $4000.
W. P. Leduc to Joshua Barton, June 1, 1819, 117 by 135, lot 67, J 22, N. W. cor. 6th and Market.
H. S Geyer to John and Jeremiah Jones, July 29, 1819, 138 by 113, part of 51, H 435, S. E. cor. 6th and Market.
John Jones to Joshua Barton, Dec. 22, 1819, 138 by 113, the above, J 21, 22, $2500, K 43.
Joshua Barton to John Jones, Dec. 22, 1819, 117 by 135, lot 67, J 20, $2500, second above.
Joshua Barton to A. Gamble, May 8, 1820, 50½ by 138, east ½ of 51, K 148, south side Market, between 5th and 6th.
H. S. Geyer to Arch. Gamble, Feb. 11, 1821, 16 by 77, part of 51, K 140, south side Market, between 5th and 6th.
(In Lucas') Eli B Clemson to John Hall, Sept. 1, 1818, 228 by 270, lots 73, 74, 75, 76, for $7670, G 360, 6th to 7th, Olive to Locust.
John Campbell to Ruins Easton, May, 1819, undivided half of 29 and 30, H 331, west side 5th, Elm to Myrtle.
S. Gantt, by sheriff, to C. S. Hempstead, June 22, 1822, other half 29 and 30, L 197, west side 5th, Elm to Myrtle.

In Lucas' Addition.

William Cabeen to William Rector, July 14, 1818, 120 feet on 4th, H 337, S. E. cor. 4th and Locust.
William Rector to Phineas Bartlet, Feb. 9, 1819, 120 by 59, H 347, S. E. cor. 4th and Locust (see note below).
Eulalie Guitard to P. Bonamie, June 16, 1818, 57 by 135, south ½ of 77, G 242, east side 7th between Pine and Oliver.
L. W. Boggs to Pryor Quarles.
Pryor Quarles to Lewis Learned, March 6, 1819, 115 by 135, lot 70, H 539, S. W. cor. 6th and Pine.
Wm. Rector to Baptist Godair, May 21, 1819, 115 by 67½, west ½ of 13, H 408, S. E. cor. 5th and Locust.
Wm. Rector to Aug. Guibor, Oct. 19, 1819, 115 by 67½, east ½ of 13, H 531, south side Locust east of 5th.
Geo. Cassner to Moses Broadwell, Jan. 22, 1820, 57 by 135, south ½ of 42, I 44, S. W. cor. 5th and Locust, $2100.
Geo. Cassner to Brit. and Sam'l Mount, Jan. 20, 1820, 57 by 135, north ½ of 42, I 46, S. W. cor. 5th and Locust, $1550.
Josiah Bright to Joseph C. Brown, March 13, 1820, 114 by 135, lot 48, J 106, N. E. cor. 6th and Chestnut, $600.
Joseph C. Brown to Beriah Clelland, March 17, 1820, 114 by 135, lot 48, J 113, N. E. cor. 6th and Chestnut, $1200.
Phineas Bartlett to Chaun. Shepard, March 15, 1820, 120 by 59, J 212, S. E. cor. 4th and Locust, $505.
Chauncey Shepard to Jacob Fry, Aug. 11, 1820, 120 by 59, J 386, S. E. cor. 4th and Locust, $425.
Jacob Fry to David Shirtle, Oct. 5, 1820, 120 by 59, J 473, same lot, $1000.
Geo. C. Sibley to Eulalie Guitard, Jan. 13, 1825, 114 by 135, lot 72, M 224, S. W. cor. 6th and Olive, $500.
Same to Francis Giroux, June 20, 1826, 57 by 135, south ½ of 72, N 69, west side 6th between Pine and Olive.
John B. C. Lucas to Dr. Thos. Hougham, April 14, 1828, 114 by 135, lot 71, O 165, N. W. cor. 6th and Pine.
Dr. Hougham to Chas. R. Hall, Aug. 20, 1830, 114 by 135, lot 71, Q 174, same above, $1000.

Auguste Chouteau sold to Wm. Deakers, Sr., prior to 1820, the two lots Nos. 54 and 55, S. E. and N. E. corn. of 6th and Elm, deed not record- Deakers built a stone house on the N. E. cor. lot, and on the other had his brick-yard.

Deakers and Dorothy, his wife, mortgaged this property Feb. 22, 1820, to Matthew Maloney for $305, Book S, page 214. Deakers died that same year, 1820; the mortgage was foreclosed and the property sold by Sheriff Jos. C. Brown to Maloney, March 13, 1822, for $161 45.

These lots were sold for taxes, and purchased by John Shackford, his deed for same, April 18, 1825, recorded in Book M, page 289. Shackford relinquished it to the sons of Deakers for $50, Dec. 2, 1825, Book O, 518. These parties divided lot 54 March 17, 1827, as follows:

George, having purchased William's fourth, got the west half, 67½ feet on Elm by 115 north on 6th Street; Lambert, 33.9 feet next east Elm; and Richard, 33.9 feet next east to alley by 115 deep, Book O 546.

Maloney having also died, David Shepard and Jonas Moore paid the mortgage debt to Keinlen, administrator, Feb. 17, 1835, and received a deed for the lot from Keinlen, Book U 203.

NOTE.—The eastern portion of this lot on Locust Street was Rector's property as late as Oct. 25, 1823, and had thereon at that date a frame stable of David Massie, who then kept Rector's City Hotel, Vine and Third. This hotel property, 80 by 150 feet, and the stable lot above, were mortgaged by Rector on that date for a loan of $14,000 for five years. The mortgage also included the east part of two lots Rector had acquired from Guibor and Godair in 1819, which lay across Third Street.

On Oct. 19, 1877, Mr. Richard Dowling read a very interesting paper before the Missouri Historical Society, in which he took occasion to speak from memory and personal recollection in regard to some of the real estate transactions so carefully catalogued above. The vein of his reminiscence ran back as far as 1817, at which time he claims that there were but two houses north of Franklin Avenue. Some of these reminiscences do not accord with other contemporary traditions, and we will not attempt to harmonize them. They stood near the four mounds there, which have since disappeared. There were but fifteen brick houses in the town, the largest being Kibbey's Hotel, built by Knight & Brady.

There were at that time two ferry-boats making regular trips, one at the foot of Market Street, and one near Morgan Street. In front of the city was a sand-bar, which in 1819 reached from Market to Morgan Streets, and extending two-thirds the way across the river.

The ferries were owned by Mr. Nash and E. M. Van Arsdel. One of the boats crossed above Bloody Island, and the other below. Skiffs and keel-boats were also much used in the transfer of freight and passengers.

Mr. Day started the first horse ferry-boat about 1824, which was also the first one that had any cover or protection from the weather. In 1827, Mr. Wiggins, of Cincinnati, came to St. Louis, and about a year afterwards brought here from that place the first steam ferry-boat ever run here.

The old jail, a very primitive structure, stood in the centre of the crossing of Fourth and Walnut Streets. The jailer was William Sullivan, a large and powerful man, weighing over three hundred pounds. In 1818, this jail being found inadequate, a new one was built on the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets. It was of undressed stone, and consisted of a main story and basement, the latter being a sort of dungeon in which to confine dangerous or refractory prisoners. The stone-work was done by Thomas Reynolds, and the wood-work by Beriah Clelland. In after years, and until recently, this structure was known as the "Old Jail," a larger and more imposing building having been built in the rear and adjoining it.

The first building used as a court-house was James Beardly's blacksmith-shop, altered for the purpose. It was situated on the west side of Third Street, between Almond and Spruce. It was about forty feet front by about seventy feet deep. When the court was not in session it was used as a place of amusement, and the first theatrical performance in St. Louis was given there in October, 1817, by Mr. Vos. He brought his company from Nashville, Tenn. It was the largest room in the city, and was therefore in demand for balls, Fourth of July dinners, etc.

About the year 1820 the court was moved to an old frame building on the southwest corner of Second and Walnut Streets, and some years afterwards to the Baptist Church, southwest corner of Market and Third Streets. The first court-house built by St. Louis County stood on Fourth Street, occupying a portion of the ground now covered by the east wing of the present structure. It was built by Morton & Lavenlie, and was commenced in 1826 and finished in 1828.

The principal part of the land surrounding St. Louis in the early days belonged to a half dozen persons, viz.: Col. Auguste Chouteau, Judge John B. C. Lucas, Jeremiah Connor, William Christy, William C. Carr, and Robert Wash. They owned all the land west of Fourth Street, running forty arpens in length to near where Grand Avenue now is, which joined the prairie common fields. The land west of Eleventh Street was all timbered. West of Chouteau's pond were dense thickets of hazel bushes, oaks, and persimmons, reaching out to the prairie

North of Franklin Avenue and west of Broadway all the land was timbered, as was all that north of Ashley Street. All the land south of Chouteau Avenue, taking in the Sacred Heart Convent, was timbered down to the Widow Chouteau's tract, which south of Lafayette Street was cultivated. From the Arsenal walls to Carondelet the land was all timbered except on the east side of the Carondelet road, which was cultivated by Antoine Soulard, Joseph Brazeau, Governor Delassus, and Judge Bent, whose place joined the arsenal.

There were three principal county roads. The road going south passed over Mill Creek bridge close by the present gas-works. About three hundred feet south of where Park A enue is now there was another road leading southwest to Gravois.

The road north was a continuation of Main Street, running through what is now Bellefontaine Cemetery to Bellefontaine, which was then a military post. There was a beautiful spring there then which no longer exists, and which gave the title to the place.

The road west ran out St. Charles Street for about fifteen blocks, when it bore north until it came in a line with Franklin Avenue at what is now Twenty-second Street. Starting from St. Charles Street and running south of Lucas Place, there was a road leading to Manchester and other points.

Returning now to the article of the *Globe-Democrat*, we find that

"The principal additions of real estate blocked out with street and alley dedications by the owners during the first seventeen years of the existence of St. Louis as a city were as follows, as seen by the plat books in the office of the recorder of deeds. The locations are given according to the present designations of streets:

"John B. C. Lucas' addition of Sept. 6, 1833, was from Seventh to Ninth Street, between Market and St. Charles Streets.

"Julia C. Soulard's addition of May 18, 1836, was from the river to Carondelet Avenue, between Park and Geyer Avenues.

"J. J. O'Fallon, Feb. 1, 1836, the block between Seventh, Eighth, and Wash Streets and Franklin Avenue.

"E. T. Langham, September, 1836, from the present La Salle Street to Rutger Street, between Second and Fifth Streets.

"E. T. Christy's addition of 1836 was from Ninth to Twelfth Street, between Franklin and Lucas Avenues.

"J. J. O'Fallon's addition of July 17, 1837, between Seventh and Fourteenth Streets, from Franklin Avenue to Biddle Street.

"Julia C. Soulard's second addition, June 21, 1838. It included the area from Carondelet Avenue to Decatur Street, between Park and Geyer Avenues. The square where Soulard Market is was in this addition, dedicated to market purposes.

"Blow and Le Beaume's addition, Dec. 20, 1838, between the river and Carondelet Avenue, with a width of one hundred and forty-one feet north at Carondelet Avenue, and six hundred and sixty-three feet north at the river, from the north side of Victor Street.

"Feb. 8, 1839, the city limits were extended northwardly and described as follows: Beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River due east of the mouth of Mill Creek, so called; thence due west to the mouth of said creek; thence up the centre of the main channel of said creek to a point where the southern side of Rutger Street produced intersected the same; thence westwardly along the southern side of said street to the intersection of the same with the western line of Seventh Street, produced; thence northwardly along the western line of Seventh Street to the northern line of Biddle Street; thence eastwardly with the northern line of Biddle Street to the western line of Broadway; thence northwardly with the western line of Broadway to a point where the southern boundary of survey No. 671, produced, shall intersect the same; thence eastwardly along the southern boundary of said survey to the Mississippi River; thence due east to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River; thence down with the middle of the main channel of said river to the place of beginning.

"This change of boundary did not enlarge the area of the city more than five or six blocks; but the lines were made more definite and straighter. The southern side of survey No. 671 was afterwards Ashley Street, extended to Broadway. The city at this time had a population of about sixteen thousand, and the taxable property was assessed at $8,682,506, and the taxes paid amounted to $43,291.

"The property-owners who during the succeeding years made the principal additions to the city were as follows:

"Edmund T. Christy's addition of March 18, 1839, was from Twelfth to Thirteenth Streets, between Franklin and Lucas Avenues.

"T. B. Lesperance's addition, May 15, 1839, from the river to Carondelet Avenue, between Allen and Russell Avenues, formerly Lesperance and Picotte Streets.

"The Duchouquette addition, Dec. 4, 1839, was made by Jean Baptiste Duchouquette, Theodore Papin, John B. Lesperance, and Brazil M. Alexander. The area was from the river to Carondelet Avenue, between Allen Avenue and Lami Street.

"Ann Biddle's addition, April 16, 1840, from Broadway to Thirteenth Street, between Biddle and O'Fallon Streets.

"John Stacker and Martin Thomas' addition, May 21, 1840, contained ten arpens of land, and was from O'Fallon to Howard Streets, between Broadway and East Seventeenth Street.

"Feb. 15, 1841, the city limits were extended southwardly, westwardly, and northwardly, and were described as beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River, thence due east to the southeast corner of St. George, in St. Louis County; thence due west to the west line of Second Carondelet Avenue; thence north with the said west line of said Avenue to the north line of Chouteau Avenue; thence northwardly in a direct line to the mouth of Stony Creek, above the present north line of the city of St. Louis; thence due east to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River; thence southwardly with the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River to the place of beginning.

"The limits for 1841, and which continued for fourteen years, were briefly as follows: North line, from a point on Main Street, between Dock and Buchanan Streets, to the river, along the recent Rocky Branch; west line, a straight southwardly projected line from Main Street, near Dock, to Chouteau Avenue, one hundred feet west of Second Carondelet Avenue; thence south along Second Carondelet Avenue to Wyoming Street; south line, Wyoming Street, from Second Carondelet Avenue to First Carondelet Avenue, thence eastwardly to an intersection with the river at the foot of Anna Street.

"The area of the city within these limits was two thousand six hundred and thirty acres, or nearly four and one-ninth square miles. The assessment of property increased from $8,682,506 to $12,101,028, and taxes were increased from $43,291 to $45,088.

"This extension of the city took in the following additions:

"The incorporated town of North St. Louis, dedicated by William Chambers, W. T. Christy, and Thomas Wright, on June 29, 1816. This town was from the river to Twelfth Street, between Madison and Montgomery Streets. In the dedication by Messrs. Chambers, Christy, and Wright, they gave a market square and school park and church sites. These special gifts are now known as Exchange Square, at the foot of North Market Street, and the Webster School, Jackson Park, and Grace Epis-

copal Church site, between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, from Madison to Montgomery Street.

"The town of St. George, with streets and blocks, was dedicated Nov. 15, 1836, by Wm. Carr Lane. This town was located from the river to Carondelet Avenue, between Victor Street and the rear of lots on the north side of Lynch Street, formerly Harper. One of the conditions of St. George addition was that William Carr Lane's heirs and assigns should have the right to locate and maintain forever, free of charge or cost whatever, a railroad, with one or more tracks, through any street in said addition which they might select for that purpose. The dedicator also reserved the right of ownership in the ferry privileges, and in the addition of land deposited by the river.

"A village then known as Central St. Louis, located from the river to Eleventh Street, between O'Fallon and Tyler, formerly Webster Street, was also taken into the city by the extension of 1841. The dedicated additions in Central St. Louis were as follows:

"Thomas J. Payne's addition of Jan. 8, 1841, to Central St. Louis, was from the river to Broadway, between Mound and Bogy (formerly Brooklyn) Street. The dedicator reserved to himself the right of wharfage, ferriage, and Levee grading.

"Robert Moore's addition of June 6, 1840, was about seventy-five feet each side of Mound Street, from Broadway to the west end of the present street.

"Charles Collins' northern addition, July 1, 1839, was from the river to the rear of lots on the west side of Second Street, between Mound and Chambers Streets. This addition contained ten blocks or forty arpens of land.

"Charles Collins' western addition, Nov. 22, 1845, was both sides of Bogy (formerly Brooklyn) Street, from Broadway to Ninth Street.

"The other principal additions to St. Louis during the fourteen years preceding the next extension of the city boundary were as follows:

"H. M. Shreve's addition of July 8, 1840, was from Twelfth to Fourteenth Street, between Franklin Avenue and Biddle Street.

"Benjamin A. Soulard's addition of November, 1841, was from Buel to Morton Street, between Park Avenue and Marion Street, and from State to Morton, between Marion and Carroll Streets.

"Julia C. Soulard's third addition, Sept. 28, 1840, was from Decatur to Rosatti Streets, between Marion Street and Allen Avenue.

"Julia C. Soulard's fourth addition, Oct. 7, 1840, was from Rosatti to the rear of the lots on the west side of Closey Street, between Carroll and Soulard Streets.

"Louis A. Benoist's addition of Aug. 9, 1842, was from Laclede Avenue to lots on the north side of Locust Street, between Beaumont Street and Leffingwell Avenue.

"Julia C. Soulard's fifth addition, Sept. 15, 1841, was from Rosatti to Morton Streets, between Soulard Street and Geyer Avenue, and from Rosatti Street to rear of lots on the west side of Closey Street, between Geyer and Russell Avenues.

"William C. Carr, on Aug. 1, 1842, added the area from Fourteenth to Seventeenth Streets, between Franklin Avenue and Biddle Streets, and dedicated Carr Park, 'to remain vacant and to serve forever for a pleasure-ground and public square, and for no other purpose whatever.' In dedicating this addition factories, nine-pin alleys, or other then offensive institutions were prohibited within the limits of the addition.

"Gabriel Paul's addition of Sept. 6, 1842, was on the East side of Adolphe Street, from Market to Spruce Street, and in the rear of these lots was the western limit of Chouteau's pond.

"René Paul, Oct. 7, 1844, added the blocks between Market Street and Clark Avenue, from Seventeenth to Eighteenth Streets. At that time most of this area was represented as being in Chouteau's pond.[1]

[1] Concerning Chouteau's pond something has already been said. Its history will be found complete in the following note from the pen of Professor Waterhouse:

"Joseph Miguel Taillon was one of the early pioneers. He came to St. Louis from the settlements on the east side of the Mississippi in 1765. He was then about forty-eight years old. The wise forecast of Laclede attracted settlers by concessions of land. A grant of half a block on the north side of Market, between Main and Second, was made to Mr. Taillon. On this lot he built a stone house forty-eight by thirty feet. This building was for years one of the largest dwellings in the village. Here Mr. Taillon lived for more than forty years, and died at the beginning of the present century at the advanced age of about ninety. Though so illiterate that he could not write his name, he was by no means deficient in talent. His native aptitude for business led to his appointment as one of the trustees of the village. To Taillon belongs the credit of creating an artificial pond in the valley of the 'Cul de Sac.' Three miles from the Mississippi, near the west end of Laclede Avenue, there is a large spring, whose copious waters formed the rivulet which the French called 'La Petite Rivière.' The little stream wound through the valley in a southwesterly direction, and emptied into the river a short distance below the foot of Convent Street. The progress of improvement long since obliterated the old channel of the brook, and now the crystal waters of Rock Spring flow to the river through the massive arches of the Mill Creek sewer. In 1765 only one or two small grist mills, impelled by horse or ox-power, existed in St. Louis. Soon after his arrival, Taillon conceived the idea of erecting a water mill, and at once proceeded to carry his plan into execution. Having obtained the requisite authority, he dammed the Rock Spring rivulet, and built, near the intersection of Ninth and Poplar Streets, a frame mill with one set of stones. He operated the mill about two years, and then sold it to Pierre Laclede Liguest for four hundred livres. The date of the sale was Dec. 2, 1767, but possession was not given until March 22, 1768. Laclede enlarged the capacity of the mill. He put in two sets of stones, and secured the necessary increase on water-power by raising the height of the dam. The mill remained in the possession of Laclede till his death in June, 1778.

"July 4, 1779, the mill, together with two hundred and forty arpens of land, was sold at public auction to Auguste Chouteau for two thousand livres. Col. Chouteau retained this property till his death, in 1829. During the half-century of his ownership he made many improvements. The wooden mill of Taillon was torn down, and on its site a larger mill, built of stone, was erected. When in the course of time the growth of the village required greater facilities for the manufacture of flour, the second mill was removed and replaced by a still larger stone mill. It is not probable that they were built on exactly the same site. In order to avoid any interruption of supplies it is likely that the second mill was allowed to remain until the completion of the third. But all three of the mills stood in the immediate neighborhood of Ninth and Poplar.* The area of

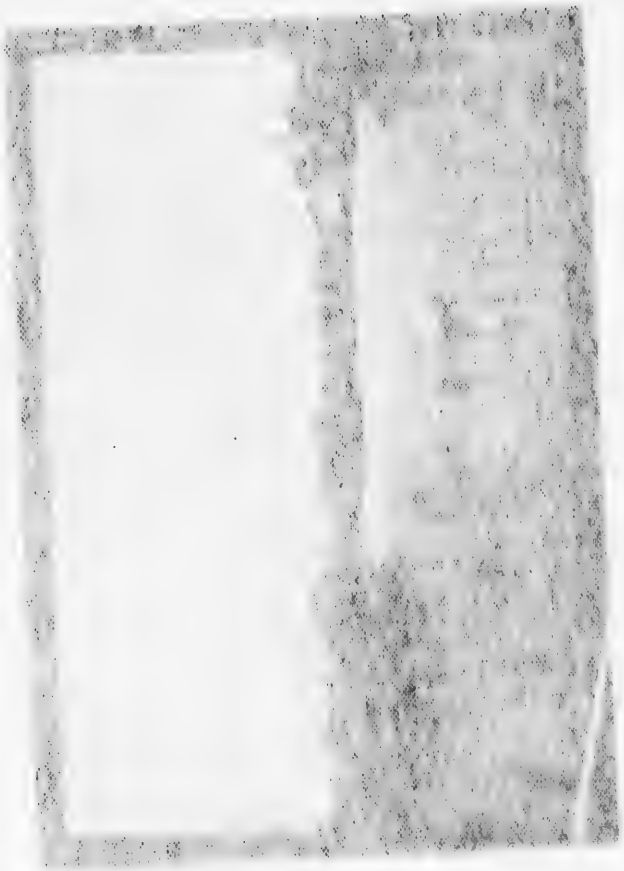
* "The old stone mill was torn down since 1863, and its site is now (1878) nearly covered by a substantial building of brick partly sheathed with iron, and used for an ice-house and a store for the sale of agricultural machinery and tools. It is about three hundred feet westwardly from the southern half of the Central Market. The railroad grounds, tracks, and sheds adjoin it, and the Union Depot is located partly on the old shore and partly on the bed of the pond."—*Switzler's Hist. of Missouri*



CHOUTEAU'S POND.

"Theodore Papin and Honoré Picotté's addition, Sept. 9, 1849, was from De Kalb Street to Carondelet Avenue, between

"René Paul's addition, Dec. 24, 1845, was from Gratiot Street to Chouteau Avenue, between Beckwith and Barlow Streets.



"Theodore Papin and Honoré Picotté's addition, Sept. 9, 1842, was from De Kalb Street to Carondelet Avenue, between Russell Avenue and Shenandoah Street.

"John B. C. Lucas' addition of Feb. 7, 1843, was from Ninth to Eleventh Streets, between Market and St. Charles Streets.

"René Paul's addition, Dec. 24, 1845, was from Gratiot Street to Chouteau Avenue, between Beckwith and Barlow Streets.

"Dr. Hardage Lane's second addition, April 13, 1846, was from First Carondelet to Second Carondelet Avenue, between Wyoming and Arsenal Streets, containing about two arpens. At

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the pond was largely extended by repeated elevations of the dam. By a gradual acquisition of the adjoining property, Col. Chouteau added eleven hundred and twenty arpens to his original purchase, and became sole proprietor of all the land upon the borders of the pond. This mill-tract was nearly three miles long and about three-quarters of a mile wide. It stretched from the neighborhood of Rock Spring to the front line of the field-lots on Fourth Street, and from Chouteau Avenue to Market Street. The board of land commissioners confirmed Col. Chouteau's title to this land June 7, 1810. According to the United States survey, the tract embraced eleven hundred and fifty-five and one-quarter acres. The descendants of Chouteau still retain a part of the Mill Creek estate.

"Col. Chouteau survived most of the original settlers of St. Louis. During the fifty years of his occupancy of the mill-site, thousands came to the village, to whom tradition even had never mentioned the prior ownership of Taillon. The talk was given upon the false assumption that this body of water owed its existence to Col. Chouteau. But the title which popular error conferred is essentially just. Auguste Chouteau expanded the little mill-pond of Taillon to the dimensions of a small lake, and was virtually the creator of 'Chouteau's Pond.'

"The pond was a type of French life. It combined pleasure with utility. Apart from its industrial services, it contributed largely to the fund of social enjoyment; picnics gathered upon its banks; pleasure parties sailed over its limpid depths; its moonlit shores were the trysting-places of young love; there boatmen sought healthful recreation or tested their strength in competition of speed; sportsmen went there to catch fish or shoot aquatic game; bathers sought relief from the sultry heats of summer in the coolness of its retired waters.

"But in the course of time a sad change came over the scene; the romance vanished; the city extended along the banks; the pond itself became the receptacle of impure drainage; the unwholesome accumulations began to awaken a solicitude for the public health. The removal of the pond and the construction of a sewer seemed to be the only effectual means of improving the hygienic condition of Mill Creek. But the change which sanitary considerations had first suggested was ultimately effected by the demands for public improvements. The Missouri Pacific Railroad needed an outlet to the Mississippi. Its central position, easy grade, public accessibility, and freedom from costly improvements unmistakably indicated the valley of Mill Creek as the location of the railway approach to the river, and it was appropriated to this use. The valley is now the site of the Great Central Station, and the convenient avenue of railroad passage through the city. Research has failed to find in the municipal records any mention of the date of drainage. The water was not all let out at one time; the great body was drawn off probably in 1852 or 1853, but the deepest parts of the pond were not fully drained till several years later."

The general topography of the mill-dam and its drainage is thus described by Mr. Billon:

"The main body of the pond near the mill was about a half-mile long, extending from its northernmost point at Market Street, between Ninth and Tenth, in a southwesterly direction to about where is now Papin Street, at its junction with Twelfth Street, at the present Shickle & Harrison Iron-Works; its widest point was about three hundred yards across, from Eighth Street, its easternmost line, to Eleventh, its western line, at about Spruce Street.

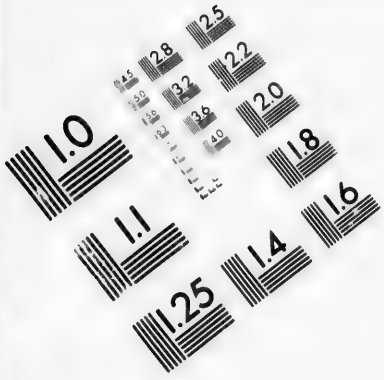
"Starting from the dam at the intersection of Ninth and Poplar, its eastern shore curved around along Eighth to Clark Avenue, and thence northwest to its northernmost point at Market Street, between Ninth and Tenth, where a gully brought the rain-water from as far north as Olive Street, and from a spring in the ground north of Market, between Eighth and Ninth, where one Thomas Maguire had put up a small brick residence in 1817, on a small lot he purchased from Chouteau; from this point the shore line curved in a southwest direction to about Clark and Eleventh Streets, thence a south course to about Cerré, where it was about one hundred yards wide, and made a turn to a westward direction. From the water-gate at Ninth and Poplar the shore meandered along the foot of high ground in a southwest direction to about Twelfth and Papin; from this point, in a general northwest direction, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty yards, until it reached to near Market Street again, from about Tayon, to Adolph or Twentieth Street; here it turned again to a southwest course to where it crossed Chouteau Avenue, at about Armstrong Avenue, the southwest point of the pond; from this point to its chief source, the Rock Spring, it was but the natural stream, at times higher or lower, according to the quantity of water in the main body of the pond and the state of the season.

"The main body of the pond at the mill was about one-half mile long by three hundred yards across at Spruce Street; from there it varied in width from one hundred to one hundred and fifty yards to the southwest point of the pond proper, at Chouteau Avenue and Twenty-second Street. The whole length of the pond with its curves and meanders was nearly two miles, but in a small boat we frequently ascended the branch to beyond the Pacific Railroad machine-shops.

"Besides its three principal sources of supply, the Rock Spring, Hammond's and McRee's Springs, several other fine springs came into it from various points. Lucas Spring, just north of Market Street, near Twentieth, was a fine large spring in a handsome grove of young sapling timber, and was much resorted to by picnic parties, Fourth of July celebrations, and for many years the Methodists of the day held their annual camp-meetings at the spot. Another fine spring in a small round cove, which we could just enter with our little craft, was on the south bank near Eleventh Street, in after-years Raberg & Shaffner's tannery.

"A deep gully, called by the early French the 'Racero,' or 'Hook,' ran along down the present Twelfth Street, draining the water across our present Washington Square from as far north as Locust at Thirteenth, where is now Missouri Park, then the residence of Judge John B. C. Lucas. The ground between Eleventh and Twelfth, now occupied by the Four Courts, was always high ground, for many years the residence property of Henry Chouteau, third son of the old original.

"When the Pacific Railroad commenced their work in 1853, before the pond was drained, they built their road some blocks west of Fourteenth, where they commenced work on piles. After the pond was drained, the present Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and other streets were opened and made across the land that had been covered by the pond, and in the course of years the lots were gradually filled up; the Collier White-Lead Works, the Harrison foundry, the gas-meters, baggage-factory, railroads



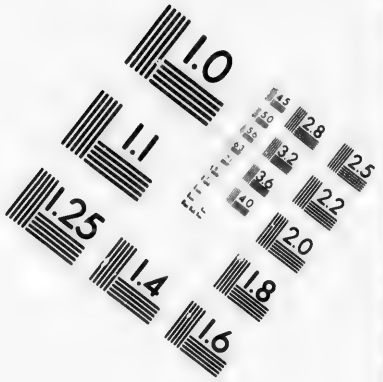
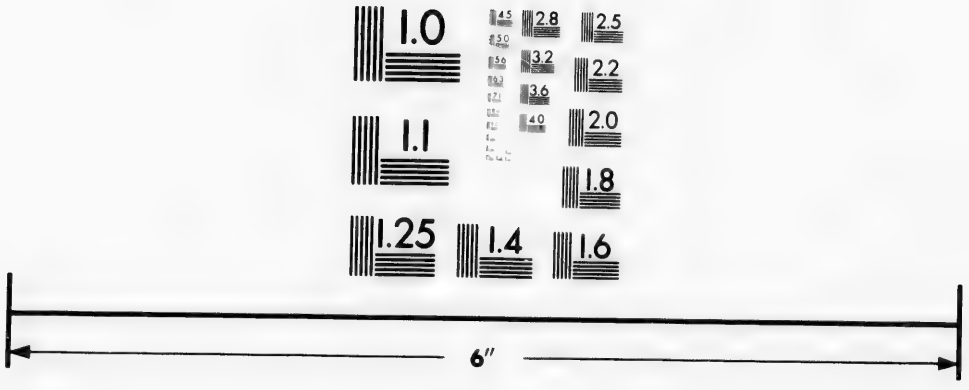
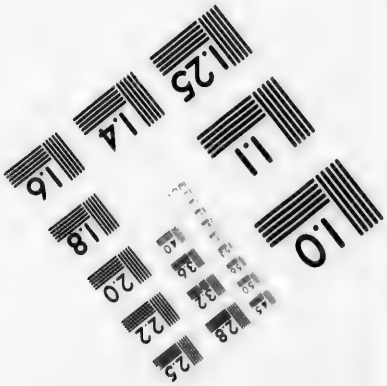


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that time this addition formed the southwest corner of the city.

"Bernard G. Farrar's addition, Sept. 22, 1847, was from Eleventh to Eighteenth Street, between Hebert and Sullivan Streets.

and depot buildings, and many other establishments recently erected are all built on ground in or near the pond.

"After Chouteau had replaced the primitive old wooden mill-house of Tayon & Laclede with a stone building, and had raised the dam to supply more water for the same, to strengthen the dam he had placed a row of cottonwood-trees along on it, which in a few years furnished a fine shade, and was much resorted to in hot weather as a pleasant evening promenade, where the boys caught fine fish, with which the pond abounded."

Its further history, as a matter of land record, is given below:

Chouteau's mill tract was first surveyed by order of the board of land commissioners, by Silas Bent, the first United States deputy surveyor in St. Louis, in November, 1809. He gave it a front to the east of 43 chains, or 946 yards, equal to 144⅔ French linear arpens, by a depth westwardly on its north line of 233 chains (80 linear arpens), and on its south line of 223.16 chains (about 77 linear arpens), averaging through the centre, east, and west 78.42 arpens, containing about 1140 arpens. Add the outlet to the river, 2 by 9 arpens (18 arpens), and the small tract south of the mill-tract proper of 4 by 13½ arpens, or 54 arpens, made the whole tract, as confirmed by the board, June 7, 1810, survey No. 363, about 1212 arpens, or 1031 acres. (See State Papers, "Public Lands," vol. ii. page 476.)

Subsequently, when accurately measured by the city authorities, Chouteau's front on Fifth Street, from the north line of the mill-tract at Market Street south to Chouteau Avenue, was found to be about 1030 yards, or about 16 arpens front, which he had always claimed to hold under Liguest, Laclede, and others, exclusive of the Guion tract of 1 arpent front, north of him,—the south lot or No. 1 of the common fields. Including this 1 arpent, his east front was about 1100 yards, or 17 arpens,—1091 yards.

	Arpens.	Acres.		Arpens.	Acres.
Bent's survey of the mill-tract.....	1140	or $969\frac{72}{100}$	Add 106 arpents	1246	1060
Bent's survey of the south tract.....	54	or $45\frac{90}{100}$		54	$45\frac{90}{100}$
Bent's survey of the strip to river.....	18	or $15\frac{30}{100}$		18	$15\frac{30}{100}$
	1212	1031		1318	$1121\frac{02}{100}$
			Add the Guion tract	40	34
				1358	$1155\frac{02}{100}$

It appears that a more accurate survey and admeasurement made the tract 47 chains 11 wide, instead of 43 chains as by Bent's survey. This difference of 4 chains 11 in the width gave the tract 106 arpens more. To this add the Guion 40 arpens on the north, not included in the first survey, and we have the tract to contain 146 arpens, equal to 124.25 acres, more than in the first calculation.

After Chouteau and Lucas had laid off their first addition to St. Louis, in May, 1816, which they extended back west of the old town to Seventh Street, Chouteau inclosed the east and north line of his mill-tract by putting up a new inclosure of pickets along the south side of Market Street to the pond at Ninth Street, and the west side of Seventh to Chouteau Avenue.

When, in 1853, the pond was drained by the removal of the dam, and the lines of the streets were run through the land, the old stone mill built by him was found to be situated a little northwest of the present intersection of Poplar with Eighth Street, between it and the present entrance to the open cut of the tunnel, and the flood-gates for the overflow of the pond diagonally across, northeast to southwest, the intersection of Poplar and Ninth.

Auguste Chouteau's estate was divided in 1832,—the part west of Seventh Street was sold in small tracts, which were added from time to time to the city. The mill lot was bought by Henry, Edward, and Gabriel Chouteau for $11,000, and the mill was run by water or steam till it burnt down, some years back. In 1837 Edward Chouteau sold his third in the mill-tract to his brothers for $10,000, and they sold it to Pierre Chouteau for $13,000. In 1853 P. Chouteau sold his third to P. Dexter Tiffany for $65,000, and he and his partners sold a third of this to the Pacific Railroad for $120,000, in October, 1853. Some of the deeper hollows of the pond were not quite drained before 1870.

"Susan La Beaume and Charles Collins' addition, Jan. 21, 1847, from Ninth to Eleventh Street, between Rogy, formerly Brooklyn, and Tyler, formerly Webster Street.

"Louis A. La Beaume and Archibald Gamble's addition of Aug. 9, 1847, was from Mercer Street to Jefferson Avenue, between Clark Avenue and Walnut Street.

"William C. Carr's third addition, July 10, 1847, from Eighteenth Street to Jefferson Avenue, between Franklin Avenue and Biddle Street. The recorded conditions of the dedication of the streets in this addition were that 'there shall be no butchery, tallow chandlery, soap-factory, steam factory, tannery, nine-pin alley, or any other offensive business or occupation set up or carried on on any part of said addition, whereby the dwellings of any other lot-owners, proprietors, or occupants may be in any way annoyed or disturbed;' that there shall be no change in the streets or alleys as laid off in the plot, and that all the fences and timber on the streets and alleys shall be reserved for the use of Wm. C. Carr.

"Adolphe Paul's addition, Jan. 30, 1846, between Market and Walnut Streets, from Adolphe Street to Twentieth.

"Dr. Hardage Lane's addition of October, 1839, revised March, 1846. This addition was from Austin to Poplar Street, between Fourteenth and Sixteenth Streets.

"Solomon H. Robbin's addition of Sept. 3, 1847, was from Seventeenth to Eighteenth Streets, between St. Charles Street and Lucas Avenue.

"Richard W. Ulrici's addition of Oct. 26, 1847, was from Twenty-third Street to Jefferson Avenue, between Market and Eugenia Streets.

"Thomas Allen's first addition, April 12, 1848, was from Carondelet Avenue to Fulton Street, between Geyer and Allen Avenues. Among the conditions of this dedication is the following: 'There shall be no slaughter-house, bawdy-house, soap and candle factory, tannery, distillery, nine-pin alley, or any other offensive business or occupation set up or carried on upon any part of the addition.'

"The Fairview addition, made by Charles K. Dickson and John J. Murdoch, May 1, 1848, was between Sidney and Victor Streets, from Rosatti to Morton, formerly Summer Street.

"J. G. Shand's addition of June 12, 1848, was from Monroe to Montgomery Streets, between East Sixteenth and Seventeenth Streets.

"Ed. Haven's addition of May 10, 1848, was eight blocks within the area from Carondelet Avenue to Decatur Street, and between Victor and Shenandoah Streets.

"The Devoisy addition of June 9, 1848, was four blocks, two each side of Gravois Avenue, from Wisconsin, formerly McNair Avenue.

"The Labadie addition of June 28, 1848, was six blocks

within the area from Carondelet Avenue, two blocks west, between Sidney and Pestalozzi Streets.

"James H. Lucas and Ann L. Hunt's addition, Jan. 18, 1849, was from Twelfth to Seventeenth Street, between Market and Olive Streets.

"Isaac W. Taylor and E. R. Mason's addition of Oct. 6, 1848, was two and a half blocks, in the area from Carondelet Avenue west, between Barton and Sidney Streets.

"Thomas Allen's second addition of Dec. 13, 1848, was six blocks from Rosatti to Morton Street, between Victor and Shenandoah Streets.

"Among the conditions of this dedication were that there should not be any offensive business set up or carried on upon the addition, 'such as a slaughter-house, bawdy-house, soap and candle factory, tannery, or distillery.'

"Dec. 5, 1855, the limits of the city were farther extended southwardly, westwardly, and northwardly, and described as beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River, where the continuation of the south side of Keokuk Street eastwardly would intersect said main channel; thence westwardly by the said line of the south side of Keokuk Street to a point six hundred and sixty feet west of Grand Avenue; thence northwardly and parallel to said Grand or Lindell Avenue, at a distance of six hundred and sixty feet therefrom, until it intersects the Bellefontaine road; thence northeast to the line dividing townships 45 and 46, range 7 west; thence eastwardly with said line and in the same direction to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River; thence southwardly with the meanderings of the main channel of said river to the place of beginning.

"The new limits made Keokuk Street the southern boundary, and a line six hundred and sixty feet west and north of Grand Avenue as the west and north line. This made the area of the city about seventeen square miles. The assessment of property for taxation was increased from $42,991,812 to $59,609,289.

"This extension took in the town of Bremen. This town was incorporated April 6, 1845, under a dedication of blocks and streets made by George Buchanan, E. C. Angelrodt, N. N. Destrehan, and Mallinckrodt. It was located from the river to the Bellefontaine road, between Buchanan and Salisbury Streets.

"The village of Highland came in also under this extension. This village was dedicated by John R. Shepley, Aug. 1, 1848. It had an area of five blocks, extending from Jefferson to Leffingwell Avenues, between Laclede Avenue and Eugenia Street.

"James E. Yeatman and Robert S. Holmes' addition, dedicated March 28, 1851, five blocks, fronting on the south side of Angelica Street, from the river to the Bellefontaine road.

"Julie G. Cabanné's addition of ten blocks, dedicated April 24, 1849, between Decatur and Menard Streets, with Victor Street as the south line.

"William T. F. Wright's addition of four blocks, dedicated April 23, 1849, from Benton to Hebert Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets.

"Adam L. Mills' western addition of four blocks, dedicated July 10, 1869, from Laclede Avenue to the rear of the lots on the north side of Pine Street, between Jefferson Avenue and Beaumont Street.

"John J. Murdoch and Charles K. Dickson's addition of ten blocks, dedicated Jan. 19, 1850, between Randolph and Market Streets, with Adolphe Street as the eastern line.

"The Union addition, dedicated March 5, 1850, by John O'Fallon, Louis A. La Beaume, James Miller, Josiah Dunt, John R. Shepley, L. A. Benoist, Albert Todd, Samuel Knox, B. B. Clayton, and others. This addition contained fifty-four present city blocks, and was between North Market and Hebert Streets, from East Sixteenth Street to Jefferson Avenue. One of the conditions of the dedication of the Union addition was the reservation of the park now known as St. Louis Place 'for a public park or pleasure ground,' to be kept in good order and to be improved by the city as a private park, for the use of the residents of the area comprised within the district designated as Union addition.

"Fairmount addition, dedicated by Wm. R. Price and John Ivory, April 11, 1850. This addition included six blocks on both sides of Liberty Street, from Sidney to Lynch Street.

"Ann C. T. Farrar's addition, dedicated Oct. 26, 1850, included seventeen blocks between Buchanan Street and Bremen Avenue, from Tenth to Sixteenth Street.

"The Arsenal addition, dedicated by J. S. Dougherty, J. W. Taylor, and E. R. Mason, Dec. 18, 1850, included eight blocks west of Carondelet Avenue and opposite to the present Lyon Park.

"Adam L. Mills' addition of May 15, 1844, from Jefferson Avenue to Beaumont Street, between Lucas and Franklin Avenues.

"Lewis Bissell's addition of nine blocks, dedicated Jan. 8, 1852, from the river to Broadway, between Angelica and Bissell Streets.

"Stoddard addition, dedicated Sept. 9, 1851, by Henry Stoddard and John J. Murdock. This addition includes the area between Beaumont Street to Cardinal Avenue, from Laclede to Franklin Avenue, and from Jefferson to Compton Avenue, between Franklin Avenue and the rear of the lot on the north side of Thomas Street. It comprises about seventy-two present city blocks.

"Clement B. Penrose's addition of May 22, 1852, was between Eleventh and Sixteenth Streets, both sides of Penrose Street.

"William Glasgow, Jr.'s addition of March 28, 1853, was nine blocks, situated on both sides of Cass Avenue, from Garrison Avenue to Francis Street.

"Rock Point addition, made April 9, 1853, by Stephen D. Barlow as executor of the will of William C. Carr, extended from Main Street to Carondelet Avenue, between Dorcas and Lynch, formerly Harper.

"Florence village, dedicated by James S. Watson and Samuel D. South, April 20, 1853, on the west side of Garrison Avenue, between Thomas Street and Cass Avenue.

"Beaumont addition, made by Deborah and Israel G. Beaumont and Sarah Irwin, June 14, 1853, extended from Jefferson Avenue to Beaumont Street, from the rear of the lots on the south side of Olive Street to Lucas Avenue.

"West Bremen, an addition made by William C. and A. R. Taylor, Oct. 12, 1853, extending from West Sixteenth Street to Grand Avenue, on both sides of Bremen Avenue.

"George Mincke's addition, April 24, 1854, on the east side of Tayon Avenue, from Clark to Chouteau Avenue.

"Compton Hill addition, made by James S. Thomas, May 20, 1854, includes ten blocks from Park to Chouteau Avenue, between Compton and Grand Avenues.

"Mary L. Tyler's addition of July 10, 1854, from Eleventh to East Sixteenth Street, between Tyler, formerly Webster, and Clinton, formerly Exchange Street. One of the conditions of this dedication was a reservation of all surplus earth above established grades of streets for the purpose of filling up streets and lots below grade.

"South St. Louis, situated between the old Arsenal and the present Marine Hospital, dedicated by Samuel S. Rayburn, Wm. S. Stamps, John Withnell, and twenty others, May 11, 1836.

"Thomas F. Smith's first addition, Sept. 28, 1855, both sides of Ewing, formerly Summit Avenue, from Laclede Avenue to Randolph Street.

"North Stoddard addition, made by Thomas A. Buckland

and Robert M. Funkhouser, March 24, 1856, included thirteen blocks, north of Stoddard Street to Benton, between Beaumont Street, formerly Elliot Avenue, and Glasgow Avenue.

"South Stoddard addition, made by R. A. S. and F. John Alexander, March 31, 1856, was from Laclede Avenue to Randolph Street, between Ewing and Glasgow Avenues.

"J. H. Lucas and Anne L. Hunt's addition of June 8, 1859, was from Seventeenth Street to Jefferson Avenue, between Market Street and the rear of the lots on the north side of Olive Street.

"La Monte addition, made by Robert Mc. O'Blenis, June 22, 1858, was ten blocks, included in the area from Chouteau to Park Avenue, west of Jefferson Avenue.

"James B. Eads' addition of four blocks, June 14, 1859, was south of Chouteau Avenue, both sides of Josephine.

"Edward Delano's addition, May 17, 1859, was six blocks along the south side of Arsenal Street, between Jefferson and California Avenues.

"Peter Lindell's first addition, made May 26, 1864, comprised fifteen blocks, from Laclede to Lindell Avenues, between Garrison and Grand Avenues.

"Ann C. T. Farrar's addition, made Aug. 4, 1864, from Eleventh to Sixteenth Streets, between Mallinckrodt Street and Bremen Avenue, included four blocks dedicated for park purposes. This park is now known as Hyde Park.

"Bryan addition of fifty-seven blocks, between Grand and Prairie Avenues, formerly Bryan, from Hall, formerly Water Street, to Penrose, formerly Belle Street, was made by John Cano Bryan's heirs, March 15, 1861, and by Eveline Bryan, Oct. 3, 1865, of fifteen blocks, between Grand and Prairie Avenues, from Hall Street to the river.

"Ranken addition, made by Thomas Ranken, Jr., David Ranken, Hugh L. Ranken, Robert Ranken, and Thomas R. Patton, Nov. 30, 1868, was between Chouteau Avenue and Manchester road, from Compton to Channing (formerly Ranken) Avenue, and both sides of Grand Avenue.

"Thomas Allen's western addition, May 17, 1869, was from Jefferson to California Avenue, from Lafayette Avenue to the rear of lots on the south side of Ann Avenue, and contained twelve blocks.

"Thomas Allen's central addition, of June 21, 1869, was twenty-two blocks, between South Carondelet Avenue and Jefferson Avenue, from Geyer's Avenue to the rear of lots on the south side of Ann Avenue.

"Gabriel S. Chouteau's addition of twelve blocks, June 8, 1870, from Garrison (formerly Montrose) to Compton Avenue, between the Missouri Pacific Railroad and Clark Avenue.

"Tower Grove Park and Grand Avenue additions of thirty blocks, from Louisiana to Gustine Avenue, along the south side of Arsenal Street, was dedicated by the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, June 18, 1881.

"April 5, 1870, St. Louis was farther extended south so as to include the section south of Keokuk Street and east of line six hundred and sixty feet west of Grand Avenue. Under this extension the assessed value of the real estate in the city increased from $113,426,410 to $123,833,950.

"By this extension, through a legislative enabling act, the city of Carondelet was taken into St. Louis. Carondelet had an area of about three square miles. It was founded in 1767, first incorporated as a town Nov. 4, 1833, and March 1, 1851, was formed into a city. The Carondelet municipal government organization took place April 9, 1851, when the place had twelve hundred and sixty-five inhabitants, twenty-six of whom were slaves. Mr. James B. Walsh, now clerk in Comptroller Adreon's office, was the first mayor of Carondelet. The present Walsh Street was about the northern limit of Carondelet.

"Besides adding Carondelet by this extension, a section was taken in lying between Keokuk and Osceola Streets, known as South St. Louis, that had been blocked off and dedicated in 1866 by several parties.

"Also, South St. Louis, suburban addition, dedicated by John C. Ivory, July 14, 1858. This addition was from Eichelberger to Osceola Streets, between the Stringtown and Cabanné Avenues, formerly Stringtown road and Seventeenth Street. This addition comprised sixty-three blocks.

"March 30, 1872, the city limits were extended farther west and north, so as to include Tower Grove, Forest and O'Fallon Parks, and so as to make districts for assessment of taxes for park purposes. On Feb. 4, 1874, the Legislature repealed the act of 1872, and placed the limits back to a line six hundred and sixty feet west of Grand Avenue.

"Aug. 22, 1876, the present city charter was adopted, the city was made separate and independent from the county, and invested with certain legislative rights formerly belonging to the State Legislature. This action made St. Louis a free city in local government, being the only one in the great valley in that condition.

"Under this new charter the limits of the city were further extended, so as to include the Tower Grove, O'Fallon, and Forest Park districts, and increased the area of the city from nineteen and a half square miles to sixty-two and a quarter square miles.

"This last extension of the city limits increased the assessed value of the real estate from $166,009,660 to $181,345,560.

"Under this extension the following additions were made to the city:

"The town of Lowell, forty blocks, incorporated in 1849 by E. C. Hutchinson, Josephine Hall, Edward F. Pittman, Robert Hall, Wm. Garnett, and others. The town was between the river and Bellefontaine road, from Grand Avenue to Adelaide, formerly O'Fallon Avenue.

"Rock Springs, dedicated by John B. Sarpy, May 28, 1852.

"Cheltenham, dedicated by Derick A. January and others in 1852.

"Quinette, dedicated by Oliver Quinette, Feb. 17, 1859.

"Mount Olive, dedicated by M. F. Hanley, May 10, 1854.

"These last four-named villages were between Forest Park and Shaw's Garden.

"Côte Brilliante, four hundred arpens, or a little over one square mile, dedicated by Charles Gibson, James C. Page, and Felix Coste, Dec. 14, 1853.

"McRee City, being an addition of fifteen blocks, made by the Laclede Race-Track Association, James J. O'Fallon, president, and Charles L. Hunt, secretary, June 29, 1869; and fifteen blocks added by Mrs. Mary McRee, Oct. 4, 1869. This city was between Cabanné Avenue, Manchester road, McRee and Chouteau Avenues.

"Fairmount, twenty-five blocks, dedicated June 10, 1869, from King's highway to Macklind, formerly St. Louis Avenue, between Bischoff, formerly Bernard Avenue, and Northrup Avenues. This dedication was made by Mary C. Hereford, Elizabeth Pharo, Robert E. Pattison, Ashley R. Northrup, E. W. Pattison, Julia A. Letcher, Julia A. Ashbrook, and others.

"Rose Hill addition of thirty blocks, made by D. C. and Hamilton Gamble, June 8, 1871, between Union and Hodiamont Avenues, along the south side of Easton Avenue, formerly Charles rock road.

"Evans Place, twelve blocks along the north side of Page Avenue from Prairie to Taylor Avenues, dedicated in August, 1872, by B. D. Evans, Clara Evans, Lydia Evans (McCagg), Montgomery Blair, Walker Evans, and Amanda Evans.

"College Hill, a tract dedicated by the St. Louis University

at various times since 1857, and located along the south side of the present O'Fallon Park, between the Bellefontaine road and Penrose, formerly Belle Street, and Prairie, formerly Bryan, and Adelaide, formerly O'Fallon Avenue.

The history of the "commons" and "common fields" of St. Louis would of itself suffice to establish the Latin-race origin of the old town, so different in manners and customs from those which distinguish our communities of English foundation and descent. This history takes the close student into a region filled with the romance of litigation. The lawyers of the city have enriched themselves in the process of quieting the innumerable disputed titles of individuals to tracts which were once, by common consent and usage and the tacit approval of law, the common property of the entire community. These tracts and sections belonging to the commons and common fields of St. Louis furnished between eight and nine miles of the present area of the city.

The history of these common fields, according to a recognized authority, is as follows:

"They consisted of a tract of land comprising a quantity of acres, according to the wants of the inhabitants, in which each inhabitant possessed a portion for the purpose of cultivation. They were inclosed at the joint expense, or, rather, each one furnished his proportion of labor. These lots were obtained by petition and grant, and belonged to the inhabitants as fee-simple property.

"The French and Spanish founders of new settlements invariably adopted this system of common fields, which were at some little distance from the town, and which the inhabitants jointly cultivated. It was done for protection, as it was necessary that the inhabitants should all reside in the village, so as to be ready to support each other in case of an attack from the Indians, and when engaged in their agricultural occupations, being together, they could the more readily resist any invasion."

These common fields were designated with French personal and descriptive names and as prairies.

The use and origin of commons and common fields were explained fully and lucidly by Col. Auguste Chouteau, in his testimony before the board of land commissioners in 1808. That testimony is as follows:

"Of those who were the first to come over to this from the other side, far the largest portion were tillers of the soil, who by their labor in the field produced their own subsistence and that of their stock. Some of them, in seasons when not engaged in their agricultural avocations, exercised the calling of rough artisans, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, stone-masons, hewers, etc., employed in building; others, procuring small outfits of merchandise, spent the winter trading with Indians and trapping; consequently, it was a matter of prime necessity with them, so soon as they had erected their domiciles in the village, to proceed at once to the production of their breadstuffs. For the purpose the land immediately adjoining the village on the northwest, being the most suitable, was set aside for cultivation, and conceded in strips of one arpent front by forty in depth, and each applicant allotted one or more, according to his ability to cultivate it. This was called the common-field lots, and the tract extended from a little below Market Street on the south to opposite the big mound on the north, and from the Broadway to Jefferson Avenue, east to west. The land lying southwest of the village, being well watered with numerous springs and well covered with timber, was set aside for the village commons, in which the cattle and stock of the inhabitants were kept for safety and convenience. These two tracts of land were at once inclosed by the people in 1764–65, and their eastern fence formed the western boundary of the village for many years."

The "commons" were not inclosed; the "common fields" were, and were divided into what were called "forty-arpent lots." That is to say, the common field was inclosed in one common fence, and within this inclosure each head of a family had a lot to cultivate, which was one arpent wide and forty arpens long. The regulations for the management and care of the common fields were explicit and full. The people who settled St. Louis knew the entire unwritten law of the "prairie," and they put it in force forthwith. It was of course necessary to add continually to the common, and especially to the common field, by taking more land from the royal domain as the population increased, and this fact of itself restricted their communal privileges and customs to small towns and unprogressive villages. In St. Louis the common field was fenced in as early as 1764–65, and this fence was several times extended. The evidence that the common was property of the village is found in a decree of Lieutenant-Governor Cruzat, Sept. 22, 1782. When the American jurisdiction was established in St. Louis, the inhabitants wished to have their common land confirmed to them. They claimed at that time 4293 arpens under the decree of Don Francisco Cruzat. The commons were taken care of by a syndic, and eight umpires, nominated in general assembly of the people the first day of each year. Their duty was to "watch together" the repairs of streets, bridges, and drains, and enforce the regulations in regard to the lands of the commune. The syndic and umpires for 1782 were Perrault, Brazeau, Cerré, Réné Kiercereau, Joseph Taillon, Joseph Mainville, Chauvin, and Auguste Chouteau. Their chief work, after seeing that water-courses were kept clear, was to view and preserve the common-field fence. The fence was to be viewed on January 1st, and to be in full repair by April 15th at farthest. On the first Sunday after this date the umpires were to "receive" the fence. "The aforesaid umpires shall not receive the fences unless they are constructed in such a way that cattle shall not be able to get out of the common and go into the town fields of the inhabitants, to injure them." When the umpires had reported to the syndic, it was his duty to appoint eight other umpires to test and verify their action; neglect

or misrepresentation involved a penalty of ten livres fine, besides paying for all damages. Any one crossing or injuring the fence after it had been received was to be fined and cast into jail.

Messrs. Clement B. Penrose, John B. C. Lucas, and James L. Donaldson, trustees of St. Louis in 1806, heard the claim of the people to the 4293 arpens of commons. Auguste Chouteau, Gregoire Sarpy, W. H. Le Compte, and many other citizens testified to the fact of the common and its conduct. The trustees were in doubt. The claim lacked the quality of inhabitancy, and there was no registered warrant or survey, but still the claim originated under the French government; such grants were usual under both the French and Spanish *régimes;* they were in conformity with the laws of the respective countries, and they seemed equitable under Spanish law. However, Messrs. Lucas and Frederick Bates voted for rejecting the commons claim, only Mr. Penrose favoring its confirmation. By act of Congress, however, of June 13, 1812, the right of St. Louis to its common lands was fully confirmed.

In 1835 the Missouri Legislature authorized the St. Louis authorities to sell the "commons" east of the present Twelfth Street, provided the majority of the resident property-holders in the city consented. These inhabitants gave their consent on condition that one-tenth of the proceeds of the sales be used for public school purposes, and the balance for municipal improvements.

About 4293 arpens, or 3735 acres, were sold at that time for nearly $425,000. Subsequently the purchasers imagined that they had agreed to pay too much, and therefore failed to make the payments on time, and the sales in most instances were set aside.

In 1843 the city authorities began to resell the "common fields," and realized nearly fifty dollars per acre. Between 1843 and 1850 about 3615 arpens of these commons were sold, and the city treasurer received $163,680. The lowest price fixed by the city was twenty-five dollars per acre, or about $21.75 per arpent. In 1860 the part of the city commons sold was estimated to be worth about $25,000,000. The purchasers platted the commons into blocks and small additions, and subsequently made them a part of the city's improved area. In 1860 the city held five hundred and ninety-one acres of the commons unsold, and this property was assessed at $581,391. Since then the city has sold or leased out most of the "common fields," and held the rest for public parks, sites for public buildings and markets.

The city now owns of the unimproved commons fifty-seven pieces, valued at $143,025. The improved real estate belonging to the city government for parks, markets, engine-houses, police stations, hospitals, city hall, court-houses, penal institutions, and water-works is estimated this year (1882) to be worth about $5,709,370. The value of the buildings and improvements on the city real estate is estimated at $12,789,145.

The United States government now owns property in real estate and buildings in St. Louis to the value of $5,787,800, and the St. Louis school board owns property valued at $2,382,342. The valuation of property owned by private schools and convents is $1,418,465, and by church corporations, $3,610,586. The total amount of real estate exempt from taxation in the city is about $35,000,000.

The street nomenclature of St. Louis has undergone several radical changes since the formation of the place. At first French designations were given to the streets in the old village. When the town was incorporated the streets running east and west were named in English after various trees or plants, and the streets running north and south were designated by letters of the alphabet, Market Street being the only street to retain its original name, and that being its translation from the old French name.

Five years after the town became a city, or in 1827, the City Council changed the north and south streets east of Seventh, between Biddle and Rutger Streets, to their present names, and amended Hazel to Chouteau Avenue, and Laurel to Washington Avenue, as now designated.

Occasionally, during the subsequent fifty years, a few street names were changed, and some streets, like the present Clinton Street, Lucas Avenue, and Grand Avenue, were changed three or four times.

During the past twelve years there became incorporated with the city of St. Louis the cities, towns and villages of Carondelet, Rock Spring, Cheltenham, Elleardsville, Côte Brilliante, Rinkelville, Ashland, Lowell, and Baden. Before these additions were made their territory was mapped out in blocks, with the streets named similarly to the ones in St. Louis.

After the extension of the city limits in 1855, the farms between Jefferson and Grand Avenues were platted into blocks, and became additions. In mapping out these additions the owners of the lands named the streets to suit their fancy, regardless as to whether the street names were similar to those in other parts of the city, or whether the streets were lineal connections of other streets previously named.

In consequence of the above circumstances, out of the two thousand one hundred street names in the city in 1881, over two hundred were duplicates, nearly

one hundred were triplicates, fifty were divided among four names, thirty among five names, and five among six names. Besides this frequent repetition of names, two hundred and twenty streets that were about in a continuous line had from two to seven names, or a name for each addition of city blocks through which they passed.

The introduction of the present system of city delivery of post-office matter, and the establishment of the district system of registering voters and assessing public improvement taxes made it necessary for the street commissioner, under instruction of the Municipal Assembly and the Board of Public Improvements, to revise the street nomenclature. A revision was made, and it passed the Municipal Assembly. The ordinance was No. 11,693, approved March 31, 1881. After the approval of this ordinance the street commissioner found it necessary to make another revision, to correct omissions in naming continuous street lines, and therefore he postponed enforcing the ordinance. In October, 1881, the additional revision of street names was presented in the City Council, and went to the House of Delegates Nov. 29, 1881, and passed both houses March 21, 1882. The ordinance was approved March 22d, and is known as ordinance No. 11,966.

The names of streets is a sore subject to the genuine antiquarian, who cannot avoid a pang when he sees an old historical landmark in the way of a name ruthlessly wiped out by the carelessness, ignorance, or opinionativeness of a city alderman or a municipal clerk. Names mean something; when nothing else, they serve at least to fix dates in the public memory and revive or keep alive patriotic and national events and occurrences. The old Indian, French, and Spanish names of St. Louis and Missouri ought to be reverently treated as a venerable and valuable inheritance. To an outsider the idea of sinking such a name as "Carondelet" in the commonplace "Broadway" is almost inconceivable, yet it has been done.

There is a great deal of history in the Missouri names which have come down from the past. Even the nicknames won by the towns, such as "Pain Court," "Vide-poche," "Misère," etc., have much of by no means unpleasant significance. In this view of the case the Missouri Historical Society is doing an excellent work in its efforts to preserve the orthography and keep on record the meaning of its geographical names. In many cases the French foible for abbreviation, followed by the English propensity to corrupt and misspell French words, has destroyed the intelligibility of names. Thus, the Des Moins River is spelt Des Moines, as if it were the Monks' River, whereas it is really la rivière de Moingona, an Indian tribe of that name frequenting its banks. Maramec, the river forming the southern boundary of St. Louis County, is really Maniameek, "Catfish River." Gasconade, according to the late James A. Lucas, should really be "Gassonade," meaning raw sugar, a favorite article with the Delaware Indians once settled on the banks of that stream. "Pain Court," meaning a deficient loaf, is said to be the reminiscence of an ancient parish in France, and not simply an epithet originating in Kaskaskia. "Vide-poche," it has been suggested by Hon. Wilson Primm, referred to the skill of the Carondeletians at games of chance, and the fact that they were usually able to send their St. Louis visitors home with empty pockets.

As to names of streets and localities in connection with topography, a writer in a St. Louis journal of May 28, 1870, says,—

"In our own city we have mixed up several systems of naming our streets. The stereotype 'principal street' of all towns of French or Spanish origin on this continent is preserved in our Main Street, and Market Street still indicates the locality of the sole market-place of the French village of St. Louis. But in the village itself, the first American settlers having been to a considerable extent from Pennsylvania, and the overland trade of Missouri with the Atlantic States having been mainly with Philadelphia, the system of that city was adopted. Accordingly the Chestnut, Walnut, Spruce, and Pine Streets of the Quaker City have their namesakes here, and, with the exception of Market Street and Washington Avenue, all the old streets of French St. Louis running westwardly from the Mississippi River are named after trees; one, indeed, Olive, bears the scarcely appropriate designation of a stranger to our climate. With the extension of the city, the list of trees being soon exhausted, new streets were usually given the names of the owners of the various additions through which they were laid out. Occasionally the memory of some original settler, whose name had become too closely connected with the locality to be readily got rid of, has been preserved in the designation of a street, and more frequently some distinguished public man, as Benton, Geyer, etc., has received a like tribute of respect. In naming our streets parallel to the Mississippi River, we have followed, except in regard to some few great avenues, the sensible practical plan, general in American cities, of merely numbering them.

"But we have wholly neglected in naming our streets to preserve any remembrance of the old landmarks and lines of division which are of interest in the history of our city, and sometimes of importance for the understanding of its annals. The next generation will find no names, and, indeed, even few streets or avenues, to point out the boundaries of the common and the common fields which figured so largely in the public as well as in the private history of old St. Louis. Grand Avenue very nearly but not exactly marks the eastern boundary of the Grand Prairie, and 'The King's Highway' is still the designation of the old colonial main road. This is one of the very few instances in which historical reminiscences have been respected in the naming of streets or avenues. As the subject of our street names was before our last City Council, with a view to simplifying them, which is not unlikely to be revived, we wish to put in a plea for regard to the historical reminiscences

of St. Louis in giving a general designation to the most important of our great avenues of communication which run parallel to the Mississippi River."

Among the oddities and curiosities in old local names we find "Kerry Patch," once used to designate a district between Seventeenth Street on the east and Twentieth west, between Mullanphy and Biddle Streets. It was settled by Irish immigrants about 1842, and being then commons, without street lines, the shanties were sprinkled in a very promiscuous fashion about the "Patch," all the occupants being alike squatters. "Duncan Island" in 1817 was nothing more than a common "towhead" in the river. The name was derived from "old Bob Duncan," who came from Pittsylvania County, Va., and planted a cabin on the island in order to insure a pre-emption claim. The sand-bar extended from the foot of Market Street to the south of Mill Creek, or La Petite Rivière, as it was called by the French inhabitants, and kept on increasing by accretions until about the year 1829 or 1830. The old channel of the Mississippi River previous to about 1817 ran along the front of the city; above St. Louis the main channel ran on the east side of Gaberet Island. Then the channel changed, and it ran on the west side, scooping out hundreds of acres, and forming a chute since then called "Sawyer's Bend," on account of the numerous "sawyers" or snags that planted themselves there. The river then followed in its course to near where the old dry-docks were located at the foot of Ashley Street, and then the current shot across from the Point of Rocks, at the foot of Ashley Street, towards the Illinois shore, causing a bar to form along the whole front of the city, so that no boat could land south of what is known as the foot of Morgan Street. The channel then ran at the foot of Bloody Island, and hugging the Illinois shore kept that direction as far as Cahokia Bend, and then crossed over to the Missouri shore about a mile above Carondelet. The sand-bar at the foot of Market Street extended two-thirds the way across the river as far back as about 1828. About the year 1830 a member of the board of aldermen named Cotton M. Tabor had a contract with the city to build log cribs on the west side of Bloody Island in order to throw the channel again over to the Missouri side. The cribs were built of cottonwood logs, which he had cut off Gaberet Island and floated down to Bloody Island. He filled the interior of the cribs with sand instead of rock, and the first high water that came washed all the cribs down the river, not leaving a remnant behind.

The channel was first improved by Maj. Robert E. Lee, of the Engineer Department, in conjunction with Henry Kayser, the then city engineer. They constructed heavy dams of stone, and filling up the channel between the Illinois shore and Bloody Island had a tendency to throw the channel on this side, and dikes were thrown from this side out to straighten the line of the wharf, which is now the present line.

"Happy Hollow" was a name given in primitive times to the ravine commencing south of Spruce Street and west of Fifth. Chouteau's Mill Creek traversed it, and the banks were shaded by tall sycamore-trees, under which the colored "aunties," who were the precursors of "Ah Sin," did their washing and stretched their clothes-lines. On Sunday they used to have their "bush meetings" in the glade, at which they often got "happy." The "old race-track," a name which is still sometimes applied to the locality, long since built up, was on the Grand Prairie, on the Gallatin farm, afterwards known as Capt. Shreeve's place, three-fourths of a mile above Franklin Avenue. It was the earliest race-course near St. Louis, and some of the most famous thoroughbreds of Kentucky and Tennessee have tested their speed upon it.

"Vinegar Hill" was years ago given to an elevation near the then head of Morgan Street and Franklin Avenue, at Eighteenth Street. The name was derived from the well-known battle-field in Ireland, where the United Irishmen fell to pieces. "Clabber Alley" is a familiar name, but the spot is not so well known. It runs north and south from Franklin Avenue to Biddle Street, between Sixth and Seventh, has many tenement-houses, and a dense population of divers colors and nationalities. Years ago, when there were many dairies in the vicinity, the negroes and low whites in the alley used to subsist in a measure upon buttermilk and "clabber," and the police gave the name to the place from seeing the gutters generally half-full of sour milk. "Battle Row," notorious in old steamboating flush times, was on the Levee, between Morgan and Washington Streets. It comprised several low two-story stone houses, owned by the John Mullanphy estate, and was noted for scenes of turbulence and disorder, and for being the most dangerous locality in the city. Many a bloody fight came off there, and scarcely a day elapsed without a row, it needing generally a squad of policemen to make an arrest in the vicinity.

"Wild-Cat Chute" is the euphonious cognomen of an alley running north and south between Carr and Biddle and Seventh and Eighth Streets, filled with tenements, and peopled by a low class of negroes. The name originated about thirty years ago, when a large amount of what has been known as "wild-cat money" was in circulation, especially among steam-

boat deck hands and roustabouts, the lower classes of whom frequented the locality named. The wild-cat money was easily passed on the ignorant negroes, and the word "chute" was applied by the river men, because the alley was a by-way or short cut to another notorious locality. The two facts originated the name of "Wild-Cat Chute," which was for a long time used only by river men. The name seems generally and permanently established now.

"Castle Thunder" has long been applied to a large tenement-house in "Wild-Cat Chute." During the early part of the war the colored people, who came to the city in droves, generally settled in communities in the large tenement-houses, and were fond of calling their domiciles by the name of some fort, generally southern. Thus one such tenement-house was called "Fort Sumter," and another "Fort Pinckney," but the names did not stick. "Castle Thunder" received its name from the negroes in the same way, and is still known by it.

"Pond Fort" was a dance-house, so called because it was the nearest place of the kind to Chouteau's Pond. It was a two-story brick building, located on the northeast corner of Sixth and Spruce Streets, and was kept by a woman known as "Capt. Jack." The building is still standing, about opposite the Italian Church. It was a gathering-place for the fast people of that day as long as the "Fort" was held by Capt. Jack.

"Robber's Roost." This was an infamous resort on the river-bank, where Filley's foundry now stands. It was a roost for gamblers and other disreputable people of the worst description. The scenes enacted there gave it its name. In June, 1831, the citizens became incensed, and one night assembled together and burned it down, with all the furniture and other contents. Some of the inmates at the same time received a pretty severe handling, one feature of which consisted of tarring and feathering.

"Shakerag." Some years ago a locality in the upper end of the city obtained the nickname of "Shakerag," and it is sometimes so called at the present time. There was a slang meaning to the word at that day, which is now obsolete, and the name was fixed to the locality indicated when there were but few houses there, and the inmates of most of them were in the habit of shaking a rag held out of the window as a signal in certain cases.

"Vauxhall Gardens." There have been two places in St. Louis which at different times obtained some local celebrity as the Vauxhall Gardens, the first so called after the famous London resort of that name. It surrounded one of the oldest brick residences in the city, and which was built by Thomas C. Riddick, on the west side of Fourth Street, between Plum and Poplar. It was after Riddick's occupancy that it was turned into a public garden. In 1823, and for a number of years afterwards, it was a place of great public resort, and was famous for its Fourth of July celebrations.

The second "Vauxhall Gardens" was established at the old Soulard residence, on the east side of Carondelet Avenue, south of Miller Street. It was surrounded by a large orchard, bearing excellent fruit, and, like its predecessor, became a great public resort and place for political meetings. The garden has long ceased to exist, but the building still remains, although it has lost its name.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EARLIEST SETTLERS IN ST. LOUIS.

In the well-known fragment of Auguste Chouteau's Journal, in which he begins the narrative of the founding of St. Louis,[1] he records some names which have a peculiar value for every one interested in the early settlement and the earlier settlers of that city. In addition to his own name and that of Laclede Liguest, his employer, he mentions the fact that he set out to plant the new post with a boat containing thirty men, "nearly all mechanics." There were also on the site, after the building of the first house began, some people who had come from "Caos" (Cahokia), but had fled when the Missouri Indians put in their appearance. Laclede was sent for,—he was at Fort Chartres,—and on his arrival found means to send the Indians away without any likelihood of their return. Thereupon "those persons who had fled to Caos on the coming of the savages," says Chouteau, "returned as soon as they knew that they had gone away, and commenced building their houses, or, to speak more correctly, their cabins, and entered their lands agreeably to the lines of the lots which I had drawn, following the plan which Monsieur Laclede had left with me."

The names of these persons of "Caos" are given in a note to the Journal as follows: Joseph Tayon, Roger Tayon, Dechene, Beauchamps, Morcerau (Marcheteau), Joseph Bequet (Becquet), André Becquet, Gabriel Dodier, Baptiste Martigny, Lemoine Martigny, Beaugenou, Cotté, Picket, Hervieux, Bac-

[1] It is now in the Mercantile Library of St. Louis, and was translated in 1858.

cané, François Delin, La Garrosse, Paul Kierseraux, Gregoire Kierseraux, Alexis Picard, Antoine Pothier, Th. Labrosse, Labrosse, Louis Chancelier, Joseph Chancelier, Gamache, Ride, Roi, Lajoie, Le Grain,—thirty-one in all. These, with the thirty from Fort Chartres, in the words of Chouteau, "commenced to give some permanence to St. Louis." The names of these thirty it does not now seem possible to ascertain, but the greater part of them are undoubtedly among those obtaining the first concessions of lots, given in the chapter preceding this.[1] In Hunt's Minutes Joseph Boury, a rope-maker, Baptiste Rivière, Antoine Rivière (*dit* Baccanet), Sr., and his wife, Barbara Eloi, are mentioned as having come at the same time with Chouteau and Laclede.

Louis Ride, Sr., who came to St. Louis in 1764 with the Cahokians, was born in Canada. His first wife was Veronique, daughter of Louis Marcheteau, by whom he had four sons, Louis, Laurent, Francis, and Claude, all born before he moved to St. Louis. His wife died in 1772–73, and he married Cartella Jacinthe (Youassen), widow of Louis Lunant, of Ste. Genevieve. She had three sons and two daughters. She died in 1784, and Ride in 1787. Gabriel Dodier was a blacksmith of Fort Chartres; one of his sisters married J. B. Becquet, another Alexis Cotté, the third Simon Coussot.

Among the first who came over from the east side to settle in St. Louis was the very numerous family of the Marcheteaus, *alias* Denoyers (correct orthography, Marcheteau). The three older Marcheteaus were brothers, Louis, Sr., Joseph, and Francis. These elder Marcheteaus were originally from Canada. Louis Marcheteau's, Sr. (*dit* Denoyers), first wife was Françoise Leduc. Their children were Basile, Louis (2d), *alias* Kierq, a married daughter of Veronique, first wife of Louis Ride, with several children, and two others, names not given. Louis married a second wife, a widow, Quirigaut Felip, July 3, 1772, then quite an old man, and died early in 1774. Joseph Marcheteau had been twice married before coming over to St. Louis, and three married daughters with their husbands and children came with him, viz.: Jeanne, the wife of Charles Routier, daughter of his first wife, Madeline Robert; Elizabeth, wife of John Bap. Becquet, and Catharine, wife of François Bissonnet, his daughters by his second wife, Elizabeth Leduc, and perhaps others whose names are not on record. Marcheteau, Francis, the third brother, was a carpenter. His wife was Marie Josephe Noiselle (a daughter, Marie Josette, became the wife of John B. Durand in 1768; she died in 1769 or 1770, leaving an infant daughter, Theotiste; and Durand died in 1773, at the age of thirty-one. This orphan child, then but four years old, in after-years became the wife of Emilien Yosti, and died in the year 1826, in her residence at the southwest corner of Main and Locust; one of her sons, Francis Yosti, now over eighty years of age, is still living in St. Charles, 1878). A son of the above Marcheteau, Joseph Marcheteau, Jr., married Ursula or Charlotte Cardinal in 1779.

Michael Lami came over in 1765–66, built a house of posts in Block 43 in 1766, married the widow of François Lefebvre Duchouquette in Ste. Genevieve in 1776. Hyacinthe St. Cir, Sr., was one of the few prominent men of the early times in St. Louis, and one of the most enterprising, having built several stone houses, etc., in different parts of the village. He received from the government several grants of land in the country not far north of the village. This couple had fifteen children, through whom they left a numerous posterity: 1, Hyacinthe, Jr., born in 1784. 2, Marie Constance, born in 1785; Mrs. William Christy. 3, Leon Narcisse, born in 1787; disappeared; supposed drowned. 4, Marie Helene, born in 1789; died 1820. 5, Françoise Agnes, born in 1792; Mrs. Llewelyn Hickman. 6, Melanie, born in 1793; Mrs. Auguste Brazeau. 7, Therésè, born in 1795; died 1806. 8, François, born in 1797; married Mary Ann Bellew, 1835; died 1839. 9, Brigette, born in 1799; died 1800. 10, Brigette P., born in 1801; Mrs. Samuel Abbott. 11, Pascal Hebert, born in 1803; married Maria Taylor. 12, Helene, Mrs. Nicholas Bailvin. 13, Emilie; 14, Benjamin C.; 15, Stephen; left no issue.

The Brazeaus, Joseph and Louis, were married to two sisters, Delisle. They were all born in Kaskaskia; at least they came from there to St. Louis prior to 1782, as Joseph, Sr., was one of the syndics of the village in that year.

Joseph Brazeau, Sr., born in 1742; died Nov. 23, 1816, aged seventy-four years. Marie Therésè Delisle Brazeau, born in 1749; died February, 1834, aged eighty-five years; monument at Calvary Cemetery.

Louis Brazeau, Sr. ("Old Cayewa"), and wife, Marie Françoise Delisle, brother and sister of above, came from Kaskaskia about the same time. They had a numerous family of sons and daughters; the sons,—Louis, Jr., Joseph, Jr., and Auguste; the daughters,—Marie (Mrs. John B. Duchouquette), Julie (Mrs. Alexander Papin), Therésè (Mrs. Charles Bosseron), Cecile (Mrs. Charles Sanguinette), and

[1] Billon's List, No. III.

Aurore (Mrs. Louis Bompart), were all married previous to 1818. Mrs. Louis Brazeau, Sr., died Nov. 1, 1810, and "Old Cayewa," Dec. 5, 1828.

Their sister, Françoise Brazeau, veuve John B. Charleville, was in St. Louis prior to 1793.

Lupien, Pierre I., *dit* Baron, was married to Louise Margaret Gondeau, in Kaskaskia, Feb. 3, 1759, in presence of Labuscière, then royal notary at the other side. Baron died Oct. 12, 1775; inventory same day, lot one hundred and twenty by one hundred and fifty, north half Block 4; two houses of wood, twenty-four by eighteen and twenty by eighteen.

Another one of the Cahokians mentioned by Chouteau, Beaugenou, Nicholas, Sr., and wife, *née* Marianne Henrion, came over from the Fort Chartres settlement among the first, in 1764–65, with two sons —Nicholas and Charles—and four daughters,—Marie Josephe, Helène, Thérèse, and Agnes, all minors, and perhaps others. He built a house at the southwest corner of our present Main and Almond Streets, in 1765, where he lived a few years. In this house his oldest daughter, Marie Josephe, then near eighteen, was married on the 20th of April, 1766, the first recorded marriage in St. Louis. His wife died in this house, early in the year 1769. It was then sold to William Bissette. Beaugenou himself died prior to May 4, 1771, date of the marriage of his daughter Helène.

Bissette, Guillaume (William), was born in Montreal, Canada. He had been living at Fort Chartres before the establishment of the "post" of St. Louis, and was among the first to come over to St. Louis after the cession of the east side to England became known there. He was a single man when he came here, and had never been married. His will is dated May 30, 1772. He died six days afterwards, June 5, 1772, and the inventory of his property was taken June 15, 1772. He was a merchant, and left a considerable estate for that early period in our history. His heirs here were two brothers—Charles and John B.—and two sisters,—Isabelle, wife of Louis Vachard, and Marianne, wife of Claude Marechal. He had also five married sisters living in their native place, Montreal, Canada.

Vachard, Louis, and wife, Isabelle Bissette, sister of the above Guillaume, came married from Montreal. After the death of Guillaume Bissette they purchased the house in which he died, the same built by Beaugenou above. Here they lived the balance of their lives, Vachard dying about 1787, and his widow, Isabelle, early in August, 1797. They left four sons—Louis, Joseph, Charles, and Antoine, all born in Montreal, Canada—and some daughters.

Buet, Réné, came here from Cahokia, on the other side, in 1766–67. He had a concession of a half block, one hundred and twenty by three hundred (north one-half of the present Block 50), upon which he had built the same year, 1767, a large stone house, forty by thirty feet, one of the earliest stone houses in the village. He died, unmarried, Nov. 30, 1773. In his will, dated Nov. 28, 1773, he leaves his property to his niece, daughter of his brother in Cahokia, and a bequest of two hundred livres to assist in the erection of the village church, then in contemplation.

This house, then called "south of the village," was on the block between Second and Third and Mulberry and Lombard, for many years the Saugrain property.

Langlois. There were three Langlois here in the infancy of the village. Two of them, Alexander (*dit* Rondeau) and Noel, were brothers, and came over from Cahokia. The third, Joseph Langlois, might have been a brother also. They were all three Indian traders. Alexander Langlois received an outfit of goods for the Indian trade from M. Duralde, Aug. 6, 1777, which debt was paid by his widow July 10, 1778, he having died in the interval.

Josepha Lacroix, widow first of Champagne, and second of Alexander Langlois, first will July 21, 1778, names her cousin and brother-in-law, Noel Langlois, her executor and heir of her property, first paying a few bequests. She makes one of six hundred livres (one hundred and twenty dollars) to the church. Her second will, Dec. 2, 1778, six months after the first, names her nephew, Joseph Tayon, Sr., and Angelique Chauvin, wife of Beaulieu, of Cahokia, her heirs; same bequests as in the first will, Tayon named as executor. Her third and last will, dated Feb. 22, 1779, names Louis Robert, Sr., of Cahokia, her sole heir and executor. In this the bequest to the church is cut down from six hundred livres (one hundred and twenty dollars) to one-half, three hundred livres (sixty dollars).

Veuve Langlois' sale of her property between her second and third wills is thus described, Marie Josette Lacroix, veuve Alexandre Langlois, to Louis Robert, of Cahokia, Dec. 31, 1778, for two thousand livres (four hundred dollars), all her property, real and personal, which she may have in the Post of St. Louis, and wherever else they may be found,—a lot and house of posts on a wall, with the furniture, useful and ornamental, all the animals, horses, cattle, and hogs, fowls, lands, dwellings, carts, plows, negroes, negresses, male and female Indians, the whole as it is at this day, or in such quantity as may be found, wheat, flour, grain, corn, barns, outhouses, and generally everything which the said Widow Josette La-

croix possesses at this time, to whom the whole belongs, having acquired and settled it for cash with the deceased Alexander Langlois, her husband.

On the 27th of August, 1770, Lieutenant-Governor Don Pedro Piernas, the first Spanish Governor in St. Louis, banished for ten years from the Spanish settlements, on attaint and conviction of using seditious language, disturbing the peace, and acting in contempt and derision of the ordinances of the king, a certain Aimable Letourneau, a Canadian. The offense, according to the record, was very trivial, and did not merit such a heavy penalty. Letourneau had simply talked at the church porch, derisively commenting on an ordinance laying an excise-tax on provisions. He declared that he said no more than that, if all the young men were like him, "they would not work for forty sous a day in peltries." However, his banishment did not need to drive him any farther than Cahokia or Kaskaskia, so it did not amount to much. Letourneau's name is introduced here because he was a Canadian *voyageur* in St. Louis in 1764, and most probably one of Chouteau's boatmen.

Paul Kiergereau was a resident of Fort Chartres in January, 1764, at which time he took an inventory of the effects of Alexander Thomas Laville, shoemaker, lately deceased, whose widow, Josepha Quevado, was about to contract a second marriage with Claude Tinon. The Tinons moved to St. Louis, as also did another of the appraisers, Pierre Montardy, whose wife (Marie Duchamin) was some years later (in 1779) a party to a suit for slander. A sister of Paul Kiergereau's married Pierre Chouteau, younger brother of Auguste, and some of their descendants are still living in St. Louis.

The following are some memoranda from the marriage contracts in the Archives: *Kiercereau, Paul*, of age, born in New Orleans, son of Gregoire Kiercereau, deceased, and of Gillette Le Bourse, father and mother, and Marie Josephe Michel (*dit* Tayon), aged eighteen years, daughter of Joseph Michel and Marie Louise Bosset, his wife, her father and mother, here present, at the house of the said Joseph Michel, *dit* Tayon, post St. Louis, May 10, 1766.

Kiercereau, Gregoire, aged twenty-two years, born at Fort Chartres, Ill., son of Reynaldo Kiercereau and Marie Magdaline Robillard, father and mother, and Magdalina St. François, aged eighteen, daughter of Antoine St. François and Carlotta Larche, all here present, Aug. 26, 1774.

St. François, Antoine, son of Joseph St. François and Charlotte Lemaistre, of St. Joseph, Canada, and Charlotte Larchveque, daughter of Augustin Larchveque and Marie Madeline Reaume, Quebec, Canada, were married at the post of Rivière St. Joseph, Canada, Aug. 19, 1754. These were the parents of the young lady married to Kiercereau above.

Jean Baptiste Becquet, the blacksmith, mentioned above as having married Dodier's daughter, was the first owner of the southeast quarter of Block 36, upon which he had built a small house of posts for his residence and a blacksmith-shop, immediately after he came over, in 1764. In this house he died in 1797, October, leaving three children,—Margaret Marianne, then the wife of Joseph Alvarez Hortiz; Marie wife of Louis Barada; and Gabriel Becquet, his only son, married to Louise St. Françcis. These relinquished to their uncle, Pierre Becquet, brother of their father, in conformity to his desire, the property at the northwest corner of Main and Myrtle Streets, Nov. 18, 1796. Pierre Recquet, their uncle, sold it to Joseph A. Hortiz, Dec. 28, 1799, and Hortiz and wife to William Hebert Lecompte, June 9, 1807, who bought it for a gift to his niece, Rosalie, wife of John B. D. Belcour, Nov. 11, 1807. (Of course Hortiz was not living in this house at the period of death, in 1808).

Joseph Alvarez Hortiz was the son of François Alvarez and Bernarda Hortiz, born in the town of Lienira, province of Estremadura, Spain, in 1753. He was married to Marguerite Marianne Becquet, born at Fort Chartres, Ill., daughter of John B. Becquet and wife, Marie Françoise Dodier, Jan. 27, 1780, he twenty-seven and she seventeen years of age (was but fifty-five when he died, in 1808). He was a private in the Spanish service when he came up to St. Louis, after the Spanish authority had been established here in 1770. He afterwards rose to the rank of sergeant (which in subsequent years in some of the translations was corrupted into "surgeon," which he never was nor claimed to be). Having had some education in his youth, and been long a military attaché at the Government House, he eventually became the secretary of the two last Spanish Governors, Trudeau and Delassus, and had charge of the public archives for a number of years down to the date of the transfer in 1804. Two months after his marriage he purchased from Jacques Noisé Labbé the lot at the northwest corner of Main and Spruce, March 13, 1780. Here he lived for about six years, and sold it to Silvestre Labbadie, Sr., Jan. 15, 1786. He then bought the south half of Block 2, with an old house. On this lot he built a new house of upright posts, kitchen, stable, etc., and lived here until March, 1802, when he sold it to John Baptiste Lebeau, one of his sons-in-law, whose widow was afterwards the wife of André Landreville.

Joseph M. Tayon, who came from Cahokia in 1764, was still living in 1806. Antoine Hubert had a house in St. Louis in 1766, the timber for which was furnished and hewed by John B. Langevin and Joseph Deschenes. Jacques Denis did the carpenter's work. Joseph Chancellier was born in Illinois, came to St. Louis in 1764, was married to Elizabeth Becquet in June, 1773, and died in December, 1784. Two years later his widow married Antoine Gauthier. Louis Chancellier, Joseph's brother, who came to St. Louis with [illegible]n, married Marie Louise Deschamps in 1782, and died in 1785. His widow married Joseph Beauchamps, one of the settlers of 1764, but who was living in St. Charles at the date of his marriage.

There are several sources from which the names of the first inhabitants of St. Louis can be derived besides those already given. The cathedral records is one, the "Archives" is another, and the chief source. A third source is the minute-books of the various land commissions and the register's office. The Archives are the books in which legal documents and many other curious matters were registered. Mr. Billon, in his prefatory note to his very extensive search among these records, says that,—

"The documents deposited in the archives of the French and Spanish days of St. Louis comprised concessions or grants, deeds, leases, marriage contracts, wills, inventories, powers of attorney, agreements, and many miscellaneous documents pertaining to individuals. These papers were always executed in the presence of the Governor, or, in his absence, in the presence of his official representative, and were left for safety in the custody of the government authorities; and as at least nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants of that day could not read, much less write their names, but made their signatures with a cross, as is evidenced by an examination of them, they were deemed safer in the keeping of the government than in the possession of the individuals to whom they mostly belonged. At the date of the execution of each of these papers no other record was made of it than to register it alphabetically under its proper head on a few sheets of foolscap paper loosely sticking together for the purpose, and at the close of the administration of each successive Governor this alphabetical list of his official acts was certified to by himself in person, and together with the documents themselves handed over into the possession of his successor in the government; and it was not until after the country had passed into the possession of the United States that these loose sheets were stitched together in the order of their dates, the last of the series being that of Capt. Amos Stoddard, who acted in the capacity of the civil Governor for the United States until Sept. 30, 1804, and who, perhaps, not being authorized or not deeming it advisable to make any change in the *modus operandi* in regard to these matters, pursued the same course as his predecessors under the former dominations.

"Of these documents there were over three thousand, many of which still remain in the recorder's office in St. Louis to the present day. When at the change of the government, March 10, 1804, these documents, together with such books and papers of the old French and Spanish authorities as related to concessions of lands and lots, came into the possession of the authority of the United States, they consisted of six small books of ordinary foolscap size, containing about three quires each, called the 'Livres Terriens' (land books), in which were entered the concessions or grants of lands and lots, and four smaller books in size, with leather covers, in which were recorded about one hundred and thirty of the above three thousand documents, between the years 1797 and 1799."

(From these it would appear that during the first thirty-five years of the village it was deemed unnecessary to record these papers in books, and that the last were so recorded at the instance, perhaps, of the owners, who may have looked to the future.)

"What are now designated as the 'archives' comprise six large volumes, in which are copied the most important of the foregoing three thousand documents, particularly all those relating to real property, lands, lots, and houses, and of a personal nature. These record-books were commenced in November, 1816, twelve years after the change of government, when the country began to increase in population from abroad, and a consequent increase in the value of lands and lots pointed out to individuals the safety of having their titles recorded, and for some years thereafter only those were put on record whose owners were willing to pay the recording fees for recording the same.

"The first of these old deeds put on record in vol. i. of the so-called archives was by Marie P. Leduc, on Nov. 18, 1816." (Mr. Leduc was a native of France, and had come to the country about the close of the last century, and was a notary and scrivener by profession, and after the acquisition by the United States and the organization of the new Territory, was appointed the first recorder of St. Louis, and opened the record-books in the English language.)

The cathedral records, and the records of births, marriages, and deaths, are also preserved in the Archives, and are very interesting. They show a very healthy population, one at the same time very nomadic, and great prolificacy in the inhabitants. The baptismal registry is not precisely one of births, especially as regards Indians and negroes; but even when due allowance has been made for that fact, the figures are remarkable. The record from the foundation to the year 1818, from the cathedral books, is as follows:

	Whites.	Negroes.	Indians.	Mixed.	Total.
Baptisms	1702	582	236	...	2520
Marriages	336	1	4	5	346
Interments	987	362	130	...	1479

The first child born in St. Louis, according to Judge Primm, was John B. Guion, September, 1765, son of Amable Guion, Sr., and Margaret Blondeau, who, after Amable's death, married William Hebert, a native of Canada. The first death in St. Louis is not recorded, but the first interment in the Cathedral Cemetery of which we have a record is that of John B. Oliver, buried Jan. 7, 1771, Réné Kiercereau officiating. The first marriage is said to have been celebrated on April 20, 1766.[1]

[1] Of this we present the reader an account from a newspaper, which he may take for what it is worth. The authenticity of the narrative is made questionable by the amount of detail:

"There was as yet no church in the new post, but there was

The complete list of the interments is as follows, taken, of course, from Mr. Billon's manuscripts:

1771.—Jan. 7, Jno. B. Olivier; Réné Kiercereau.
March 14, Gabriel Descari, 70; Réné Kiercereau.
March 17, Charles Paran, 55; Réné Kiercereau.
March 17, Jno. B. Brindamour, 45; Réné Kiercereau.
Sept. 13, Jos. Robidou (No. 1); Réné Kiercereau.
Oct. 30, Jno. B. St. François; Réné Kiercereau.
Dec. 16, Jno. B. Pelletier; Réné Kiercereau.
Dec. 25, Louis Pouillotte; Réné Kiercereau.

1772.—June 6, Wm. Bissette; Père Valentin.

1773.—July 29, Jacques La Marche; Père Valentin.
Nov. 10, Jno. B. Durand; Père Valentin.
Nov., —— Larsche; Père Valentin.
Nov. 15, Nich. Vincent, sergeant; Père Valentin.
Nov. 19, Jean Denoyer Marchetand; Père Valentin.
Nov. 22, Jacques Bon Varlet; Père Valentin.
Nov. 24, Jean Vaudry; Père Valentin.
Nov. 30, Jno. B. Buet; Père Valentin.
Dec. 5, —— Turgeon; Père Valentin.

1774.—March 20, young son of Governor Piernas; Père Valentin.
March 25, Jacques Lacroix; Père Valentin.
Oct. 14, Nich. Briesbach, Lucerne; Père Valentin.
Nov. 20, François Le Page; Père Valentin.
Dec. 27, Louis St. Ange, capt. regiment Louisiana; Père Valentin.

1775.—Jan. 9, young girl of Governor Piernas; Père Valentin.
June 7, Joseph Dubreuil; Père Valentin.
July 30, —— Lachapelle; Kiercereau.
Sept. 15, Pierre Lapointe, 100 years; Kiercereau.

a priest. The bridegroom, Toussaint Hunant, was a hunter and trapper, and tradition says that he was married in a new buck-skin suit, with handsomely embroidered moccasins and other half-Indian finery. The bride, Marie Beaugenou, was decked out in such trinkets as a frontier post would afford. Her wedding dress was of homespun material, set off by a gay-colored handkerchief fastened around her throat. Whatever was wanting in the toilet of the bride was made up and compensated for in vigorous, robust beauty. There was no ringing of church bells, but there was a discharge of firearms that served to express the joy of the little community quite as well.

"After the ceremony was over, and the priest had declared them man and wife forever, another roar of firearms sped across the broad river and down into the depths of the forest. A moment or two later the old monarchs of the forest, the waters of the great river, united with the hillsides on the other hand, sent back their echoing congratulations. So there was general joy and satisfaction over this first wedding of a future great city.

"There was dancing all night, with good cheer, and it was daylight before the tired fiddlers found a rest. There were no cards, because the nearest printing-press was twelve hundred miles away; but every inhabitant of the settlement saw and kissed the bride. What more could they wish?"

This marriage, in fact (as the contract in the Archives shows), was between Toussaint Hunant, of Canada, and Marie Josepha Beaugenou, eldest daughter of Nicholas Beaugenou (whose name is on Chouteau's list of first comers) and his wife, Marianne Henrion. Beaugenou had seven or eight children. He built his house on the north half of Block 39, Second Street and Almond, and here the first wedding in St. Louis was celebrated.

Sept. 22, Fran's X. Cruzat, son of the Governor; Kiercereau.
Oct. 18, Pierre Baron; Kiercereau.
Nov. 6, Jno. B. Hervieux; Kiercereau.
Nov. 15, Rollet Laderoute; Kiercereau.

1776.—Feb. 11, Chas. La Pierre; Kiercereau.
Feb. 14, Antoine Berard; Kiercereau.
Nov. 29, Auguste Conde; Père Bernard.
Dec. 16, Nicholas Barsalou; Père Bernard.

1777.—March 10, Charles Routier, 74; Père Bernard.
Dec. 7, —— Ange, huissier; Père Bernard.
Dec. 16, —— St. François, 40; Père Bernard.

1778.—March 2, Mr. Blondeau, 78; Père Bernard.
March 4, Pierre Parans, 70; Père Bernard.
April 28, —— d'Avignon, 60; Père Bernard.
July 27, Comparios, dit Gascon; Père Bernard.
Nov 3, B. Damvier, soldier; Père Bernard.

1779.—March 20, Mme. Rondeau, 67; Père Bernard.
June 28, Benoit de Meru, soldier; Père Bernard.
July 20, Domingo Bargas, 38; Father Bernard.
Nov. 15, —— Marin, 60; Father Bernard.

1780.—April 26, Veuve Parent, 55; Father Bernard.
May 26, Chas. Bissette, murdered by the Indians; Father Bernard.
May 26, Amable Guion, murdered by the Indians; Father Bernard.
May 26, —— Calvet, Jr., murdered by the Indians; Father Bernard.
May 26, Chancellier's negro, murdered by the Indians; Father Bernard.
June 28, Fernando de Leyba, Governor; Father Bernard.
July 24, Pekard, or Picard (Pierre Massé); Father Bernard.
Aug. 9, Picoté Belestres' two children; Father Bernard.
Sept. 10, Mme. Tremblée, 70; Father Bernard.
Dec. 10, —— Dernige, 68; Father Bernard.

1781.—Jan. 3, Alexis Picard, 70; Father Bernard.
April 3, Lalande, 66; Father Bernard.
April 30, Veuve Blondeau, 70; Father Bernard.

1783.—April 30, Eug. Pouré, capt. militia; Father Bernard.
May 10, Louis Perraute, 58; Father Bernard.
Sept., Chas. Henrion; Father Bernard.

1784.—Jan. 3, M. Lami; Father Bernard.
March 13, Nich's Sans Quartier; Father Bernard.
March 15, —— Pepin; Father Bernard.
July 9, Pierre Martin Ladoucour, 64; Father Bernard.
Sept. 25, Jno. B. Rivet; Father Bernard.
Oct. 12, Josette, daughter of Governor Cruzat, 4; Father Bernard.
Nov. 11, —— Duchemin, 70; Father Bernard.
Dec. 2, —— Rivière; Father Bernard.
Dec. 5, Veuve Marechal; Father Bernard.
Dec. 9, Fran's Marmillon, 50; Father Bernard.
Dec. 21, Joseph Chancellier; Father Bernard.

1785.—Jan. 13, Joseph Belile; Father Bernard.
Feb. 17, Jno. B. Deschamps, 61; Father Bernard.
April 9, Louis Chancellier, lieut. of militia; Father Bernard.

1786.—Jan. 28, Joseph Crepo, soldier, 68; Father Bernard.
Feb. 1, daughter of Governor Cruzat; Father Bernard.
March 13, Louis Vachard, Ardoise; Father Bernard.
April 15, under the first bench of the main aisle, against the balustrade alongside of the evangile, the body of Mme. Nicainora Ramos, consort of Don Fran-

cisco Cruzat, lieutenant-colonel, captain of grenadiers, and commandant of the Illinois, with the sacraments of our Holy Mother Church.
April 20, Louis Bissonnet, 60; Father Bernard.
April 25, —— St. Jean, 73; Father Bernard.
July 17, —— Demers, 74; Father Bernard.
Aug. 11, Françoise Barrè, soldier; Father Bernard.
Oct. 5, —— Oliver, dit Bellpeche; Father Bernard.
1787.—Jan. 13, Francis Bissonnet, 46; Father Bernard.
May, —— St. Pierre, 70; Father Bernard.
May 20, Claude Mercier, surgeon, 61; Father Bernard.
Jan. 21, Pierre Berger; Father Bernard.
Nov. 6, Louis Ride, Sr.; Father Bernard.
1788.—Jan. 9, Louis Robert, 70; Father Bernard.
1787.—March 11, Widow Picard, 66; Father Bernard.
September, Claude Duffoc, Parisien, 56; Father Bernard.
Oct. 8, Pierre Sarpy, Berald, 33.
Dec. 23, Amiot, 40.
1789.—April 17, Joseph Rivet.
May 19, Pedro Ruiz, soldier.
June 27, John B. Chauvin, 86.
July 5, Louis Dufresne.
July 19, J. B. Hebert, Leconte.
Oct. 15, John P. Pourcelli, Provençal.
Nov. 1, Joseph Aubuchon, 70; Ledra Cieré.
Dec. 24, Noel L. Anglois, 67; Ledra Cieré.
1790.—Jan. 12, John B. Tardif, 64; Ledra Cieré.
1792.—Sept. 22, J. B. Martigny, 80; Ledra Cieré.
1793.—Feb. 9, Pel K. Chouteau, 26; Ledra Cieré.
1794.—March 17, Francisco Ventura, soldier; Ledra Cieré.
March 25, Joseph Fallardo; Père Dodier.
June 19, Silves. Labbadie; Père Dodier.
John B. Cadien, Savoie; Père Dodier.
Louis Dubreuil, 58; Père Dodier.
Aug. 4, Antoine Sans Souci, 60; Père Dodier.
Mme. Cath. Beaugenou; Père Dodier.
1795.—Joseph Mainville; Père Dodier.
1784.—June 10, Louis Blanchet; Père Dodier.
1795.—Sept. 28, P. Fran's de Volsay; Père Dodier.
1796.—Thérèse Chouteau, 10; Père Dodier.
1797.—Alexis Marie, 60; Père Dodier.
John B. Marley, Sr., age 61; Père Dodier.
July 30, Veuve Vachard, l'Ardoise; Père Dodier.
Daniel Appleby, soldier; Père Dodier.
1798.—Oct. 6, Pierre Quenel; Père Dodier.
Joseph Labrosse, Sr.; Père Dodier.
1797.—John B. Morin, 60; Père Dodier.
1798.—January, Pierre Peri, old French soldier, 80; Père Dodier.
Louis Barois, 60; Père Dodier.
Sept. 19, Antoine Morin, Sr., 60; Père Dodier.
1799.—A. Morin, Jr.; Père Dodier.
A. Roussell, Sans Souci; Père Dodier.
Réné Brian, 79; Père Dodier.
1800.—Feb. 20, Veuve Routier, 72; Père Janin.
July 21, Cath. Giard Cerré, 50; P. Janin.
Dec. 1, Veuve Labrosse, 65; P. Janin.
1801.—Jan. 28, Jos. Hebert, 60; P. Janin.
April 12, Joseph Neptune, sailor, 92; P. Janin.
May 24, Pierre Picoté de Belestre, 25; P. Janin.
June, Louis Chevallier, 47; P. Janin.
June 25, Joachim Roy, 55; P. Janin.
June 29, Joseph Loisel, 80; P. Janin.
July 14, Louis Bompart, 45; P. Janin.
Oct. 24, wife of Bollay, German, 58; P. Janin.
Dec. 30, Louis Dubois, soldier, 60; P. Janin.

BURIALS FROM THE OLD CATHEDRAL REGISTER.

1802.—Jan. 8, John B. Duffau, vestryman of this church, age 45; F. Janin.
Feb. 14, Pierre Coudaire, Provençal, age 80; F. Janin.
Feb. 22, Louis Ambroise, age 70; F. Janin.
Feb. 23, H. Hebert Martigny, age 70; F. Janin.
Mar. 3, Ante Reithe, age 67; F. Janin.
November, Fran'co Lorenzo, soldat, age 44; F. Janin.
Dec. 29, John A. E. Motard, age 80; F. Janin.
1803.—March 12, Jos. Moquet, age 78.
Sept. 24, Fran's Barrère, soldier, Bayonne, France, age 56.
Nov. 22, Chas. Bienvenue Delisle, age 80.
1820.—Oct. 17, wife of Liguest Chouteau, age 40.
1821.—Oct. 12, Thomas Brady.
1822.—March 8, T. A. Flandrin, age 71.
March 22, Paul Guitard, 97.
1823.—Sept. 16, Edward Knapp, 45.
Sept. 20, Jeremiah Connor.

Some more important persons were buried under the floor of the cathedral itself, as the following records attest:

"In the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, the sixth September, I, Capuchin, priest, apostolic missionary, curate of St. Louis, have inhumed in this church, in front of the right-hand balustrade, the body of Madame Mary of the Conception and Zezar, consort of Don Fernando de Leyba, commandant of this post, captain of infantry, invested with all the sacraments of Penitence and Extreme Unction. In testimony whereof I have signed this the day and year as above.

"FATHER BERNARD, *Missionary.*"

"In the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty, the twenty-eighth of June, I, Capuchin, priest, apostolic missionary, curate of St. Louis of Illinois, province of Louisiana, diocese of Cuba, have inhumed in this church, in front of the balustrade on the right, the body of Don Fernando de Leyba, captain of infantry of the battalion of Louisiana, commandant of this post, with all the sacraments of our Holy Mother Church administered to him. In faith whereof I have signed the present, the day and year above stated.

"FATHER BERNARD, *Missionary.*"

Every one who died in St. Louis made his or her will, no matter whether there was property or not to leave. The will was executed and put away among the Archives. If one was sick to death, or thought himself so, or going upon a distant or perilous journey, his first impulse was to make a will; and some of these testaments, as will be seen in the chapter on manners and customs, were very curious and original. The witnesses were many, the bequests specific, and thus we get a great many names, and sometimes a good deal of family history. François Vallé, of Ste. Genevieve, ancestor of the present generation of Vallés in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, and always styled "the commandant," drew up and executed five wills (which are recorded) before he could get one to suit him. To be sure, he had a great deal of

property to leave, and was a person of consequence, "captain of militia and lieutenant of the post." He had slaves, silver-ware, land, and money. When a will was executed, and also, as a rule, when a widow with children married a second husband, an inventory was duly drawn up and made part of the record. Thus we learn that Vallé had seventy-two slaves, several houses and lots, thirty head of horses,—the *names* of which are given in the inventory,—thirty-two work-oxen, eighteen cows, twelve heifers, nine cows, etc. The appraised value of Vallé's estate was 193,063 livres, or about $38,600, "a very large fortune in those primitive days of our early settlements, constituting him the wealthiest man in the country."

It is from an inventory accompanying one of these wills that we get one of the most complete lists extant of the early inhabitants of St. Louis. This is the inventory of the estate of the gentleman who seems to have been the earliest and the leading physician of St. Louis, Dr. Auguste A. Condé, who died in November, 1776. He was a man of consequence in the community, a witness to wills, etc. He was married, and had a daughter who married a man named Bonaventure Collett, from whom she got a divorce afterwards, it being proved he had a wife already in Barcelona, Spain. At one time we find him subscribing for the building of the new cathedral, at another buying six packs of playing-cards at auction. When he died his books showed that nearly all the people in St. Louis owed him for professional services, and their names, consequently, went down in the inventory of assets,—bills receivable to the amount of five thousand one hundred and fifty-six livres three sols ($1031), not a small sum for a country doctor to "book" in those times. There are two hundred and thirty-three names,—a very good directory of St. Louis at that time, for the first directory of the city, that of 1821 by Paxton, only contains seven hundred and forty-nine names. The list begins with the name of St. Ange de Bellerive, who owes forty-five livres,—a bad debt, for St. Ange had died on Dec. 26, 1774, leaving a will in which he directed the payment of what he owed, and Condé's bill is not included in the schedule. The other names are, in alphabetical order:[1]

Anson, of Caho.
Accadien.
Auguste Hebert.
Antoine, merchant.
Alexandre.
Amiot (paid).
Alexis, Jaques.
Aler, Madame.
André, soldier.
Alonzo, soldier.
Baré, nephew.
Bequet, blacksmith.
Bequet, miller.
Bagette.
Berger.
Beausoliet.
Bonnet.
Bonito.
Bellerive.
Bissonnet.
Bor la.
Belhomme.
Basque, handman.
Bissonnet, hunter.
Butand, Père.
Beaufrère.
Blondeau.
Bouchard.
Boulette.
Bourbonnais.
Bolve.
Bollai.
Bequet, Jr.
Barsalou (dead).
Berard (dead).
Bissonnet, Jr.
Boldy, soldier.
Beor.
Cassencuve.
Charles, Roy.
Calvé.
Chancellier, Jno.
Courtois, Lieut.
Caillon.
Clerot.
Chauvin.
Chausante.
Chancellier, Sr.
Chartra.
Chevallier.
Cruzat.
Chouteau, Mme.
Chauville.
Conard.
Cotè, soldier.
Cadet, Jean.
Christot.
Crespo, soldier.
Chevallier, Sr.
Coule.
Cottenneau.
Delor.
Desnoyers.
Dorean, Sr.
Denan, blacksmith.
Dufau.
Dorean, Jr.
Duralde (paid).
Daniel (paid).
Durcy.
Deschène.
Dubreuil (paid).
Delor.
D'Amour, soldier.
Deschamps.
Dublin, at Jacques.
Duchemin.
Delpeche.
Duchenne (paid).
Deshestres, Intes.
Dauson, soldier.
François, at Pedro.
Faü Beaugenou.
Flose, free negress.
Falardeau (paid).
François.
Falis, Mme.
Fedefau.
Gascon.
Gamache.
Gadobert (dead).
Grondin.
Gingras.
Girardin, Jr.
Granon.
Gravar, hunter.
Guitard.
Gaignon.
Gambas.
Gabriel Dodier.
Grand Pré.
Guion, blacksmith.
George, Herman.
Gotié, soldier.
Glenier.
Hervieux.
Honoré.
Hebert, Sr.
Hortiz, corporal.
Jacques, Fortin.
Irin.
Janot.
Lacroix.
Lafitte, servant.
Legrin.
Leblanc.
La Chapelle.
Lacouture, joiner.
Lecompte, blacksmith.
Leduc, Chas.
Lederoute, Paul.
Lapierre, Coudrey.
Lacosta.
Lallemande.
Labrosse (paid).
Labuscière.
Larrive (paid).
Leconte.
Laurent.
Laroche.
Leblanc, sergeant.
Lapoule, hunter.
Lacroix (paid).
Louison Desnoyer.
Lagenais.
Laclede (paid).
Lacroix.
Lardoise.
Lecompte, Sr.
Laderout (deceased).
Liberge (paid).
Lapointe.
Langoumois.
Louvel, Mme.

[1] The spelling of these names is often very inaccurate.

Lapierre (paid).
Lamy.
Lasoudray.
Louis, at Geve.
Laviolette.
Leduc, Mme.
Lafleur (paid).
Lepage, C.
Labbadie.
Lacombe.
Laroche.
Lacroix, at Dechenne.
Lacroix, Bapt.
Lasabloniere.
Laferne, Mme. (paid).
Marie (paid).
Montardy.
Marechal.
Michel, baker.
Michel, ——.
Menard.
Motard.
Monesque.
Mercier, Caho.
Marechal, Mme.
Martigny.
Marchand.
Moreau.
Marantel (died insolvent).
Nicholas, Bombas.
Neptune.
Nicole (paid).
Olivier, soldier.
Ortes.
Pierre Becquet.
Portier.
Perrault, Mme. (paid).
Petit, Le J.
Parent, Mme. (her note).
Petit, Le Marie.
Provenche.
Perron.
Picard.
Pratte.
Querq Desnoyers (paid).
Roy.
Roultier.
Roy, of Martigny.
Rouquier, fiddler.
Roy, Jr.
Renau.
Renal.
Renand, at Caho.
Richard.
Ridde.
Roe, corporal.
Riganche (paid).
Rouquier, at Caho.
Robidou.
Renaud, at Deline.
Roy, blacksmith.
Rondeau.
Sarpy.
Simoneau.
Sans Souci.
Sans Cartièr.
St. François.
Tinon, soldier.
Turfeon, Grand ——.
Trudeau (dead).
Tardif.
Trotier, Caho.
Tuyean, Canddien.
Tayon.
Tebean, servant.
Thabaut.
Torri, soldier.
Trudel (dead).
Tubeau.
Tassey, corporal.
Volsay, Mme. de.
Vallé, Jr.
Venau, carpenter.
Villedieu (dead).
Verdon.
Vancourt.

St. Ange, as has already been stated, came over to St. Louis from Fort Chartres in 1765, and in January, 1766, assumed, by general consent, the position of acting Lieutenant-Governor. The infant settlement owed as much to him, probably, and to the notary Labuscière, as it did to Laclede and Chouteau. Without any commission, he was a man used to command and accustomed to be obeyed. He had been in position before at Fort Chartres and Post Vincennes; he knew military matters well, had a hearty hatred of the English, and understood the Indian character thoroughly. Pontiac was his friend, and Laclede, whom he made his executor, seems to have had perfect confidence in him, while Capt. Rios, the Spanish commandant, who established Fort Charles the Prince, in 1768, felt safe in leaving St. Louis under his magistracy. This St. Ange did not surrender until 1770, when Don Pedro Piernas, Lieutenant-Governor under the authority of Captain-General O'Reilly, came up the river and took command of the post. St. Ange did not leave St. Louis after being superseded. His health was probably already broken, and, as we have said, he died in 1774. His kinsfolk were in St. Louis also. He seems to have been related to Labuscière, the notary (he sometimes signed his name St. Ange Labuxiere, though in the will it is St. Ange de Bellerive), and Madame de Volsay was his niece. He boarded in St. Louis with Madame Chouteau, mother of Auguste, and wife of Laclede Liguest, and owed her fifteen months' board, less three hundred livres paid on account. He owed Deschene (an immigrant from Cahokia in 1764) for twenty-five loads of wood. He owed Laville, the tailor, the cost of making a riding-coat, waistcoat, and two pairs of breeches, less forty livres paid in peltry, an old velvet waistcoat, and a pair of breeches, paid on account. François de Lui owed the testator seventy livres, borrowed money. St. Ange left to the church five hundred livres for funeral service and masses; three hundred livres to Antoine Bareda (a Spanish cadet of the fort, who had sued Lieut. Gomez for calling him "an ass," but who married very well in St. Louis) "for the good services he has received from him," and "gives and bequeaths to his niece, Madame de Volsay, the sum of three hundred dollars."[1] St. Ange owned three slaves,—

[1] Madame de Volsay was by no means an estimable person, as the following memorandum of Mr. Billon's proves:

"De Volsay, Pierre François, was a native of France, born, I think, in or near Paris, about the year 1730. He was a Knight of the Royal Order of St. Louis, and a captain in the French service. He married his wife, Elizabeth Coulon de Villiers, daughter of Neyon de Villiers, the last French Governor in the east side, at Fort Chartres, in the year 1758, and at the date of the transfer to England, in 1765, was the French commandant at Cahokia, and crossed to this side at the time St. Ange came over, and for a number of years was captain of the French Company at St. Louis.

"Some time in the year 1772 his wife, under the pretext of visiting her father, in New Orleans, went only as far as Ste. Genevieve, where she remained about nine months, leading a dissolute life, which so scandalized the good people of Ste. Genevieve, that Mr. Carpentier, a prominent man in the place, brought her up to St. Louis, where De Volsay for a long time refused to receive her. Finally, through the persuasion of Governor and Madame Piernas and Father Valentin, the Catholic curate, a reconciliation was effected, and he consented to take her back, being a kind-hearted man. For a time she conducted herself in a proper manner. In 1774, De Volsay had a furlough, and went to France. He was absent about two years on business matters. He left her in his house on Main Street (present Block 42), well provided with everything in abundance sufficient for a number of years. He had been gone but a short time when she broke out again in her evil course, receiving at her house daily and nightly the visits of one Réné Kiercereau, to the disgust and scandal of all her near neighbors, and in a short time ran through all her husband had left her through her dissipa-

Angelique, an Indian woman, Charlotte, aged nine years, and Antoine, aged sixteen months, children of the said Angelique, whom he bequeathed to his niece, Madame Belestre, the mother for life, the children till the age of twenty years, when they are to be free. Madame Belestre and François de Villiers, his niece and nephew in New Orleans, are left the entire estate, which he beseeches his friend, Pierre Laclede Liguest, as the "last proof of his friendship," to settle up. The witnesses to this will were Labuscière, Benito Basquez (father of the late Madame Eulalie Martin), Joseph Labrosse (immigrant of 1764), Antoine Berard (merchant), and Jean B. Martigny, captain of militia (another immigrant of 1764).

When Capt. Rios came up to the mouth of the Missouri in 1768, he brought with him as surgeon, Dr. Jean B. Valleau, a Frenchman by birth. Valleau got a lot in the village (a concession from St. Ange), and contracted with Peter Tousignan to build him a house of posts upon it eighteen feet long by fourteen wide, shingle roof, stone chimney, partition in centre, door in partition, and door on the outside, two windows with shutters, well floored and ceiled with well-jointed cottonwood plank, the pay to be sixty silver dollars, and Valleau to provide the iron and nails. In addition to this house, Valleau bought an adjoining lot for six hundred livres, on which Calvé, an absconding debtor, had built a house of posts sixteen by sixteen feet. In November Valleau fell sick, and died on the 24th, having made his will the previous day. He had not occupied either of his new houses, dying in that of Desnoyers. He appointed Duralde, a Spanish officer, as his executor, and directed all his property to be made available for the benefit of Madame Valleau, his wife, and children, residing in La Rochelle, France. The witnesses were Francisco de Rive (Rios), and Joseph Papin, trader.

De Volsay's will, no less than his wife's character, reveals a not very excellent state of society in early St. Louis. He leaves the best part of his property to Françoise, a mulatto girl, his natural daughter, the wife of François Dupuy; sets free his colored man, Jean Louis, to whom he leaves $100; bequeaths his cross of the Order of St. Louis to Baron Carondelet, and his sword also, for his son, Don Renato Tudeau, and names Silvestre Sarpy and Charles Sanguinet as his executors. Wm. Hebert, *dit* Lecompte, left a will much more pleasant to read. Having no children by his wife, Blondeau, widow of Amable Guion, he leaves her all his estate. When they married, he records in the will, she brought in $900, of which her mother gave her $400, and $500 was the product of her own industry. He had $4000. Since then they had gained $600, and he left the whole $5500 to his wife; Auguste Chouteau and Charles Sanguinet, executors. Still, Madame Margaret Hebert-Lecompté, *veuve* Guion, *née* Blondeau, may not have been a very pleasant person to live with. Indeed, there is testamentary evidence that she was not, for her own father and mother went to die among strangers rather than live with her.[1]

When Don Fernando de Leyba, "Captain of the regiment of Infantry of Louisiana, Commander-in-Chief and Lieutenant-Governor of the Western Part of Illinois," was on his death-bed, June 9, 1780, he sent for his lieutenant, Don Francisco Cartabona, and executed his will. He named as executor François Vigo, merchant, and as his substitute Benito Vasquez, lieutenant of militia. (Vasquez had come to St. Louis in 1774, and married Julia Papin, then only ten years old, who bore him twelve children.)[2]

tion and debauchery, and finally, previous to De Volsay's return in 1776, the guilty parties fled to the other side, the United States, taking with them what little was left of the large provision De Volsay had left her, and leaving nothing but the vacant house.

"So soon as De Volsay returned from France, he commenced proceedings before Governor Cruzat, who had succeeded De Piernas as Governor, for a dissolution of his marriage contract, which was only concluded under the administration of Governor De Leyba, Aug. 21, 1779.

"This Kiercereau, *dit* Renand, had come over to this side from Fort Chartres in 1765. St. Ange was the uncle by marriage of Mrs. De Volsay.

"Picoté de Belestre was a lieutenant in the regular French service, and a brother-in-law of De Volsay, their wives being sisters.

"De Volsay made three wills, and in a codicil to the last one, with a touch of genuine satire, he left to his wife three coats, an embroidered waistcoat, and *five paire of breeches*."

[1] The will of Thomas Blondeau and Marie Josephe de Selle, his wife, executed before Governor Cruzat, Oct. 15, 1777, Labuscière and Noel Langlois, witnesses, is to the effect that they were living comfortably with Lamy and his wife, because their daughter, Madame Guion, "had manifested such ill treatment towards them at the time they lived in her house that they were obliged to leave; and desiring to acknowledge the goodness and services the said Lamy has rendered them in their old age, and to reward him for his assistance, they have said and declared that they wish that there be paid for their board, to the said Lamy and wife, for every month, the sum of sixty livres ($12) in peltry at the current price of this post," to be taken out of any property they may have at their demise.

[2] Felicité, born 1775, married to Antoine Roy in 1792, died 1803; Julie, 1777, wife of Louis Coignard; Benito, 1780, married Clarissa Lefebvre (daughter of the notary of 1765); François Xavier, 1781; A. T. Baronet, 1783, married Emilie Faustine Parent; Joseph Pepe, 1786, married Marie L. Hebert Lecompte; Victorie, 1787, married Isaac Septivres; Marie Anne, 1790; Hypolyte Guillory, 1793, married Marie Lajeunesse and H. L. Tison; Celeste, 1794, married Vincent Bouis; Eufalie, 1795, married John Stolls, and afterwards Jacques Martin; Pierre Louis, 1798.

De Leyba left $1000 in hard money to his mother; the rest of his property to his two daughters, Pepita and Rita. The witnesses to his will were, besides officials, Diego Blanco, sergeant in the garrison, Jean Pousada, another sergeant, and Louis Richard, soldier.

Among other names and incidents to be gleaned from the record of wills may be mentioned Pierre Alexis Marie and his wife, Reine Gilgaud, first comers. Marie bought and improved several lots. In the winter of 1796–97, when he died, the house in which he resided, northeast corner of Main and Market Streets, was sold to Bernard Pratte, Sr., in whose family the property is still held. Joseph Verden, a cabinet-maker and turner, and a first comer, had married Victorie Richelet, widow of Jean Soyé, she having one child, Henriotta. Joseph and his wife lived together for twelve years, quarreling incessantly, but still having five children. At last they agreed to separate, Verden giving up children, house, and all, and taking with him nothing but his bed, his clothes, his gun, axe, and the tools of his trade.[1]

[1] Second marriages do not always seem to have been happy in old St. Louis. Dr. Condé's widow, not deterred by the bad match her daughter had made with Correll, married a second time herself, to a man named Gaspard Roubieu, who, as she charged, got drunk, beat her, and forced her to take refuge at the Government House, with De Leyba. This quarrel, however, was patched up, but it led to Lorinne, Roubieu's negro slave, giving a hearty drubbing to Marianne, who was De Leyba's mulatto servant. The most comical domestic quarrel in the Archives, however, is that of the baker, François Barrière (who gave his name to one of the streets of old St. Louis), and his wife, Genevieve Catoise. Barrière lived in St. Louis for twenty-eight years, and accumulated much property by his thrift and industry. He and his Genevieve were married in New Orleans in 1775, coming up to St. Louis directly afterwards. There was an ante-nuptial contract of the gushing sort, Barrière and La Catoise (who was the widow of Guillerno Paille) binding themselves up with all sorts of "sacred solemnities" for the consecration of an "indissoluble union." They said in this paper that "we declare of our own free will, without force or compulsion, but from mutual good wishes, so that at no future time shall we contradict this deed, nor make any allegation against its contents, for which purpose we add strength to strength, contract to contract, so that it should not be carried into execution for want of any requisite circumstance or solemnity, for we consider everything inserted therein as if we had expressly declared it; and we swear by God our Lord, and by the sign of the cross, according to law, that we will not contradict nor recall the promise mutually made: and we declare that we have made no protestation nor reclamation against this oath; and should it otherwise appear, we revoke the same. And I, the said Maria Genoveva Catoise, declare that I was married according to the rites of our Holy Mother the Church to the said Guillermo Paille, of which marriage, at the time of his death, there remained one child, our daughter, who may be now three years old, and a small quantity of personal property, which was all sold for its just value and produced the sum of four hundred and fifty-one dollars, which we acquired during our marriage; and as neither the one nor the other brought anything thereto, being purely profits, I declare that the two hundred and twenty-five dollars four reals is the property of my daughter, and the remaining two hundred and twenty-five dollars four reals I bring to this marriage as my dower. And I, the said Barrière, acknowledge the receipt of the four hundred and fifty-one dollars, and give a formal receipt therefor, and the delivery not being yet made I renounce the law of cash payment, the whole of which I shall hold, and out of the most available property, as the dower of my said future wife and guardian of her said daughter, to return the same in the case prescribed by laws; and I also declare that I bring to the marriage that I am about to contract with the said Maria Genoveva, as my own property, the sum of one hundred and sixty dollars, of which I form a capital, so that all the time the trust of this may appear, and to the validity of this contract we bind ourselves with our persons and goods, actual and future. We authorize His Majesty's justices to urge us thereto as with the rigor of a final sentence consented to by us, renouncing all laws, rights, and privileges in our favor, with the general law prohibiting the same." Fourteen years later came this denouement: "In the year one thousand and seven hundred and eighty-nine, the thirty-first of the month of July, A.M., before me, Don Manuel Perez, captain of the regiment of Louisiana, Lieutenant-Governor, and commander-in-chief of the western part of Illinois and its districts (in default of a notary), personally appeared François Barrière, a resident of the post, and Genevieve Catoise, his wife, who by these presents and of common accord, and of their own free will, and in virtue of the proceedings commenced on the ninth of this present month, have voluntarily consented and do consent to a separation to the end of their lives, and to remain separated, one from the other, being absolutely unable to reside together nor remain united on account of the difference of their dispositions, and reciprocally desirous of avoiding daily quarrels, and to spend the remainder of their days in peace, and to procure the salvation of their souls, which they cannot do peaceably living together, in consequence of their continual disputes and no longer being able to bear them; and in consequence of the deed of partition dated the 30th inst., not wishing to have any recourse on each other's property, now being individual, as well actual as future, regarding each other as real strangers, as if no alliance had ever taken place. The said Madame Genevieve Catoise acknowledging and confessing that she has received by the aforesaid act her dower, and the property belonging to her daughter, as also half the goods of the community with the said François Barrière, which community the parties declare broken and dissolved; therefore the said Genevieve grants a full and entire release and discharge to the said Barrière without any expectation of return."

The industry of Mr. Billon enables us to supply the following complete and satisfactory index to marriage contracts in the Archives:

Alvarez, Eugene, to Josephine Crepeau.
Barada, Antoine, to Eliza Tesson Honore.
Barada, Louis, to Marie Becquet Laroche.
Barrère, Fran's, to Marie Gene, *née* Catoise, widow of Wm. Paille.
Barsalou, Nich's, to Magdalen Le Page.
Baudoin, Louis, to Marie Tes. Honore.
Becquet, Gabriel (2), to Marie Louise St. Françoise.
Belland, Jno. B., to Cath. Lalande, veuve Pierre Petteliar.
Bellisème, Alex'r, to Marie Josepha, veuve P. Morriseau.

Benoit, Fran's M., to Mar. Cath. Sanguinet.
Berger, Pierre, to Josette Mayer (Maillet).
Berger, Rougeau Pierre, to Therese Hebert.
Bienvenu, Louis Delisle, to Cath. Nic Les Bois.
Bissette, Louis, to Euphrosine Truteau.
Bissette, Charles, to Marie Pepin.
Bissonnet, Louis, to Genevieve Routier.
Blanchet, Louis, to Angelique (Indian).
Boissy, Louis, to Marie Bissette.
Bompart, Louis, to Celeste Duchouquette.
Bordeau, Pierre, to Therese Petit.
Bourg, Pierre, to Marie Dunegaut.
Bravier, *dit* Ciril, to Elizabeth Rice.
Bricant, Lamarche J. B., to Mar. Lou. Courtois.
Buron, Aug't, to Mme. M. Louise Boudon.
Cabanné, Jno. Pierre, to Julie Gratiot.
Caillol, Francis, to Magdalen de Lor.
Caillon, Eustache, to Felicite Hortiz.
Cerré, Paschal, to Therese Lamy.
Chalifour, Pierre, to Victoire Coussot.
Chancellier, Joseph, to Elizabeth Becquet.
Chancellier, Louis, to Marie Louise Deschamps.
Charleville, Jac. Chauvin, to Victoire Verdon.
Choret, Pierre, to Marie Jose Kiercereau.
Chouteau, Aug'te, to Marie Therese Cerré.
Chouteau, Pierre, to Pelagie Kiercereau.
Chouteau, Pierre, widower, to Brigitte Saucier.
Coignard, Louis, to Julia Vasquez.
Collell, Bonaventura, to Constance Condé.
Cotté, or Coté, Alexis, to Elizabeth Dodier.
Couder (Couderre), Jos., to Angelique Roque.
Courtois, Louis, to Marie L. Menard.
Delor (De Freget), Clem., to Angelique Martin.
Desautels, Joseph, to Therese Mainville.
Deshetres, Hyacinthe, to Fran's Normand Deslauriers.
Deslauriers, Henry, to Magd. Bissonnet.
Dodge, Israel, to Cath. Camp, veuve Guion.
Dorlac, Fran's, to Amable Lalande.
Dorsieres, Euge. Dorys, to Marie Anne Nicole Les Bois.
Doyon (Dayon), Fran's, to Pelagie Laplante.
Drouin (Dercin), Fran's, to Cath. Tougard Laviolette.
Duchouquette, Jno. B., to Marie Brazeau.
Duchouquette, Hen. Lafleur, to Félice Quior San Filip.
Dubreuil, L. Chauvet, to Susanne Saintous.
Dubreuil, Louis, to Marianne Laroche.
Dufant, Jno. Bap. Benoni, to Marianne, widow of Louis B. Laroche.
Dunnegant, Francis, to Eugenie Jarret.
Dunnegant, Fran's, to Cath. Labbe Noise, widow of Jno. B. Bidet, Langoumois.
Duralde, Martin, to Marie Josepha Perraute.
Durand, Jno. B., to Marie Jos. Marcheteau.
Faustin (Fortin), Fran's, to Rosalie Kiersereau.
Fayet, Joseph, to Felicité Marechal.
Fine, Philip, to Marie Newby, veuve Phil. Gagnon.
Fine, Phil, to Widower Celeste Boly.
Flandrin, Ante, to Marg't Baroda, widow Jno. Pourcelly.
Fournier, Fran's, to Jos. Renard, widow Jos. le May.
Fremon (Delaurier), Chas. Aug., to Josephine Celeste Dubreuil.
Gagnon, Philibert, to Marie Newby, widow John Cleborn.
Gagnon, Pierre, to Helen Mainville Deschenes.
Gamache, Jno. B., to Charlotte Damours de Louvieres.
Gates, Juan, to Genevieve Morin.
Gauthier, Ante, to Isabel Becquet, widow of Joseph Chancellier.
Giard, Jno. B., to Marie Josepha Rivet.
Gratiot, Charles, to Victoire Chouteau.
Guion (Dion?), Nich's Franc's, to Therese Hervieux.
Guion, Amable (No. 2), to Reine Felicité Robert.
Hebert, Franc's, to Magdalena le Roy.
Hebert, Wm., to Marie Blondeau, veuve A. Guion.
Hebert, Joseph, to Vic. Alvarez Hortiz.
Honoré, Louis, to Catherine Rivet.
Hortiz, Jos. A., to Mar. Marianne Becquet.
Hubert, Michel, to Marie Ursule Rapideux.
Hugé, Dominique, to Marie Rose Pourcelly.
Hunaud, Toussaint, to Marie J. Beaugenou.
Ignace, Valentin Pierre, to Marie Juannette (blacks).
Jourdain (Labrosse), Fran's, to Sally Russell.
Kiersereau, Paul, to Marie J. Michel Tayon.
Kiersereau, Greg'y, to Marie St. François.
Labbadie, Silvestre, to Pelagie Chouteau.
Labbadie, Joseph, to Therese Damours de Lou, veuve Louis Deshetres.
Lacroix, Pierre, to Helene Laroche.
Lafernai, Joseph, to Margaret Pourcelly.
Lajeunesse, Jacques, to Hel. Vachard l'Ardoise.
Lapierre, Joseph, to Rosalie Olivier.
Laroche, Ignace, to Marie Becquet.
Lasablonière, Jacques Brunel, to Helene Beaugenou.
Lebeau, Jean Jacques, to Marie Lafernai.
Lebeau, Jno. B., to Marie Alva Hortiz.
Le Duc, Marie Philip, to Marie M. Papin.
Lee, Patrick, to Constance Condé.
Lefebvre, Augustin, to Felicite Bayancourt.
Lefebvre, P. F. B. Jos. D'Inglebert, to Marg. Laferne.
Lerige, Laplante Franc's, to Marie Loat.
Le Roy, Charles, to Susanne Dodier.
Le Roy, Julien, widower, to Reine Gilgant, veuve Marie.
Letourneau (Lafleur), Louis, to Maria Bissonnet.
Lorens (Lorin), Jos., to Marg't, veuve Ante Barada.
Mainville (Deschenes), Jos., to Ann Chancellier.
Marchetand, Louis (1), to Marie Angelique Metivier, veuve Dequirigon Felix.
Marchetand, Louis (2) Kierq Denoyers, to Veronique Panisse la Girofice, veuve Jno. Prunel.
Marie, Alexis M., to Marie Rose Delord Treget.
Martin (Ladouceur), Ante, to Maria E. Marechal.
Martin (Ladouceur), Pierre, to Angelique Bissonnet.
Mercier, Julien, to Marie Hunaud.
Monier, Jno. B., to Marie Louise Lalande.
Moreau, François, to Catherine Marechal.
Noise (Labbè), Jacques, Therese Beaugenou.
Ortes, Jno. Bap., to Elizabeth Barada.
Panet, Pierre, to Marie Anne Cerré.
Papin Jos. M., to Marie Louise Chouteau.
Payant (St. Onge), to Elizabeth Crely.
Petteliar, Andre, to Euphrasine Gagné, veuve François Bo langer.
Petit, Jno. B., to Therese Charron.
Pratte, Bernard, to Eulalie Sauveur Labbadie.
Prevot, Jno. B., to Angelique (an Indian).
Provenchere, N. Pierre, to Marie J. Rutgers.
Provenché, Jno. B., to Marie Pepin, veuve S. Bisset.
Quenel, Michel, to veuve Marie L. Jourdain, veuve Fra Lebeau.
Recontre, Alex. A., to Marie J. Roy.
Rivet, Jos., widower, to Marianne Olivier.
Rivière (Baccanné) Ante, to Charlotte Rogue.
Rivière (Baccanné), Philip, to Marie Liberge, veuve Lo Guerel Dumont.

Robert, Charles, to Jeannotte Courtois.
Robidou, Joseph (2), to Cath. Rotel Laderoute.
Rolet (Laderoute), Michel, to José Morrisseau.
Roubieu, Gaspard, to Marie de la Ferne, veuve Condé.
Rousseau, François Jos., to Marg't A. Hortiz.
Roussell (Sans Souci) Ante, to Fran'se Vifvarenne.
Roussell, Pierre, to Françoise Gagné.
Salle, Jean, to Marie Rose Vidalpane, veuve John Joseph Jacques.
Sanguinet, Charles, to Marie Anne Condé.
Sarpy, Gregoire, to Pelagie Labbadie.
Saugrain, Ant. F., to Genevieve R. Michau.
Savoie, John B. Cadien, to Louise Ladurantaie, veuve Antoine Donys.
Schuttz, George, to Victoire Tesson Honorè.
Schuttz, Christopher, to Eliz. Tesson Honorè.
Schuttz, Peter, to Marie R. Chouquet.
Simoneau, Charles, to Marie Picard.
Sincenne, Amable, to Marie Baudoin.
Soulard, Ante P., to Julie Cerré.
St. Cyr, Hyacinthe, to Helene Hebert.
St. François, Ante, to Charlotte Larcheveque.
St. Vrain, Jac. Marcellin Ceran Dehaute Delassus, to Marie F. C. Dubreuil.
Tayon, François, to Pelagie Chauvin Charleville.
Tayon, Joseph, to Marie Berger.
Thibeau, Joseph, to Marie Louise Vincennes.
Vachard, Joseph Lardoise, to Marie Mondion, widow of John B. Vien.
Vallé, Michel, to Françoise Suejuese (Indian).
Valois, Francis X., to Julie Beaugenou.
Vasseur, Regis, to Fran. Guitard Lagrandeur.
Vien, John Baptiste, to Euphrosine Hunaud.
Vifvarenne, John B., to Genevieve Cardinal.
Vincennes, Louis J., to Elizabeth Deves.
Yosti, Emilien, to Theotiste Durande.
One hundred and sixty-three marriage contracts recorded in the Archives.

The first and most striking thing to notice in connection with the marriage records of St. Louis is the great number of intermarriages among a few leading families of the early inhabitants. In 1804, when the United States took possession of the government of Upper Louisiana, these marriage connections were so extensive that at least two-thirds of the people were cousins of one another. This sort of connection began with the founding of the city, and when old Grandma Chouteau died in 1814, all the first families of the place could legitimately put on mourning for her. This venerable lady probably had more to do with the founding of St. Louis than she seems to get credit for. She was a native of New Orleans, by name Therese Bourgeois, and in 1749 had married Auguste Réné Chouteau, of that city, bearing him one child, Auguste Chouteau, the "colonel," as he was called, and head of the house, who was born in September, 1750. Madame Therese Chouteau left her husband after the birth of her son, on account of ill treatment, returning to her family. After this she met Pierre Laclede Liguest and a mutual attachment sprang up between them. The rules of the Catholic Church forbade a divorce except under such special circumstances as could not be established in this case, and Madame Chouteau, with the advice and consent of her friends, contracted a civil marriage with Laclede and went to live with him. By him she had four children,—Jean Pierre, Pelagie, Marie Louise, and Victoire,—all of whom bore the name of Chouteau, in obedience to French law. In 1763, when Auguste was thirteen years old and Jean Pierre six, she went up the river to Fort Chartres, reaching St. Louis *via* Cahokia in the spring of 1764. A house was built for her, and she always resided in the village, looking after the business affairs of her husband and children, and her own likewise, with masculine energy and sagacity. Laclede was nearly all the time away, extending his trading operations in every direction, and Auguste Chouteau was frequently journeying from post to post in the Indian country, collecting furs and superintending trappers. In one of his trips to New Orleans, Laclede died, in July, 1778, at the mouth of the Arkansas River, where he was buried. Chouteau had at this time become a man of twenty-eight years, grown up with the village, known to all the inhabitants of this upper country; at the head of large business affairs, was acquiring property; prominent in the affairs of the village, a man of education, had drawn up the first plat of the village, etc. All this combined soon made him the most prominent man perhaps in the place, and in a very few years after the death of Laclede, when the memory of the man was almost forgotten, Chouteau grew to be considered the founder of the place. Such was the general belief of the inhabitants of the village at the period of Mr. Billon's advent here in 1818, and it was not until Mr. Billon had resided a number of years in the place that the existence of such an individual as Laclede was gradually brought out by researches into the early history of St. Louis.

The old lady probably knew that her eldest son could take care of his own interests sufficiently well. At any rate she made it her chief concern to look after her own affairs, add to her own fortune, and provide for and marry off her younger children. She was a thorough business woman, and drove a hard bargain now and then. We have seen that she took St. Ange de Bellerive to board with her, and it is on record that, when one of her negro men, Baptiste, was shot and accidentally killed in December, 1785, in an attempt to capture some runaway slaves, she sued her son-in-law, Joseph M. Papin, for damages, and finally compelled all the parties interested in the matter to pay *pro rata* an assessment of one thousand

dollars, the full value of the slave. She acquired a great deal of property, and exercised a great deal of influence in the community, being herself a trader in goods and furs as well as in real estate.

Madame Therese Chouteau's children married as follows: Auguste Chouteau, son of Auguste Réné Chouteau and Marie Therese Bourgeois, married, Sept. 21, 1786, being then thirty-six years old, Marie Therese Cerré, daughter of Gabriel Cerré and Catharine Geard. Gabriel Cerré was the leading merchant of Kaskaskia, and bitterly hostile to the American cause in the Revolution until Gen. George Rogers Clark procured an interview with him, and not only secured his friendship and sympathy, but obtained also the aid of his great influence with the Indians of Illinois. Auguste Chouteau died in St. Louis, Feb. 24, 1829, leaving seven children.

Jean Pierre Chouteau married Pelagie Kiercereau, daughter of Paul Kiercereau and Marie Taillon (daughter of Joseph M. Taillon), on July 26, 1783. Pelagie died in 1793, leaving four children,—Auguste P., Pierre, Jr., Paul Liguest, and Pelagie. This last, in 1811, married Barthelemi Berthold, who built the first brick house in St. Louis, to which to bring home his bride. Jean Pierre Chouteau married a second time on Feb. 14, 1794, to Brigitte Saucier, daughter of François Saucier and Marguerite Cardon, of St. Philippe.

Pelagie Chouteau, July 27, 1776, married Sylvestre Labbadie, a native of Tarbes, in Bearn, France, whose parents were Domingo Labbadie and Anne Béclac.

Marie Louis Chouteau, June 25, 1781, married Joseph Marie Papin, merchant, of Canada, son of Joseph Papin and Marguerite Laferne (or Laforce). Their children were

1. Joseph Papin, 1780, married Veuve Bradshaw, 1820.
2. Marguerite, 1781, to M. P. Leduc, 1802.
3. Alexander (Laforce), 1782, to Julie Brazeau, 1814.
4. Marie Therese, 1784, to Antoine Chenie, 1805 or 1806.
5. Marie Louis, 1785, to Ante Roy, 1812, and H. Renard, 1818.
6. Hypolite, 1787, Josephine Loisel, 1815.
7. Pelagie, 1789.
8. Sophie, 1791, died 1808.
9. P. Millecour, 1793.
10. Silvestre V., 1794, Clementine Loisel, 1817.
11. Emilie, 1796, François Chauvin, 1816.
12. Pierre Didier, 1798; Catharine L. Cerré, 1826.
13. Theodore (Dartine) 1799; Marie Celeste Duchouquet, 1820.
14. Joseph, died an infant in 1802.

Joseph M. Papin, Sr., died 1811, the widow in 1817.

Victoire Chouteau, June 25, 1781 (same day as that of her sister Pelagie's marriage), was married to Charles Gratiot, Sr., the founder of that family in the United States, born in 1753, in Lausanne, Pays de Vaud, Switzerland, his parents being Henry Gratiot and Marie Bernard. They had thirteen children, of whom nine—four sons and five daughters—grew to maturity, all marrying.

It will thus be seen that the blood of Veuve Chouteau and Pierre Laclede Liguest flows in the veins of the Labbadies, Papins, and Gratiots, as well as Chouteaus, and they are related by marriage, in the first generation, with the Cerrés, Kiercereaus, Taillons, Sauciers, etc. In the second and third generations these alliances were very widely extended,—Leduc, Brazeau, Chenie, Roy, Renard, Loisel, Didier, Cerré, Berthold, Pratte, Sarpy, Cabanné, Dorsière, Lamq, Barrois, Duchoquet, Marchtand, Kierq, Denoyers, Sanguinet, Marcheteau, Chancellier, Tassier, Gauthier, Roasillar, Choret, Provencher, Dubreuil, etc.[1]

Paul L. Chouteau, in 1813, married a daughter of Louis Dubreuil and Susanne Saintous, thus allying himself with Ceran de St. Vrain, and the Hempsteads, De la Beaumes, and Fremons de Launier at once. Antoine Soulard married a Mademoiselle Julie Cerré, sister of Auguste Chouteau's wife. Antoine Roy's first wife was a daughter of Benito Basquez; his second, a daughter of Pierre Chouteau. And all the other resident families in St. Louis were connected with one another in pretty much the same way.

The following biographical memoir of Charles P. Chouteau and his immediate ancestors has been furnished us by Frederick L. Billon:

His "great grandmother (*née* Marie Thérèse Bourgeois) was born in New Orleans, then a village of but

[1] The following, from the Archives, is a fair example of one of these old marriages, and the area of relationship covered by it:

"*Dorsière*, Eugene Jorys, Knight of St. Cinatus (Society of the Cincinnati), formerly an officer of the United States of America, being now present at this post of St. Louis, and now residing at it, son of Etienne Antoine Jorys Dorsière, deceased, and in his lifetime major of the troops of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, and of Marie Josepha Jorys, his father and mother born at Dorsières, in the county of Valois, Swiss republic, age twenty-eight years, and Marie and Nicole Le Bois, daughter of St. Etienne Nicole Les Bois, deceased, and of Marie Angelique Geard, deceased, her father and mother, aged about twenty-three, born in the parish of the 'Holy Family des Cahos,' in the Illinois, Northern America, with the assistance of Gabriel Cerré, merchant, residing in the aforesaid town of St. Louis, her maternal uncle and guardian, in whose house she is living, the come the item of the agreement in presence of Charles Gratiot, merchant, at St. Louis, formerly of Lausanne, in Switzerland, and of Jean Emanuel Dumoulin, of Vevay, Switzerland, friends and witnesses of said Dorsière, and Gabriel Cerré, her guardian, Auguste Chouteau, her cousin, and others, her friends and relatives. Feb. 23, 1789."

thirteen years, in the year 1733, and was married to Auguste Réné Chouteau in the year 1749.

"This lady came over to Laclede's newly-established 'trading-post' of St. Louis from Cahokia, on the Illinois side, where she had sojourned for some months, in the month of September, 1764, with her five children,—two sons (Auguste and Pierre) and three daughters (Pelagie, Marie Louise, and Victoire), —she being the first female that became a resident of this newly-established post.

"After a residence of half a century in our then little village, which had slowly increased to the number of fifteen hundred souls, with the proud satisfaction of having seen it and its surroundings emerge from a wilderness inhabited alone by Indian tribes and the wild animals of the forest to become a flourishing settlement around her, and leaving a numerous progeny of descendants, this old lady departed this life in her stone residence, in which she had resided during all these long years, at the southwest corner of our present Chestnut and Main Streets, on the 14th day of August, 1814, having attained the mature age of eighty-one years, universally esteemed and respected by the entire community, in the midst of whom she had passed far the largest portion of her protracted life.

"Her remains were consigned to the earth in the cemetery of the Catholic Church, then occupying the block on which the present cathedral now stands."

John Pierre Chouteau, Sr., "the second son of the above lady, and the paternal grandfather of our subject, was born in New Orleans, Oct. 10, 1758, and died in St. Louis, July 10, 1849, having attained the age of ninety years and nine months. He was twice married,—first on July 26, 1783, when a young man of twenty-five years, to Pelagie Kiersereau, a native of St. Louis, an orphan and an only child, whose parents had died in St. Louis, she being raised in the family of her maternal grandparents, Joseph Gaillon, Sr.

"This first wife of John Pierre Chouteau, Sr., died after ten years of married life, a young woman of twenty-six years, on Feb. 9, 1793, leaving three sons, Auguste P., Pierre, Jr., and Paul Liguest, and one daughter, Pelagie, in after-years the wife of Bart. Berthold, from the Italian Tyrol, who died here in April, 1831, and his widow, Mrs. Berthold, who survived him a number of years, dying but a very few years since.

"After a year of widowhood, Jean Pierre Chouteau, Sr., married a second wife, Miss Brigitte Saucier, born in the village of St. Phillippe (now extinct), on the Illinois side, in the southwest corner of the present Monroe County, daughter of a retired officer formerly in the service of France.

"This lady died May 18, 1829, leaving five sons, who, with those by his first wife, left Mr. Chouteau, Sr., with eight, all of whom lived to attain the age of manhood, and most of them leaving families of children. Mr. Pierre Chouteau, Sr., survived his second wife about twenty years, dying, as before stated, in 1849, at the residence of his only daughter, Mrs. Berthold, northwest corner of Fifth and Pine Streets.

"Pierre Chouteau, Sr., became of age, under the Spanish laws of that day, at twenty-five years, in 1783, after which we find him engaged in the Indian trade, almost the only business then pursued in the country, outside of agricultural and mechanical labor, by those who possessed or could obtain the little capital or credit requisite to embark in the business.

"His early trade at first was with the Osages, then inhabiting the country contiguous to where Fort Osage was subsequently built, on the south bank of the Missouri River, in Jackson County, Mo. With this tribe he traded for a number of years, under a special license granted him for that purpose, during which time he made himself familiar with their language and customs, and acquired very great influence over them, as also in after-years with all the various tribes inhabiting the Upper Missouri, the tribes of the Platte, Omahas, Sioux, Arickarees, Mandans, and others inhabiting the upper regions of the Missouri to the Great Falls, and likewise the tribes of the Mississippi.

"After being engaged in this Indian trade with varied success for some twenty years or more, until the transfer of the country to the United States in 1804 and the advent of the Americans, he gradually withdrew from this trade, and turned his attention to real estate, purchasing and selling extensively of lots in and near the town, and large tracts of land throughout the country, by which transactions he realized a handsome estate. Being a man of considerable attainments for that early period of our history, and withal a man of liberal and expanded views, he soon made himself popular with the new owners of the soil, and served in various capacities, civil and military, in the early Territorial days.

"After the organization of our State government in the year 1820, and our admission into the Union, having arrived at the age of sixty-two years, and in affluent circumstances, he abandoned active business altogether, and spent the balance of his days in ease and affluence, alternately at his city residence and at his well-improved country place in our near vicinity,

dying at fourscore and ten, having attained the greatest age of any one of the family before or since.

"In the prime of his early manhood Mr. Chouteau, when actively engaged in the fur trade, was at times associated with his elder brother, Auguste Chouteau, his brother-in-law, Charles Gratiot, with Robert Thabaud and others. In the active pursuit of this business he was frequently called from his home; he made several voyages below to New Orleans and up the Mississippi to Mackinac, for long years the northern central mart of the fur trade of Canada, and was much of his time at his trading-post with the Osages on the Missouri.

"Mr. P. Chouteau, Sr., for a few years after his first marriage, continued to live at his mother's house, southwest corner of Main and Chestnut. In the year 1788 he purchased the northern portion of a block of ground in the northern part of the village, now City Block No. 28, with a stone house, one of the two largest in the place (the other being that of his brother), built by James Clamorgan in 1785. Subsequently he acquired the south part of the block, and on this he resided for over sixty years. During this period he had inclosed the whole block with a high stone wall on all sides,—his house was near the centre of the east front on Main Street,—and had added several buildings within his inclosure, for his own use and convenience,—a warehouse for his fur business, stables, barn, quarters for his numerous slaves, etc. This house and grounds of Mr. Chouteau was for many years one of the most noted in the place. His long intercourse and traffic with the tribes of the lower Missouri had given him great influence over them, and they held him in high respect. In their frequent visits to our village he kindly allowed them the use of his large grounds for their temporary abiding-place. Their visits to the place, particularly of the upper tribes, the Mandans, Arickarees, and others, were always in the summer season, coming down in their canoes in May and June, in company with the boats of the traders, who had spent the winter with them.

"The writer of this has frequently seen as many as a hundred and more in his grounds. They would at times promenade down our Main Street in Indian file to his brother, Col. A. Chouteau's residence, at Market Street, in parties of ten or twelve, rigged out in all their toggery, one or two of the principal chiefs in a United States uniform coat, with golden epaulettes, and military hat and plume, with bare legs, and the privates or braves following their head men, each one sweltering under his Mackinaw blankets in a scorching July sun, armed with a flaming scarlet umbrella, their fancy color, in one hand, and brandishing a palm-leaf fan in the other.

"Pierre Chouteau, Sr., was never called by his first name of Jean, which after he engaged in business appears to have been dropped, and was always thereafter called only 'Pierre, Sr.,' and his second son 'Pierre, Jr.'

"A few notices of him from the *Missouri Gazette*, etc.:

"'May, 1807.—As Indian agent for the nation, he held a council with the Osages at his house in St. Louis, his large ground, inclosed with a high wall, being their usual resort when in St. Louis for many a year.

"'1807, Sept. 1.—Appointed a justice of the peace for St. Louis by acting Governor Frederick Bates, one of the first official acts of that functionary after his arrival here in July preceding.

"'1808.—Elected one of the trustees of the town of St. Louis at the first election held in the place, and again in

"'1809.—Re-elected to the same position, and again in 1811.

"'1809.—In organizing the militia of the Territory in this year he raised the first troop of horse in St. Louis, and was appointed its captain by Governor M. Lewis.

"'In this year Pierre Chouteau, Sr., and his two sons, Auguste P. and Pierre, Jr., with A. A. Chouteau, the eldest son of his brother Auguste, ascended the Missouri to some of the upper nations of Indians. Returning, they reached home in St. Louis, Monday, Nov. 20, 1809.

"'For a few years after the transfer of the country to the United States our relations with the Indians of the West and North had been on an amicable footing, with the exception of an occasional murder of a white person by strolling Indians; but as these occurrences became more frequent, it became a necessity to organize the male population into militia for the better protection of our frontier settlers. This was accordingly done, and Auguste Chouteau, Sr., was appointed by Governor M. Lewis, Nov. 28, 1808, colonel of the St. Louis militia, and about the same time his brother, Pierre, Sr., was commissioned to raise and command the first St. Louis troop of horse. This was the first of the military titles of these two gentlemen.

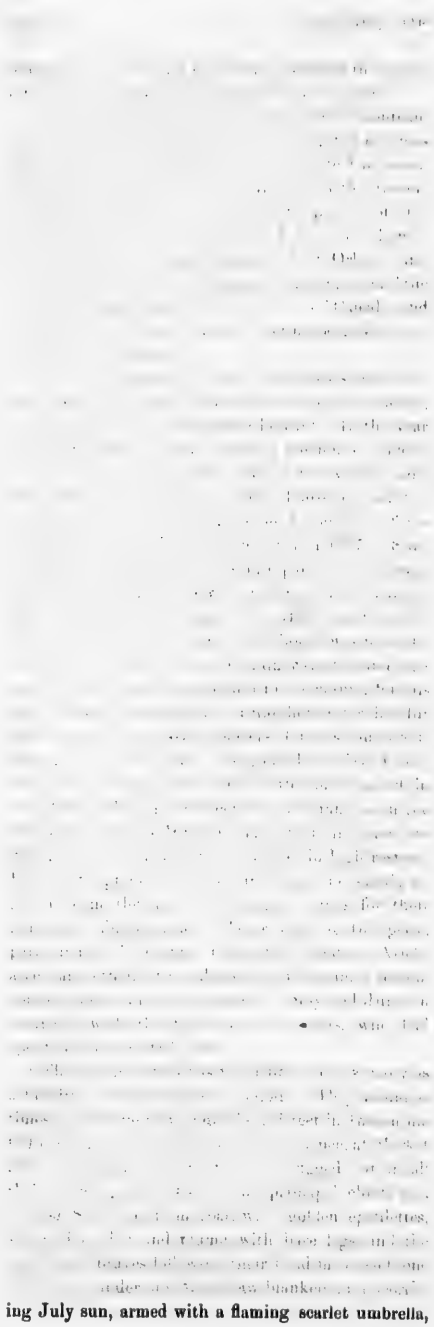
"'In 1812.—At the breaking out of the war with England, Capt. Pierre Chouteau was promoted by Governor Benj. Howard to the rank of major in the St. Louis battalion of militia.

"'In the years 1820 and 1821, Maj. Chouteau served his fellow-citizens of St. Louis for two years in the office of chairman of the board of town trustees, at the expiration of which he declined further civic honors and retired to private life to enjoy his well-earned "*otium cum dignitate.*"

"'In person, Maj. Chouteau was somewhat under medium height, but of a robust frame and iron constitution, evidenced by the length of years he attained, and withal an excellent horseman, the only mode of locomotion in the country at that day, and which was a chief recommendation to his appointment by Governor Lewis to the command of the St. Louis troop in 1808.

"'On the occasion of the visit of Gen. Lafayette to our then embryo city on April 29, 1825, spending but a single day with us (an important event in our early annals), he was entertained in a suitable manner at the hospitable mansion of the major in the northern part of our city, who had politely placed it at the disposition of the committee of arrangements for his reception, of whom the major was one who had the honor of riding with him in the carriage.





ing July sun, armed with a flaming scarlet umbrella,

him in the carriage.



P. Chouteau Jr

"'Charles P. Chouteau, then in his sixth year, living at his father's on the opposite side of the street, crossed over to his grandfather to see the reception. He tells me that he was struck with surprise to see, for the first time in his life, the old gentleman in full military array, which he had long before laid away, as he supposed, for all time, but which he had donned once again to do honor to the nation's illustrious guest.'

"Pierre Chouteau, Jr., the second son of the foregoing Pierre, Sr., named after his father, and who was the father of Charles P., was born Jan. 19, 1789, and was married to Miss Emilie Anne Gratiot, a daughter of Charles Gratiot, Sr. (who came to the county from his native place, Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1777) on June 15, 1813.

"These were the parents of our subject.

"The children of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., were:

"1st. Emilie, born Feb. 13, 1814; was married to John F. A. Sanford, of Baltimore, in the year 1832; both now deceased.

"2d. Julia, born Feb. 28, 1816, widow of the late Dr. William Maffitt, deceased.

"3d. Pierre Charles, born Dec. 1, 1817, died an infant in 1818.

"4th. Charles Pierre, born Dec. 2, 1819, married to Julia Anne, daughter of Gen. Charles Gratiot, Nov. 27, 1845.

"5th. Benjamin Wilson, born Aug. 17, 1822, died an infant; Charles P. and sister, Julia Maffitt, being the only survivors. In the year 1804, after receiving the best instruction the place could furnish, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., then a youth of fifteen years, became a clerk of his uncle, Auguste Chouteau, Sr.

"In the year 1806 he accompanied Julien Dubuque up the Mississippi River to the present site of Dubuque, Iowa, where the well-known Dubuque Lead-Mines were located, in the capacity of clerk, with the promise of being made his sole heir to the same in the event of his death. He remained here two years, returning to St. Louis in 1808 at the age of nineteen years. In 1809, Pierre Chouteau accompanied his father and elder brother, Auguste P., on a voyage to some of the Indian tribes of the upper Missouri, reaching home on their return in November of that year.

"In 1813, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., entered into a co-partnership with his brother-in-law, Bart. Berthold, under the style of 'Berthold & Chouteau,' merchants, and opened 'their fresh stock of merchandise just from Philadelphia' on May 1st, in Berthold's new brick house on Main Street, the first brick house built west of the Mississippi River. In the prosecution of their business one or the other of the firm made occasional trips to Philadelphia to replenish their stock. This business connection only ceased with the death of Mr. Berthold in April, 1831.

"In 1820, Pierre Chouteau was elected from the county of St. Louis a member of the convention that framed the Constitution of the State of Missouri, and took his seat in that body.

"About this period 'Berthold & Chouteau' relinquished their mercantile business and embarked extensively in the fur trade of the Missouri. Subsequently Messrs. Bernard Pratte, Sr., and John P. Cabanné became associated with them, forming the firm of 'Berthold, Chouteau & Co., fur merchants,' and for a number of years prosecuted an extensive and profitable trade in that line.

"Mr. Berthold died in April, 1831, and the style of the firm was changed to 'Pratte, Chouteau & Co.'

"In 1837, Bernard Pratte departed this life, followed June 27, 1841, by the decease of Mr. John P. Cabanné, and leaving Pierre Chouteau, Jr., the sole survivor of the original company. In this trade he continued for many years thereafter with new associates until his own death, Oct. 6, 1865, having successfully prosecuted the business for almost half a century, and leaving a large estate to his surviving children.

"In the year 1838, P. Chouteau, Jr., associated with Kenneth Mackenzie, established the wholesale 'grocery commission' house of 'Chouteau & Mackenzie,' his interest in which he disposed of to Mackenzie in the year 1841, and in the same year established a branch of his fur house in the city of New York.

"In the year 1842, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., associated with him in his fur company in St. Louis, Messrs. John B. Sarpy, Joseph A. Sire, and his son-in-law, John F. A. Sanford, theretofore three of his principal clerks.

"In this same year (1842) Mr. Chouteau established in the city of New York the commission house of Chouteau, Merle & Sanford.

"In the year 1849, Pierre Chouteau and James Harrison, of St. Louis, with Felix Vallé, of Ste. Genevieve, became by purchase the sole owners of the 'Iron Mountain' in St. François County, and associated themselves together as the 'American Iron Mountain Company,' embarked extensively in the manufacture of iron, and from this originated in 1851–52 the establishment by the same parties of the 'Chouteau, Harrison & Vallé' rolling-mill in North St. Louis, in successful operation at the present day.

"In 1853, Pierre Chouteau established in New York the railroad iron house of 'Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Sanford & Co.' This was the last enterprise he set on foot.

"All the gentlemen so long associated with Pierre Chouteau in the prosecution of his fur trade were his kinsmen and near relatives by blood or marriage, and are all now dead,—Joseph A. Sire died in 1854; John B. Sarpy, April 1, 1857; and John F. A. Sanford in May, 1857, but a short month after Sarpy,—and a

remarkable circumstance in his life is the fact that he survived not only his three original partners of the first house, but also those junior partners he had after the death of the three first associated with him in the continuation of the original house.

"Pierre Chouteau, Jr., died on October the 6th, 1865, in his seventy-seventh year, now some seventeen years since, leaving a large estate, the fruits of a long and very successful business life, pursued unremittingly through a period of exceeding fifty years. His wife had preceded him to the grave some two years previously.

"Charles P. Chouteau, born Dec. 2, 1819. In 1825, at the age of six years, he was placed at school with Mr. Savaré, in this place. In 1827, in his eighth year, his parents gave him in charge of the Jesuit Fathers at their newly-established seminary at St. Ferdinand.

"In 1833 he was sent to the civil and military institution of the Messrs. Peugnet Brothers in New York, with whom he remained about four years, completing his education and graduating in August, 1837, then in his eighteenth year.

"In 1838 to 1841 he assisted in the business house of Chouteau & Mackenzie, representing his father.

"1841–42 assisted in the business of his father's several houses in St. Louis and New York, then engaged largely in the fur trade throughout the Northwest, spending much of his time in the latter city.

"In the year 1843, his father's business relations with houses in London requiring the presence of some one to attend to his interests in that city, Charles P. embarked for Europe, where he spent some two or three years, a large portion of the time devoted to travel in the various countries of the Continent, returning home in 1845.

"Shortly after his return from Europe, Charles P. Chouteau was married, on Nov. 27, 1845, to Miss Julia Anne Gratiot, the youngest of the two daughters of Gen. Charles Gratiot, formerly of the United States Engineer Corps.[1]

"During the latter part of the long period, running through so many years, in which Mr. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., connected with others, was so extensively engaged in the various enterprises already enumerated, requiring a large amount of capital and unceasing personal attention, Charles P. had personal charge of much of the operations of these multifarious enterprises, and since the death of his father, as the executor of the estate, he has devoted a large portion of his time and attention in bringing to a close this large estate and the various enterprises with which he had been identified during his long and active business life.

"Since the period that Charles P. Chouteau entered upon his business life as the representative of his father in his declining years, his transactions in that field have been so intimately interwoven with those of the latter down to the death of that gentleman, that but little more need be said of him in that connection, but simply to add that

"Charles P. Chouteau, having just completed his sixty-third year, is in the enjoyment of an ample fortune, inherited in part from the large acquisitions of his father, realized in his long and prosperous business life, but largely augmented by his own operations and speculations, in which he has invested from time to time more or less of his surplus capital. Charles P. and Mrs. Chouteau have a family of two sons and three daughters, of whom the eldest son and daughter are married."

The first street commissioners of St. Louis, so to speak, were a committee appointed, after mass, on Sunday, March 15, 1778, to provide for the drainage of the back lots, where the rain-water settled. The plan was to dig a ditch down the street or road between the lots of Bissonet and Conard to the river. The committee consisted of Lapierre, Taillon, Deschenes, Lachaise, and Baccané. Those sanctioning the plan were Lachaise, Baccané, Deschenes, Taillon, Bissonet, Conard, Dubreuil, A. Chouteau, Labuscière, Barada, Ferrante, Benito, Joseph Labrosse, Ortes (Hortiz), Roubieu, Bargas, all good and leading citizens. Bargas died suddenly, so that there was a sort of inquest held, but nothing appeared to cause a doubt of his death being from natural causes. Deschenes, who came over in 1764, appears to have been the first man in St. Louis to burn lime for building purposes.[2]

[1] "This gentleman, the eldest son of Charles Gratiot, Sr., was born in St. Louis, Aug. 27, 1786, and in 1804, at the age of eighteen years, entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, being the twenty-third on the list of admissions into that institution, then but four years established. He graduated with distinction in 1808, and was assigned to the corps of engineers, in which arm of the service he served for exceeding thirty years, having passed through all the grades of rank to the highest in the service, that of chief of the corps."

[2] The evidence is contained in a memorandum in the Archives in the handwriting of Auguste Chouteau.

In the year 1774, Governor Pedro Piernas had a small prison constructed in St. Louis, built as an appendage, with a shed roof, against a gable end of Martigny's house, a part of which he then occupied as the government office. It was twenty feet long by ten and a half wide, the end wall of the house sufficing



the corps."

long by ten and a half wide, the end wall of the house sufficing



Thos. J. Thornburgh

In 1771, Dr. Valleau, one of the first physicians in St. Louis, died, and his effects were sold, including a case of playing-cards, at auction. Governor Piernas directed the vendue, assisted by Louis Dubreuil, Joseph Labuscière, and Auguste Chouteau, whom the record calls "all traders in the village of St. Louis, in the Spanish part of Illinois," Martin Milong Duralde, "merchant of St. Louis," executor of Valleau's will, authorizing the sale. The cards were sold at auction because damaged by water. The average price paid for them was two packs for a livre, payable in deer skins. The bidders were "La Giroflée," a woman then in St. Louis, Dubreuil, Cottin, Vildieu, Vallière, Matard, Madame Piernas, Lapierre, Motard, Paul Gregoire, Alvarez, Valdy, Labuscière, Condé, Hortez, Taillon, Jacques Labbé, Laville, and Vincent.

In 1768 the garrison at Fort Charles the Prince consisted of Capt. Rios, Lieut. Gomez, Ensign Barela (or Bareda), Surgeon Valleau, Corp. Michel Piguere, Manuel Martine, and Benito Moreau; soldiers, Jean M. Hoaline, François Tienda, Jean Mignon, Gaspard de Marque, Dominic Auterre, Alexandre Pegnolles, and Joseph Nicolas Navarré; Antonio Victorine, blacksmith; Guillaume Boyer, caulker; Joseph Maxon, Francisco Poteau, François Suspedes, and Manuel Augustin Abriòn, carpenters; Antonio Tagonais, mason; Joseph Seguin, stone-cutter; and Jourdan, baker.

April 19, 1775, "the third festival of Easter," the Cathedral at St. Louis was begun, an agreement having then been signed by sundry of the inhabitants to build a church, and a contract having been drawn up with the proper specifications. St. Louis parish had already been established, with Father Valentin, Capuchin missionary, for curé, and Messrs. Sarpy and Benito Basquez wardens of the parish.

In the earlier days of St. Louis, so far as the records go, surprisingly few names will be found indicating the presence of persons of other nationalities than those of France and Spain and Indians. Indeed, there are few but French names. As the list quoted last above shows, even half or more than half the garrison in the Spanish fort were French. So with the marriage records and the wills. English and American immigration had not set in yet, and did not begin at all, in fact, until after the close of the Revolutionary war. There were some few English and Americans at Kaskaskia, but not many,[1]—Eulalie Basquez married a John Stotts (1795); Madeline Peterson married Tesson Honoré; J. B. Lachasse changed his name to Hunt; Antoine Honoré married Margaret Wells; Pierre Berger married Josette Mayer (but she was an Indian of the Omaha tribe); George Schultz, of Georgia, married Victoire Tesson Honoré; J. B. Bravier married Elizabeth Rice; Pierre Payant, blacksmith, married Elizabeth Creely; Peter Schultz married Marie Rose Chouquet; Christopher Schultz married Elizabeth Tesson Honoré (an illegitimate child); Francis Doyon Emmons married Pelagie Laplante; François Jourdain, *dit* Labrosse, married Sally Russell, daughter of John Russell and Polly Briggs; Peter Primm, of Stafford County, Va., married Marie Angelique Salié (Leroix); Edward Hempstead, of New London, married Clarisse Dubreuil; Richard Dillon married Marie Therese Bouis; Israel Dodge, of Connecticut, married Madeline Camp; Patrick Lee married Constance Condé,—and that is about all; but Mr. Billon has dug out from the Archives the following formidable list of the American, English, and Irish names found there up to 1804:

Abbott, Daniel.	Bryan, David.
Adams, Calvin.	Buchanan, Robert.
Allen, Deodat.	Caldwell, Kincaid.
Andrews, Alexander.	Callaway, Michael.
Bacon, Ludwell.	Camp, Ann.
Baldridge, James.	Campbell, William.
Ball, John.	Carpenter, Chris.
Barton, Job.	Carrico, Vincent.
Basye, John.	Caulk, Richard.
Baugh, Hugh.	Caulk, Thomas.
Bay, Robert.	Chalfin, Thomas.
Bean, John.	Clark, Chris.
Bell, John.	Clark, Daniel.
Bell, Mordecai.	Clark, William.
Bellew, William.	Clarke, Alexander.
Berry, James.	Clay, Samuel.
Biggs, John.	Cochran, James.
Bishop, John.	Cole, David.
Bolly, John.	Colgin. John.
Brady, Thomas.	Collins, Patrick.
Brown, John.	Colvin, Aaron.
Brown, Joseph.	Conner, Jeremiah.
Brown, Perry.	Cook, Jno. B.

[1] One of the French companies of volunteers raised in Kaskaskia to aid Clark in his operations against the British was commanded by a Capt. McCarty; and while Clark was on his way to take Kaskaskia he was met by a man named Dun, who was at the head of a party of American scouts and trappers.

one of its sides. The Governor furnished materials, and the people assisting in the work.

	Livres.	Sols.	D.
Stone-work, Antoine Russell.....	267	11	8
Carpenter's and joiner's work and roof, François Delin.....	405		
Lime for mortar, eighteen barrels, Deschenes.....	36		
Iron and work on the fastenings, grating, nails, etc., Guion and Jac. Labbé.....	132		
	840	11	8

(About $165.)

Coons, Jno.
Coons, Nicholas.
Cordell, John.
Crapper, Thomas.
Crosby, Hezekiah.
Crow, G.
Crow, Louis.
Crow, Michael.
Crump, George.
Davis, James.
Denny, Boyd.
Dillon, William.
Dodge, John.
Dodson, Joshua.
Daggett, George.
Dooling, Jesse.
Dowdell, Alexander.
Dranen, William.
Dunbar, James.
Duncan, Amos.
Duncan, Samuel.
Durst, David.
Eastwood, Jacob.
Ellis, Peter.
Fallis, George.
Farob, Leonard.
Fine, Philip.
Flannigan, ——
Gates, John.
Gibson, Thomas.
Gill, Charles.
Gorman, Bill.
Gordon, George.
Graff, Henry.
Graham, Alexander.
Graham, Hugh.
Graham, John.
Gregor, John.
Griffin, John.
Griffin, William.
Grojohn, Jeremiah.
Hamilton, William.
Hancock, Forest.
Hancock, William.
Harrington, Bill.
Hart, James.
Hartley, William.
Haun, John.
Hays, William.
Henry, John.
Hildebrand, Isaac.
Hodgins, Francis Wm.
Hodges, Edmund.
House, ——.
Howell, Francis.
Hubbard, Eusebeus.
Hubbard, John.
Hughes, William.
James, Morris.
Jamison, Jos. S.
James, John.
James, William.
Johnston, Thomas.
Jones, John Rice.
Jones, Thos.
Kerr, ——.
Kendall, J.
Keyne, Jesse.
Kinkead, Andrew.
Kinkaid, David.
Kinkaid, James.
Lard, John.
Lard, Hezekiah.
Lewis, John Louis.
Lindsay, John.
Link, Solomon.
Long, John.
Long, Gabriel.
Long, Lawrence.
McCortney, Alexander.
McCortney, James.
McDaniel, Alexander.
McDaniel, James.
McDonald, Arch.
McLanahan, Josiah.
McLaughlin, Henry.
McNair, Alexander.
Massey, William.
Masterson, Michael.
Matthews, David.
Meek, William.
Miller, Philip.
Moore, James.
Moorhead, William.
Moreland, Hugh.
Munford, William.
Murphy, John.
Musick, Asa.
Musick, Ephraim.
Musick, William.
Nash, Ira.
Nash, William.
Neighbor, John.
Nolan, Philip.
Odom, Michael.
O'Hara, Henry.
Owen, Robert.
Parks, Andrew (Maramec).
Powers, Thomas.
Pressler, Peter.
Pritchard, James.
Quick, Aaron.
Ramsey, William.
Rankin, James.
Richardson, James.
Richardson, Jesse.
Richardson, M.
Richardson, Silas.
Robertson, John.
Rogers, Ezekiel.
Rogers, Thomas.
Rohrer, David.
Rollins, Seneca.
Scott, John.
Secoy, Derrick.
Sipp, Joseph.
Smith, George.
——, John.
Stevenson, Hugh.
Sullens, John.
Sullivan, William.
Swain, Sherred G.
Sweeney, James.
Tardy, William.
Tool, Dennis.
Taylor, Robert.
Taylor, Richard.
Tyler, Thomas.
Tansy, Joshua.
Todd, Andrew.
Todd, C.
Vaughan, Peter.
Watkins, John.
Watkins, Samuel.
Wells, Edward.
Wherry, Mackey.
Whitesides, John.
Whitley, Daniel.
Wickersham, James.
Weiland, George.
Wengel, Engel John.
Williams, Joseph.
Withington, Thomas.
Woodland, William.
Woods, Simon.
Williams, James.
Wishart, Michael.
Young, Robert.
Young, Edward.
Young, John.
Zumwalt, Andrew.

The name of John Lewis is found in the above list,—a pioneer in the great American immigration, a native of Virginia, who came to Missouri by way of Kentucky, where he sojourned for a period, reaching St. Louis in January, 1797, with his wife and six children. He settled near St. Louis on a farm. His eldest daughter became the wife of Col. Daniel M. Boone, son of the Kentucky pioneer; his second daughter, Mrs. Corbin, lived until 1868. At one time she owned the "Stoddard addition" to St. Louis, a tract of land famous in the legal annals of the city.

Daniel Boone's name is not in the above list. The celebrated hunter and pioneer—the man who really opened the canebrakes of Kentucky to civilization and expelled the Shawanese and Miamis from their hunting-grounds—became very sore in his old age at the injustice of the law which expelled him from the land he had settled and cultivated, because he had not complied with every technicality as regards title. All his life he had been working to acquire land,—a homestead. His wanderings are typical of the impulses which have driven the American people to settle this continent in so brief a space of time. George Boone, his grandfather, had emigrated from Brandwich, near Exeter, England, in 1717, and settled in Bucks County, Pa., with his wife and eleven children. Squire Boone, Daniel's father, with wife and eleven children, removed to Berks County, on the frontier and in the Indian paths. Daniel was born in 1734, in Bucks, and got a few weeks' schooling in Berks, terminating his scholastic career abruptly by drubbing the teacher. In 1752–53, Squire Boone and family went South to North Carolina and settled on the Yadkin. Daniel married, and in time his wife brought him nine children. In 1769, Boone headed an exploring party into Kentucky, and from that time until 1790 his life was a battle, wonderful in every detail. He lost the land he had bought and suffered so much to secure, removed to the Kanawha Valley, near the old battle-field of Point Pleasant, and in 1795, irritated

like a great many Kentuckians, against the general government for divers reasons, and particularly angry at being ousted from his lands, he went to Upper Louisiana and became a Spanish subject, forfeiting his allegiance to the United States. He did not do this as a Tory, but as a Kentuckian and a Daniel Boone, used to follow his own judgment independent of all considerations. He had been invited especially to Missouri by Lieutenant-Governor Zeñon Trudeau, who offered him a grant of one thousand arpens of land, and made him "commandant" of the district or county of St. Charles. So he shouldered "Old Checlicker," his rifle, embarked his family and goods on a flatboat, and made his way to Missouri, settling in Femme Osage. When Louisiana became part of the United States, Boone's titles were again found to be defective, and he had to petition Congress and suffer long delays before he could be safe in his second conquest of territory. Boone was a man of singular and very attractive character. His biography has often been written, but the work has not been well done. His energy, reserved force, humor, integrity, composure, and foresight, and, above all, his placid endurance, that was neither stoicism nor indifference, have never been brought out as they should be. Boone led a great many Kentuckians into Missouri in person, his indirect influence attracting many more.

Among these was the family of Col. Linn, who had often fought with the Shawanese in defense of the fort at Bryan's Station, and whose grandson, Dr. Linn, became United States senator. Capt. Joseph Conway was another. A native of Virginia, a Kentucky Indian-fighter and pioneer, a captive like Boone and Kenton among the savages, often tomahawked, once left for dead on the field, twice scalped, he came to Missouri in 1796, settling in Bonhomme township, St. Louis Co., where he died in 1831, aged sixty-nine years.

But it is impossible to follow up this immigration, so full of striking characters and pronounced individuality, filled with men like Merriwether Lewis and Thomas Hart Benton, each worth a portrait by himself, few traits distinguishable when we try to take them in the mass. Brackenridge, in his "Recollections," has singled out two or three types of the people then pouring into Missouri and St. Louis, and his limning has the sharpness and distinctness of copperplate. There is the old "cracker" of the canebrakes, who, in 1812, after feeding his guests on hog and hominy and giving them a bear-skin to rest on, told of Braddock's defeat and the Presidency of John Adams, who never "fout," as the latest news that he had heard of. There is the famous Col. Smith (John Smith T.), the precursor of Bowie and the whole race of desperadoes of the Southwest, who made Brackenridge his guest, introduced him to his armory, and told him tales of his encounters with wild beasts and brave men.[1] There was nothing in his ap-

[1] Gen. F. A. Rozier, in one of his lectures, has given Smith's history, describing him as "judge and desperado, a native of Georgia, and emigrant from Tennessee. The addition of the letter T to his name was to indicate that he came from that State, and to distinguish himself from others of that numerous tribe, the Smiths. He came to Upper Louisiana prior to 1800, and settled in the Ste. Genevieve district, his home being at Shiboleth. Col. Smith was tall, slight of stature, wiry in person, rather mild and courteous in his manners, but terrible when his passions were aroused by some imagined insult. He had many personal encounters of the most serious and bloody character, and stood unrivaled for skill, undaunted courage, and great coolness in those terrible conflicts with his enemies. He kept at his home an armory stocked with arms and weapons of every kind. He was a skilled mechanic, and owned two slaves who were good gunsmiths. He manufactured the best and truest pistols and rifles in the Western country. Col. Smith speculated in lands extensively, but his principal occupation was that of mining. In the early settlement of the Ste. Genevieve district, in its mining localities, it was inhabited by pioneers, explorers, and miners of a bold and adventurous character. Many were the encounters and feuds that occurred as to mining rights. From the times of Lamotte, Renault, Breton and Moses Austin, a spirit of venture and gambling took possession of its inhabitants, which aroused passions that caused serious disturbances and bloodshed. These bold miners and explorers in early times often visited the attractive town of Ste. Genevieve, to participate in sports of all kinds, and it was the nucleus for the desperate keel-boat men and voyageurs. Col. John Smith T. was of that number. He entered town well equipped and armed, followed by his abettors, rifle in hand. When Aaron Burr contemplated invading Mexico in 1806, Smith and Governor Henry Dodge went to New Madrid to join the expedition, which was to descend the Mississippi River, under the impression it was a legitimate war; but when at New Madrid they read President Jefferson's proclamation condemning it, they then returned to Ste. Genevieve and were both arrested, but released from custody owing to their mistake in the character of the expedition.

"The inhabitants of Upper Louisiana selected Smith to attend to their interest with Congress. For that purpose he visited Washington City. Col. Smith was of a roving disposition. He went to Chihuahua to aid to revolutionize Mexico, traversing a vast wild country in order to reach that land. He thence returned to his home. Col. Smith in the year 1806 was appointed one of the Territorial judges of the Court of General Quarter Sessions. This court was held in the town of Ste. Genevieve. He occupied this position for some time. He attempted, in early times, with a company of men, to take possession of the Dubuque and Galena lead-mines, which at the time were reported to be of a fabulous wealth; but he was driven off with his men by tribes of Indians. In September, 1830, Smith came to Ste. Genevieve and stopped at an inn kept by William McArthur. Whilst indulging in liquor with one Samuel Ball a difficulty sprang up between them which proved fatal to Ball. They were at the time the only persons in the bar-room. Mrs. McArthur, hostess, a brave woman, hearing the report of the pistols, came in, and seeing Ball lying dead on the floor repri-

pearance, says Brackenridge, to denote the fierce belligerent. "He was a small man of a delicate frame, even somewhat effeminate in his appearance, mild blue eyes, fair hair, fair complexion, his face smooth and youthful, although he was not less than forty years old. His manners in his family were mild and gentle; kindness and benevolence appeared to be the natural growth of his heart." While Brackenridge was with him, this mild-mannered gentleman invaded a bear's den in a cave in the rocks; crawling in on his belly, torch in hand, he shot the beast, lying down so that it would rush out over his body, and then coming out coolly as if he had done nothing very extraordinary. When Brackenridge took his leave his kind host forced him to accept a pair of pistols, which he could warrant would never miss fire, and would stand his friend in the hour of need.

In St. Louis Brackenridge met Dr. Saugrain, a former preceptor of his at Gallipolis, the abortive French settlement on the Ohio, and now a prominent physician of St. Louis, and Herr Doctor and Professor Frederick Shewe, an erratic Prussian with a dozen diplomas, who was keeping a corner grocery-shop, selling soap and onions over the counter and talking high philosophy in his sitting-room. He also met the elder Chouteau, of whom he gives a pleasing description, Joseph Charless, founder of the *Missouri Gazette*, the elder Bates, Gen. Clark, companion of Merriwether Lewis, and John Mullanphy, "the St. Louis millionaire." Of Mullanphy his account is very graphic. He had speculated largely in cotton; it was his bales which Jackson had taken for the defense of New Orleans. When he went to complain about it, "This is your cotton?" said the general, "then no one has a better right to defend it. Take a musket and stand in the ranks." After the peace Mullanphy dug out his cotton, shipped it to Liverpool, and cleared a million dollars on the venture. He made great sums by speculating in town lots and lands in and around St. Louis. "One day he called to see me after my arrival," writes Brackenridge, "and invited me to dine with him. He was about sixty-five years of age, a large, coarse-looking man, with a rough, red face, a carbuncled nose, showing his habits of life to incline more to the liquids than the solids. I found him in a large brick house, perhaps the largest in the town, unfurnished and untenanted with the exception of a back room, of which he was the sole occupant. Here I found him seated before a wood-fire (coal was not in use at that time), while two catfish heads were broiling on two chips of wood. 'There,' said he, 'you see your dinner; that head is yours and this is mine; we must each do the cooking.' It was a Barmecide feast, and I determined to humor it. We had some excellent bread and butter, and to make amends for the dishes drank exquisite Madeira out of dirty tumblers. . . . The dessert, I must add, was the most substantial part of the entertainment; going to his safe he brought forth a bag of dollars and placing it on the table, 'There,' said he, 'is a retaining fee if I should want your professional services.'" A society in which characters like these were not rare exceptions, but commonly to be met, must have been very different and far more stimulating and enjoyable than the impassive, effete society of to-day.

The expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1804 secured a very important contribution of men, resources, and tributary territory to St. Louis. It was the first complete attempt at exploration made by our government, and it gave a great stimulus to such enterprises. Not that the French traders of St. Louis and their *voyageurs*, *coureurs des bois*, trappers, and half-breeds were deficient in the qualities which are needed for such work. Indeed, they were the pioneers in the fur trade, and just as the Hudson's Bay and Northwestern Fur Companies had to employ Canadians to push their enterprises, so the American and Missouri Fur Companies and the different undertakings of John Jacob Astor in that line had to secure the Chouteaus, Robidous, and other St. Louis traders for partners before they could send out their "brigades" with any success. Auguste Chouteau very early established a

manded Col. Smith and demanded of him his pistols. He delivered them, and said, 'Take them, my daughter.' He was immediately arrested and confined in jail. Had his trial at Ste. Genevieve before Circuit Court, and was acquitted, after an able defense by Hon. John Scott. A juryman named Carron being asked how he could acquit Smith, replied, 'Did not Scott tell them that they must bring a verdict of not guilty?'

"Col. Smith had some difficulty with the Perry family, then living at Mine à Burton, about some mining claims. Whilst Samuel Perry was on his way to Ste. Genevieve he was overtaken by Smith. When Smith remarked to him that he regretted any difficulty with him, that they were now alone and could settle the matter, remarking that he had a couple of friends (meaning his pistols), 'There, take your choice;' Mr. Perry politely thanked him and declined the offer, as he had business of importance at Ste. Genevieve which could not be transacted by any other person. Smith remarked that he regretted it could not be settled in this rational way. After which they proceeded to Ste. Genevieve together, conversing on different subjects without reference to their difficulties.

"Col. Smith fought several duels, and participated in other desperate encounters, which would be too tedious to relate here. It is said he killed fourteen men, and was always fortunate in these terrible struggles. He left Missouri owing to his numerous difficulties, accompanied by a faithful slave. He subsequently died on the banks of the Mississippi, in the State of Tennessee. Col. Smith left numerous descendants, many of them among the prominent and respected citizens of this State."

trading-post at Fort Osage, and at the time of Lewis and Clark he was trapping very high up the Missouri. In 1794, Joseph Robidou, the founder of St. Joseph's (in 1843), was encouraged by Governor Zeñon Trudeau to consolidate the St. Louis fur-traders with the Missouri Fur Company, the objects of which were exploration as much as trade, the objects of quest being the sources of the Missouri and the route to the Pacific and the Gulf of California. Trudeau's instructions, in fact, in 1794 were very similar to those given to Lewis and Clark ten years later. The Chouteaus, Robidou, Cerré, Sublette, Loramier, Fontenelle, Foy, Matthieu, Pierre, Godin, Clamorgan, Manuel Lisa, Blanchette, St. Vrian, La Harpe, Duquette, Gerneau, Lattraile, Cardinal, Tayon, Coté, Beauchemin, Roaque, Audrain, Guion, Percau, Sarpie, Dodier, Savoie, Chauvin, Gamache, Pallardie, Reynal, Cornoyer, Yosti, Benoit, Berthold, Bissonet, Bouche, Bouis, Brazeau, Crevier, Derouin, Durochet, Duchoquet, Garnieu, Godair, Labuche, l'Atrisse, Le Gris, Louis, Malard, Mathurin, Morin, Papin, Parizien, Peltier, Regis, Tesson, Thibeau, Tholozan, Vachard, De Tergette, Demegaut, Rocheblave, Beauvais, etc., were the predecessors, precursors, and instructors of such men as Mackay, Henry, Lewis, the Clarks, Campbell, Ashley, O'Fallon, Catherwood, Fitzpatrick, the Bakers, Pike, Long, Day, the Bents, Ogden, Mackenzie, Smith, Bridger, Crooks, Walker, Coulter, and others, trappers, traders, and explorers in the far West. Scarcely a headland, hill, mountain, valley, creek, or river in the far West from the lakes to the Pacific, and west of the Mississippi from the Sabine to the Lake of the Woods, but bears a name which testifies to the zeal, industry, and perseverance with which the French trappers and hunters pushed their explorations in every part of the great western wilderness long before the feet of any other white men trod it.

James Mackay, of Scotland, came to America in 1776, aged seventeen, supposed to be the first English-speaking man not of French or Spanish blood who settled west of the Mississippi. He made St. Louis his home,—an educated man, a skillful surveyor, and immediately employed by the Spanish authorities on exploring and surveying expeditions. He embarked also in the fur trade, and acquired a great landed estate. But it was Lewis and Clark who opened the way for Americans to Missouri. Merriwether Lewis was a well-born Virginian, a kinsman of Washington, a captain in the army at the time of the Whiskey Insurrection. Jefferson, during his residence in Paris, realized the importance of a thorough exploration of the Northwest, and employed John Ledyard to make it, passing through Siberia to Behring's Straits, and thence to Russian America. Ledyard, while *en route* and near Kamschatka, was suddenly arrested, hurried backward with inconceivable and cruel speed, and dismissed beyond the Polish frontier. In 1792, Jefferson made another attempt at this exploration, *via* the Upper Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, and engaged Lewis and the botanist Michaux to undertake it. They had got as far as Kentucky, when Michaux was recalled by an order of the French government.

In 1803, the act of Congress establishing trading-houses with the Indians being about to expire, President Jefferson, in a confidential message to Congress, recommended some modifications of the law and its extension to the Indian tribes on the Missouri. The message recommended that an exploring party be sent out to trace the Missouri River to its source; to cross the highlands and follow the best water communication to be found thence to the Pacific Ocean. The proposition met the approval of Congress, and a sum of money was voted to put it into execution. Capt. Lewis had been serving for two years previous to the passage of this act as private secretary to President Jefferson, and immediately on its passage he applied to the President for the appointment of director to the expedition. "Knowing him from long and intimate association" (we quote the language of Mr. Jefferson) "to have courage undaunted, possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction, careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline, intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles, ... I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him." Mr. Jefferson, thinking it necessary that Capt. Lewis should have associated with him some person of known competence, and to whom, in the event of any accident to him, the direction of the enterprise might be confided, William Clark, brother of Gen. George Rogers Clark, was appointed, and received the commission of a captain.

The draught of instructions for that expedition gave full details of the instruments to be carried for measurement and observation, etc. It recited that the object of the mission had been communicated to the ministers in Washington of France, Spain, and Great Britain; and that the country of Louisiana having been ceded by Spain to France, a passport from the minister from France had been obtained. It further stated that the object of the mission was to explore the Missouri River and such principal streams of it as, by its course and communication with the

waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado, or any other river, might offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purpose of commerce. It was directed that operations should be begun at the mouth of the Missouri River; that observations of latitude and longitude should be taken at all remarkable points on the river; that the course of the river between points of observation should be supplied by the compass, the log-line, and by time corrected by the observations themselves. The interesting points of the portage between the heads of the Missouri and of the water offering the best communication with the Pacific Ocean were directed to be fixed by observation, and the course of that water to the ocean, in the same manner as that of the Missouri.

Special instructions were given to the director of the expedition to make himself acquainted with the names of the nations of Indians he should encounter and their numbers. He was also to inquire and ascertain the extent of their possessions; their relations with other tribes or nations; their language, traditions, monuments; their ordinary occupations in agriculture, fishing, hunting, war, arts, and the implements for these; their food, clothing, and domestic accommodations; the diseases prevalent among them, and the remedies they use; the moral and physical circumstances which distinguished them from known tribes; peculiarities in their laws, customs, and dispositions; articles of commerce they had or lacked, and the state of morality and religion among them. Should any of the influential chiefs or any of the tribes desire to visit the United States, they were to be brought at the public expense, and promised instruction, if they desired it, in such arts as might be useful to them. It was directed that some matter of the kine-pox be carried, and that the Indians be informed of its use and efficacy. Instructions were given to gather information of the character and extent of the country watered by the branches of the Missouri, and especially on its southern side; and that if the expedition succeeded in reaching the Pacific Ocean, information should be sought as to whether the furs of those parts might not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri as at Nootka Sound or any other point on that coast. It was also suggested that as far up the Missouri as the white settlements extended it would probably be found that some sort of intercourse existed between them and the Spanish posts of St. Louis, opposite Cahokia, or Ste. Genevieve, opposite Kaskaskia.

Capt. Wm. Clark, second in the expedition, was born in Virginia, Aug. 1, 1770. In 1784 his father removed to Kentucky, and settled on the present site of the city of Louisville. Having become acquainted with the modes of Indian warfare at an early age, he was appointed when eighteen years old an ensign, and at once entered on active duty. In March, 1792, he was appointed a lieutenant of infantry, and was promoted in the following year to the place of adjutant and quartermaster, but resigned in July, 1796, on account of his health. He soon afterwards moved to St. Louis, and in 1803 was appointed by President Jefferson a lieutenant of artillery, with orders to join Capt. Lewis in his Western expedition. We may here sum up briefly the remainder of his life. In 1806 he was promoted to first lieutenant of artillery. President Jefferson subsequently appointed him a lieutenant-colonel, but the appointment was negatived by the Senate. He resigned in 1807, and was appointed brigadier-general of the militia for the Territory of Upper Louisiana. In 1813 President Madison appointed him Governor of Missouri Territory, which position he held and filled with great credit until the organization of Missouri as a State in 1821. He was then nominated for Governor against his consent, and was defeated in the election. In May, 1822, President Madison appointed him superintendent of Indian affairs, which he held until the time of his death, which occurred in St. Louis, Sept. 1, 1838.

Owing to casualties and unexpected delays, the expedition was not ready to start from its rendezvous at Cahokia until the spring of 1804. The party comprised Lewis, Clark, nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen United States soldiers, two Canadian *voyageurs*, and a negro servant. They ascended the Missouri River to the country of the Mandans, sixteen hundred miles above St. Louis, where they wintered. In June, 1805, they reached the Falls of the Missouri, and in November were at the mouth of the Columbia River, wintering on the south bank. On Sept. 23, 1806, they arrived at St. Louis on their return, having been absent two years and four months. Their return caused a flutter of excitement, and their narrative and journals were eagerly welcomed. The travels of Lewis and Clark is still ranked as a classic among books of that description.

Capt. Lewis was appointed by Jefferson Governor of Missouri Territory, Clark, as general of the militia, acting as a sort of Lieutenant-Governor. There was great disorder in the city at the time of Lewis' arrival, many feuds and factions and quarrels, and interminable litigation in connection with land titles, in consequence of frauds of every sort. Lewis was not in good health; he was broken down with malarial fever, in the fit of which it is said he always be-

came flighty and delirious, and he had inherited a constitutional melancholy from his father. Business called him to Washington in 1809, and on his way thither, at a lone cabin in the wilds of East Tennessee, with none by him, Merriwether Lewis put a pistol underneath his chin and blew his brains out. He was only thirty-three years of age, and all who knew him expected him to become prominent in the councils of the nation.

His companion, Clark, succeeded him. Clark is a name which the people of the entire West should venerate. They call George Rogers Clark, the head of the family, Hannibal, but he was Scipio likewise. He saved the West to the United States. He prevented Spain and Great Britain from making a partition between them of all the country west of the Alleghanies. He rescued Kentucky from the Indians. He took Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, forcing the British frontier back to Mackinac, Detroit, and the lakes. He planted the first American fort on the Mississippi, founded Louisville, and by the sheer force of the terror his prowess, military genius, and stern character inspired among them, compelled the Indians of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to withdraw from their alliance with the English in Canada. In some respects he was the greatest general produced during the Revolutionary war, achieving the most positive results with the slenderest means, and always able to invent and apply new and original methods to novel and unexpected contingencies. His marches have never been excelled, either by Frederick the Great, Napoleon, or "Stonewall" Jackson, and no man ever had so much power over the Indians,—a power due chiefly to personal presence and knowledge of Indian character, and one which, on these great and critical occasions, enabled him to save armies and prevent wars and massacres.

Gen. Clark's reputation and influence aided his brothers and sister in securing high social position in St. Louis, and in becoming the focus of American aims and aspirations there. Governor William Clark during all his long life was respected and looked up to by the French habitant and the Indians of Missouri. Christopher Clark, the other brother, as Indian agent at Fort Osage, became very prominent and distinguished. Fanny Clark, the sister, married for her first husband Dr. O'Fallon, an Irish gentleman of rank and influence, who, after service as surgeon from South Carolina in the Revolutionary army, went West and was mixed up in the Spanish and French intrigues of Wilkinson, Miro, Carondelet, and others; after which he removed to St. Louis and married Fanny Clark, who bore him two sons, Col. John O'Fallon and Maj. Ben. O'Fallon, leaders among the early citizens of Missouri. After Dr. O'Fallon's death his widow married Charles Thurston, of Kentucky. Three children were the fruit of this union, —Anna Clark Thurston, second wife of Dr. Bernard G. Farrar, and Charles H. and Lucius Thurston. Mrs. Thurston married a third time to Dennis Fitzhugh, by whom she had a daughter, who became the wife of Henry S. Coxe, of Philadelphia. Dr. Farrar's first wife was a daughter of Maj. William Christy.

It was under George Rogers Clark that Charles Gratiot the elder first saw service under the American flag. His marriage with Victoria Chouteau at once allied that family with the Clarks, and introduced the Gratiots to the fur trade. Henry Gratiot, son of Charles, died Indian agent to the Winnebagoes; his brother Charles was a general in the United States army, ranking officer of the engineer corps, and the man who built Fortress Monroe. Judge Gratiot, of St. Louis County, was a third brother, while one sister married J. P. Cabanné, a second Pierre Chouteau, Jr., head of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and still another became the wife of Jules de Mun. Gen. Charles Gratiot's daughter married the distinguished Marquis de Montholon, French minister at Washington and senator under the Second Empire. Thus a descendant of old Veuve Chouteau and of Laclede Liguest became one of the most brilliant ornaments of the court of the Empress Eugenie. Henry and John P. B. Gratiot were foremost in developing the Galena lead-mines, where old Dubuque had been content to make his own fortune without concerning himself about the improvement and extension of a great industry. The Gratiots, on the contrary, erected large smelting-works at several places, and gave employment to thousands of men. The Gratiot family were Huguenots, originally of La Rochelle, but fleeing to Switzerland after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

At Post Vincennes, Gen. G. R. Clark, and after him Gen. William Henry Harrison, received very important and material encouragement and aid from Francis Vigo, a St. Louis merchant of Italian origin. Vigo was a patriotic and intelligent supporter of the American cause, and rendered able services as interpreter. In St. Louis the firm was Vigo & Yosti. The latter, Emilien, was Italian also, and Vigo's kinsman. He was the son of Pedro Yosti and Magdalena Riguna, came to St. Louis in 1777. They bought a lot (half a block, west side of Main Street, in Block 27), with a house of posts on it twenty by forty feet, and here they had their store, the property costing

them two hundred dollars. Yosti married Theotiste Durand (daughter of John B. Durand and Marie Josepha Marcheteau, a native of Fort Chartres, who with her husband had come to St. Louis in 1764). Durand's marriage was the tenth marriage celebrated since the founding of the village. He and his wife died when their child was but four years old, and she was brought up by the Marcheteaus and the Bissonnets, Louis Bissonnet, her uncle, being her guardian. She was married to Yosti in July, 1783, and lived for thirty-five years in their house, southwest corner of Locust and Main Streets, raising five children. Francis Yosti, one of their sons, with his friend, Luis Basquez (son of Benito Basquez), joined Henry and Ashley's trading expedition to the upper Missouri in 1822, and were in the fight with the Arickaree Indians in 1823.

Of the public officers of St. Louis immediately after the cession of Louisiana, we have the following particulars by Mr. Billon, embodied in some memoranda of St. Louis between 1804 and 1821, from some of the first American record-books. Book A was commenced by Marie P. Leduc, the first recorder under the United States, Nov. 29, 1804. This book lasted until Feb. 23, 1808 (three years and three months):

"Charles Gratiot was first presiding judge Court of Common Pleas, and justice of the peace; Augustus Chouteau and David Delaunay, associates, etc., 1804; then Jacques Clamorgan and John Mullanphy in 1805; then James Mackey for district of St. Andrew, residing at St. Charles (St. André), which was the bottom along the Missouri from opposite St. Charles, extending to Point Labbadie, at the mouth of Labbadie Creek, now in Franklin County, then St. Louis District.

"James Rankin was first treasurer and sheriff of St. Louis, appointed Nov. 3, 1804; A. Chouteau and A. Soulard securities on his bond.

"Jeremiah Conner was sheriff in May, 1807.

"John B. C. Lucas was a judge of the General Court of the Territory, March, 1807.

"Bernard Pratte was a judge of the Common Pleas, March 30, 1807.

"Joseph V. Garnier was appointed clerk of the General Court of the Territory Oct. 28, 1806, by Joseph Brown, secretary of the Territory, acting Governor.

"Otto Shrader was one of the judges of the same, Sept. 28, 1806.

"Frederick Bates, Secretary of the Treasury, exercised the power of Governor, July, 1807.

"Pierre Leduc was appointed notary public by Bates, July 18, 1807.

"Pierre Chouteau was appointed justice of the peace by Bates, Sept. 1, 1807.

"Edward Hempstead was appointed attorney-general of the Territory of Louisiana by Governor Merriwether Lewis, March 24, 1808.

"Pierre Provenchere was appointed deputy recorder by M. P. Leduc, recorder, May 26, 1808."

Book B, from Feb. 23, 1808, to Nov. 27, 1809, inclusive, Leduc, recorder:

"Silas Bent was appointed by Frederick Bates, secretary and acting Governor of the Territory, the presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions for the District of St. Louis, Aug. 20, 1807, for four years from September 1st.

"Same was appointed by Governor Lewis auditor of public accounts for the district, Nov. 26, 1808.

"Robert Frazier, Baptiste Lepage, William Warner, of Vermont; Silas Goodrich, Thomas Proctor Howard, of Massachusetts; Joseph White, Fairfax, Va.; John Collins, of Frederick, Md.; Pierre Cruzat, Hugh McNeal, Pennsylvania; and George Drouillard, ten of Lewis and Clark's men, sold their claims for bounty-lands from the United States."

A short time since there were discovered among records of St. Louis some old books in manuscript, containing the tax-lists of the town. The names are more valuable than the amounts of property assessed, though these are suggestive too. The following is the ancient tax-list of 1811; the name and total valuation of property are given in each case, with the original spelling:

"Wm. O. Allen, $25; Eugene Alvarez, $333; Andrew Andreville, $1421; Horace Austin, $2533; Louis Boissy, $75; Louis Brazeau, $958; Antoine V. Bouis, $1998; Andrew Bouis, $200; Hipolite Boton, $100; N. Beaujyneau, Jr., $825; Louis Boury, $1166; N. Beaujyneau, Jr., $825; Louis Boury, $116; Alexander Bellisime, $116; Charles Bossoron, $300; Imelian Beauvais, $100; Adam Barrin, $300; Frederick Bates, $25; Bartholomew Berthold, $50; Thomas Brady, $300; Philip Baconné, $425; James Baird, $608; Charles Buisson, $208; William Bridger, $100; Cornelius Burns, $75; Joseph Buissonnette, $300; Pierre Baubraux, $290; F. M. Benoit, $1100; Francis Brischenel, $10; Bridge, $50; Joseph Charless, $357; Jeremiah Connor, $75; G. McComegys, $25; Auguste Chouteau, $15,664; Pierre Chouteau, $7765; Wm. C. Carr, $1924; M. Pierre Cabanné, $1166; William Clark, $5866; Antoine Chennur, $2116; Widow Charleville, $983; Etienne Cordon, $75; Wm. Christy, $1048; Francis Cailleaux, $50; Louis Cailleaux, $165; Joseph Charleville, $390; Jacques Clamorgan, $3124; Paschal Cerré, $400; Widow Chouteau, $2014; Alfred Clutzinger, $100; Thomas Cartinville, $75; Guerrette Dumont, $341; Antoine Danjean, $1000; David Delauny, $1166; Baptiste Duchouquette, $774; Pierre Didier, $608; François Duchouquette, $291; Pierre Datchurute, $158; Baptiste Donime, $100; Henry Deslomis, $533; John Dube, $33; M. Demoulin, $225; Francis Derouin, $816; John Derouin, $141; Louison Delile, $583; Widow Dubreuil, $1233; Rufus Easton, $1582; Hyacinthe Eglez, $508; Dominique Elye, $183; Elizabeth (negress), $75; Antoine Flanion, $358; Wm. Fugate, $63; Flora (negress), $116; B. G. Farrar, $400; Baptiste Gouday, $108; Alexander Gimour, $241; Paul Gontard, $658; Feelx Eignon, $633; Charles Gratiot, $1841; Abraham Gallatin, $8; Paul Guitard, $100; Vincent Guitard, $133; Louis Guitar, $125; Geffry (mulatto), $125; Baptiste Gerard, $100; James Graham, $25; Thomas P. Howard, $182; William Hovey, $3; Widow Hortiz, $200; E. Hempstead and W. C. Carr, $1; Edward Hempstead, $1883; Hyacinthe (mulatto), $50; Jeannette (negro), $208; Matthew Kerr, $1500; Baptiste Lebeau, $500; Jacques Labbe, $2482; M. P. Leduc, $825; Widow Labbadie, $2416; Francois Labrosse, $366; Louis Ladeur, $13; Joseph Lapres, $133; Laurent Lanodeur, $100; Jacques L

jeunesse, $108; J. B. C. Lucas, $1440; Paul Loise, $108; Pierre Lane, $200; Manuel Lisa, $2540; Alexis Lalande, $233; Joseph Leblond, $135; Francis Lacombe, $75; Joseph Lacroix, $100; Baptiste Lamande, $133; Sylvestre Labbadie, $50; Widow Laveille, $99; Marie Labastie (negress), $75; Widow Lajoye, $308; John Latresse, $108; Charles Lardoise, $125; Joseph Labbadie, $125; Lambert Lajoie, $32; Nicholas Lecompte, $100; Jos. Latrosse (Bernard Pratte, executor), $75; Pierre Ladouceur, $100; Michael Laderoute, $266; François Labuche, $100; Widow Morin, $666; Baptiste Motrin, $25; Alexander McNair, $841; Fergus Moorhead, $4858; Zachariah Mazzena, $2000; Brady & McKnight, $3300; John Michael, $150; Widow Manly, $100; Noel Mongram, $408; Charles Mainville, $75; James Merry, $75; Margarette (mulatto girl), $50; Normand McKensie, $185; John Baptiste Ortez, $200; Joseph Papin, Jr., $100; Widow Percy & Co., $3000; Bernard Pratte, $1724; Peter Primm, $500; Jacob Phillipson, $75; Sylvestre Perros, $75; Clement Penrose, $1241; J. L. Provenche, $157; François Robidou, $775; Widow Robidou, $891; Joseph Robidou, $50; Antoine Tenientre, $108; Elijah Smith, $350; Samuel Solomon, $533; Gregoire Sarpy, $600; Pierre Sabourin, $25; Antoine Saugrain, $949; William Smith, $50; Charles Sanguinette, $1515; Joseph Salsir, $108; John Trudeau, $366; François Tayon, $1049; John Tayon, $100; United States, $2000; François Valois, $900; Registre Vasseur, $133; Widow Benito Vasquez, $758; Joseph Vachard, $124; Adam Woolford, $841; Joseph Williams, $75; Dr. Joseph Wilkinson, $8; Emilien Yosti, $1008."

The total number of tax-payers is but 176. It appears that at that date there were owned in St. Louis but 19 carriages,—"carriages of pleasure," as they are called on the list,—and of these 19 Auguste Chouteau, Pierre Chouteau, William Carr, Manuel Lisa, and Clement B. Penrose are credited with 2 each. The remaining 9 are distributed among Pierre Cabanné, William Clark, Rufus Easton, Edward Hempstead, M. Leduc, J. B. C. Lucas, Alexander McNair, Bernard Pratte, and Antoine Saugrain.

There are given but 9 stores in the town. Of slaves put down as among the items of personal property, 82 appear to have been owned in the city in the year named. The person owning the greatest number was Auguste Chouteau, who is credited with 8. These 8 slaves are assessed at $2400, or $300 apiece. Mr. Auguste Chouteau was in 1811 the rich man of the town, his property being assessed at over $15,000, and his total taxes amounting to $87.42½. No other citizen of that time could make such a tremendous showing of wealth. The rate of assessment seems to have been one-half cent on the dollar, and the total valuation of all the property in the city amounted to $134,516. At the end of the list appears a postscript, neatly written, but with the letters now yellow with age. The signatures were written with an appended flourish, as was once so much the rule. The postscript, or rather certificate, is as follows:

"The foregoing eight folios contain the whole amount of property contained or included within the limits of the town of St. Louis, as assessed by us conformably to an ordinance of the board of trustees for said town, passed the 2d March, 1811.

"St. Louis, June 27, 1811.

"Wm. C. Carr,
"Aug. Chouteau,
"*Assessors for the town of St. Louis.*

"I certify the above and foregoing to be a true list of the real and personal property taxable in the limits of the corporation of the town of St. Louis, together with the assessment valuation of the said property, as taken by Wm. G. Carr and Auguste Chouteau, Esquires, by virtue of an ordinance of the said corporation, entitled an ordinance for laying and collecting a tax in the town of St. Louis, with the per centum declared by the board of trustees of the said town, amounting together to the sum of six hundred and seventy-two dollars and fifty-eight cents.

"Given under my hand at St. Louis, this twenty-seventh day of July, 1811.

"Ch. Gratiot."

For the year 1812 the list of names has a few additions, but the value of the property shows rather a depression than an increase, possibly through a more lenient assessment. The total valuation is given at $134,313, and the tax levied is but one-third of one per cent., the total tax for the year amounting to the imposing figures of $447.71. The assessors this year are Charles Sanguinet and Robert Simpson, and Charles Gratiot still remains chairman of the board of trustees. It should be stated that the book used for taxes of these two years is blank, and that all the lines necessary are drawn by pen. Neater work is not done, however, to-day by any of the expert clerks of the assessor's office. It is a curious task to go over the names of the tax-payers given and note the subsequent histories of the families. Some have totally disappeared, and are remembered by few St. Louisians; some are but lately extinct, and others are still represented in their descendants among the wealthiest and most prominent families of the present day.

It will be noticed that Maj. William Christy is already assessed for a considerable sum. He was one of the most honored citizens of the early town, and contributed largely to its growth. Maj. William Christy was born in Carlisle, Pa., Jan. 10, 1764. His ancestors emigrated from Dundee, Scotland, to County Down, Ireland, and he was a descendant of the well-known Moyallan family. His father, Thomas Christy, was a captain in the British army, and was wounded at the battle of the Monongahela, in 1755, under the unfortunate Braddock, but succeeded in effecting his retreat with the remainder of the army, under the young Col. George Washington. Capt. Christy settled at Carlisle, Pa., subsequently went to Fort Pitt, and eventually located on a farm in

Kentucky, where he and his wife died, leaving William, a boy of but fifteen, and two younger sisters under his care. The children were amply provided for by inheritance.

Young Christy felt the responsibility of his new position, which speedily developed his manly qualities. He showed his courage and energy by escorting his two sisters from Kentucky to their aunt at Pittsburgh, performing most of the journey by river, unaided, and in almost constant danger from the Indians. This task safely accomplished, he returned to Kentucky and became a surveyor, and passed several years in the practice of his profession in Kentucky and Indiana.

In 1788, Governor Randolph, of Virginia, appointed him lieutenant of a troop of cavalry in Jefferson County, Ky. (not yet a State); and in the campaign against the Northwestern Indians, in 1791, Christy was an adjutant in St. Clair's army. In 1792 he was adjutant in the First Regiment (militia), of Kentucky. In 1794 he served under Gen. Wayne, and when peace was declared, in 1795, he returned home with a shattered constitution, and never after recovered his former health.

In 1792 he married Martha Thompson Taylor, daughter of Edward and Sally Taylor, of Jefferson County, Ky. Miss Taylor was a native of Frederick County, Va., and was a relative of President Madison and President Taylor. Thenceforward Maj. Christy devoted himself to his farm, with only such interruptions as the border troubles necessitated; and in 1799 was appointed major in the Thirty-third Regiment of the Kentucky militia.

In 1804, acting on the advice of his physicians, he abandoned farming, sold his lands in Kentucky, and moved to St. Louis, then a village in the Territory of Louisiana, and recently transferred to the United States. Here he was at once received as became a brave and honorable man, and soon enjoyed the friendship and confidence of all. Both the Territorial and Federal governments conferred upon him important trusts, which may be briefly enumerated as follows: 1806, judge of the Court of Common Pleas and justice of the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the district of St. Louis; 1809, trustee for the town and precincts of St. Louis, honorary aide-de-camp to the Governor, and commander-in-chief of the Territory of Louisiana, and major-commandant of the Louisiana Rangers for the protection of the frontier settlements, on which occasion Governor Lewis said, "I know Maj. Christy to be wise in council and swift in action;" 1812, judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Courts of Quarter Sessions; in 1814, auditor of public accounts for the Territory, and in 1820, for the State of Missouri; finally, during thirteen years, under Presidents Monroe, Adams, and Jackson, Maj. Christy was register of the land-office of St. Louis, and resigned in 1833, when age and poor health had unfitted him for the public service.

While thus employed in the service of the State and the country, Maj. Christy, who was one of the large land-owning pioneers, did his full share towards advancing the progress of St. Louis. Very few contributed more to the extension of the city. He laid out upwards of fifty whole blocks on Broadway, from Broadway westward, between Franklin Avenue, Morgan Street, and Green Street, with some fractional blocks on the south side of Green Street. He also projected what is now known as North St. Louis, buying the land and laying it out. He was a man of strong patriotic impulses, which here found very appropriate expression in his giving the streets such names as Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Warren, Montgomery, Clay, Jackson, etc. Associated with him in this enterprise were Col. William Chambers, of Kentucky, and Maj. Thomas Wright (Mr. Christy's son-in-law), who, with Maj. Christy, gave to the city three public places, or "circles," for churches, parks, and schools, and also ground for a public promenade on the river-shore in front of the major's residence,—the old Christy mansion,—at the corner of Second and Monroe Streets, where he used to dispense his hospitality in the large and warm-hearted style of the genuine Southern gentleman. Here he passed his remaining days, and up to the last year of his life was able to visit the city frequently and mingle with his friends. He was a well-formed, stately man, six feet in height, and retained his erect and soldierly bearing almost to the last. Finally a pulmonary affection prostrated him, and in April, 1837, he died, and was mourned by all his fellow-citizens as an honest, patriotic, and public-spirited man, and by his family and intimate friends as a kind-hearted and amiable Christian gentleman. His wife, a lady abounding in womanly graces, survived him until 1849. Some years ago their bodies were removed to Bellefontaine Cemetery, where they lie in one grave.

Maj. Christy was a Democrat and usually voted with that party, yet he was a warm personal friend of Henry Clay, and in 1824 voted for him for the Presidency in preference to Adams or Jackson.

Maj. and Mrs. Christy were parents of a numerous family, only two of whom now (1882) are living.—Virginia, who married Dr. E. Bathurst Smith in 1838, and has resided in St. Louis almost continu-



Governor Lewis said, "I know Maj. Christy to be wise in council and swift in action;" 1812, judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Courts of Quar-

family, only two of whom now (1882) are living, Virginia, who married Dr. E. Bathurst Smith in 1838, and has resided in St. Louis almost contin



W. Christy

ously ever since, and Harriet, who married Capt. James S. Dean, U.S.A. Of the dead, Edmond Christy died unmarried; Howard married Miss Susan Preston, of Kentucky; Sarah married Dr. Bernard G. Farrar, of St. Louis; Mary Ann married Maj. Thomas Wright, U.S.A.; Matilda married Dr. Walker, and her second husband was Col. N. P. Taylor, of Kentucky; Frances married Maj. Taylor Berry, U.S.A., and subsequently Judge Robert Wash, of the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri; Eliza married Gen. William H. Ashley, member of Congress from Missouri.

The *Missouri Gazette* of Feb. 11, 1816, complains that

"Our town at this time presents to the stranger a despicable portrait of police management. Several streets are rendered impassable by the want of a common footway or drains to carry off the rain-water. Nuisances are to be met with in every shape from one end of the town to the other. A most unwarrantable and criminal avidity to acquire property has induced several to take, without the shadow of a claim, the property designated by Congress for the use and benefit of the whole town."

But the place had begun to grow, as Mr. Richard Dowling's recollections of 1817 show very plainly. He says,—

"There were then but fifteen brick houses in the town, the first of which was built by Bartholomew Berthold, in 1811. The remainder of the buildings were of stone or logs.

"The following is a list of the brick houses alluded to:

"Two-story building, southeast corner of Main and Spruce Streets. It still stands, the oldest brick house in the city.

"Two-story building, erected in 1818, by Thomas Riddick, on the west side of Fourth, near Plum. It is the second oldest brick house now standing.

"Two-story building, on the west side of Main, between Myrtle and Elm, occupied by Drs. Simpson and Quarl as a drug-store.

"Four two-story buildings, on the east side of Main Street, between Market and Chestnut, occupied by Gen. Bernard Pratte, William Smith, B. Berthold, and Manuel Lisa.

"Two-story building, on the west side of Main Street, between Chestnut and Pine, occupied by Papin & Brother.

"Double two-story building, southwest corner of Main and Pine, built by Knight & Brady, and in 1817 kept as a hotel by Kibney. It was the largest brick building in the city.

"Two-story building, southeast side of Main, between Pine and Olive, owned by Governor William Clark.

"Two-story building, southeast corner of Main and Locust, owned and occupied by Christian Wilt.

"Two-story building, west side of Third, south of Market, built and occupied by Kidd Price.

"One-story building, west side of Broadway, about Carr Street, built by William C. Carr, and occupied by him for a time as an office.

"One-story brick, southwest corner of Fourth and Elm Streets, occupied by Judge Bent as an office when he was county clerk.

"Two-story building, northeast corner of Third and Vine Streets, occupied by Gen. William Rector, as surveyor-general.

"The merchants and traders of St. Louis doing business at that time were Gen. Bernard Pratte, Peter and Jesse Lindell, Michel Tesson & Bro., Thomas Hanley, Alexander McNair, Sanguinette & Bright, James & George Kennerly, Matthew Kerr, Sarpy & De Mun, Moses Scott, Catherwood & Rankin, Robert Collet, McKnight & Brady, William Smith, Mr. Donohue, James Clemens, Jr., Christian Wilt, Sylvestre Labbadie, Henry von Phul, John P. Cabanné, and Andrew Elliot. Merchants in those days were not confined to any particular branch of business, as at present, but carried on general supply stores. The first regular hardware-store in St. Louis was opened by Henry Shaw, about 1819 or 1820.

"The principal builders in the town in those early days were Philip and Henry Rocheblave, James Irwin, Phineas Bartlett, Robert Patton, and Hill & Keys.

"The brick-makers were Paul Anderson, John Robb, and James Loper.

"Bricklayers, William Jones, James Loper, Jones & Baily, and John Jones.

"Lime-burners, Paul Primeau and Joseph Lacroix.

"Plasterer, Peter Ferguson, afterwards and for many years judge of the Probate Court.

"Painters, John Latrasse and William H. Pocock.

"Stone-cutters, Joseph Klunk and Charles Goddard.

"Merchant tailors, Peter Primm, Michael Dolan, and ——— Burns.

"Boot and shoemakers, Michael Roberts, J. Cabeau, and ——— Rollins.

"Lumber and mills. The first lumber-yard was started by Morton & Rocheblave, afterwards Morton & Laveille; the second by Capt. James McGunnigle.

"The first saw-mill was built by Mr. Sylvestre Labbadie, in 1819. It was situated east of Main Street, south of what is now Ashley Street. The builders of the mill were Stewart, McKee, and Mr. Osborn. Mr. McKee superintended the running of the mill for several years. There was a flour-mill attached to it. Previous to the erection of this mill, nearly all the lumber to be obtained here had to be cut by a whip-saw. Mr. Nicholas Jarrot had a water-mill on Cahokia Creek, Ill., which yielded a small supply of lumber. The most important grist-mill was that of Col. Auguste Chouteau, run by water-power obtained from Chouteau's Pond. It furnished most of the inhabitants with their supplies of flour and meal. Other mills were run by Charles Sanguinette, Joseph Brazeau, and others.

"The first brewery was owned by Joseph Philipson. It was situated on the west side of Main Street, about where Carr Street now is. It was in a two-story frame building, the last house in the north part of the town. Mr. Philipson's brewer was Victor Hab, who died in 1850, near Rocky Branch. The first beer was brewed in the fall of 1817, and was cooled in a pirogue, or 'dug-out,' which lay outside on the north side of the building. About two years afterwards Mr. John Mullanphy took possession of the brewery, and ran it for several years. In 1821 it burned down, and was rebuilt by Mr. Mullanphy. His brewer was Matthew Murphy."[1]

[1] Respecting some of the persons named by Mr. Dowling, we have the following details, in one shape or another:

Jean Pierre Cabanné was a native of the city of Pau, in the south of France. Mr. Cabanné came to this country about the year 1804, and first settled in New Orleans, and while there was engaged in a duel, as was then the prevailing custom, and which made it expedient for him to leave that place. He came to St. Louis about the year 1806. He was a gentleman of fine education. He early engaged in the Indian fur trade, which was then the great business of this city; and in this branch of business he continued for many years, the partner at times of the late Bernard Pratte, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Mr.

There is a fuller and more circumstantial account of St. Louis as it was in 1818 than can be got from Mr. Dowling's recollections, interesting as they are.

Antoine Chenie, Bartholomew Berthold, Manuel Lisa, and others, and was for many years a member of the firm of Pratte, Chouteau & Co. During his connection with this firm he spent most of his time in the Indian country. In this business he amassed a fortune, and his house in this city was for many years the home of broad and generous hospitality, where strangers and officers of the army, then very numerous in this then most western outpost, were elegantly and most generously entertained. Hon. Bernard Pratte was the first American citizen born in the Territory of Louisiana. The purchase of the province of Louisiana from France was effected on the 3d of May, 1803, but it was not until about the 15th of December of that year that the province and its dependencies were delivered by the French commissioner to the commissioners of the United States.

Bernard Pratte was born in St. Louis on the 17th of December, 1803. St. Louis at that time occupied rather circumscribed limits. Where the Planters' House now stands was an inclosed common or pasture; there was not even a post-office in the town. Bernard Pratte's father, Gen. Pratte, and his father's mother were both born in Ste. Genevieve, and his grandmother and her mother were born in St. Louis. Bernard Pratte was a pioneer in the navigation of the Missouri River, he having, in connection with Pierre Chouteau, successfully attempted the passage of that stream as far as the Yellowstone, in 1832, contrary to the predictions of the oldest navigators. After a profitable business career, in which he held a prominent connection with the American Fur Company, he served as mayor of St. Louis during two terms, from 1844 to 1846. He had previously been a member of the General Assembly. He was a faithful public servant, and his views of public matters always commanded high respect. He was also at one time president of the Bank of Missouri. In all positions, as well as in his social intercourse, he was universally esteemed as a genial and upright gentleman, realizing the forcible in execution with the suavity in manner. As mayor, he was probably one of the most popular executives who has ever administered our municipal affairs. Having tired of the turmoil of political pursuits, he retired many years ago to the seclusion of private life, where he has devoted his time to literature and the comforts of home. In 1824, Mr. Pratte married Louisa Chenie, daughter of Antoine Chenie, she being a native of St. Louis likewise, and the parents of the young couple living within a block of one another.

Madame Berthold was the only daughter of Maj. Pierre Chouteau, deceased, and because she was an only daughter the Indians called her "the lone woman" in their native tongue, which being translated into French was "la femme tout seule," and was born in St. Louis the 7th day of October, 1790. Her mother, whose maiden name was Kiercereau, died when she was a child. Maj. Chouteau had been the Indian agent under the French and Spanish governments at St. Louis, and in that capacity exercised more authority over the numerous Indian tribes then west of the Mississippi River than any man in the whole valley of the Mississippi. Maj. Chouteau had, besides this one and only daughter, three sons, viz.: Auguste P. Chouteau, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Liguest Chouteau, all of whom have died many years ago. He married a second time, and had children by the second marriage, five sons, of whom only three are living.

Pelagie Chouteau was married to Bartholomew Berthold in St. Louis, on the 12th of January, 1811. Mr. Berthold was a Tyrolese by birth, and came to the United States in 1798, and was naturalized in Philadelphia in the same year, and afterwards lived in Baltimore till 1809, when he came to St. Louis. He lived for a short time in Ste. Genevieve. Mr. Berthold came to the United States in company with Gen. Willot, who had fled from France in consequence of his opposition to Napoleon, and who returned to that country after the fall of that great man. Young Berthold, then only eighteen years old, was secretary to Gen. Willot. When Napoleon invaded Italy, young Berthold became a soldier, and joined those who opposed him. He was in the battle of Marengo, where he received a cut from a sabre across the forehead, the honorable and visible scar from which he carried to his grave. He was, moreover, a fine scholar, and spoke the French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Latin languages with ease and fluency. He was the only gentleman at the dinner-table, when Gen. Lafayette visited here, who could speak with ease and elegance the language suited to the different members of Gen. Lafayette's suite. Mr. Berthold, it was said, was the most finished and accomplished merchant of his day in the city of St. Louis. He had formed a copartnership with his brother-in-law, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., which was a most successful and money-making concern, in the fur business.

Afterwards, Bartholomew Berthold, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., John Pierre Cabanné, and Bernard Pratte became connected with John Jacob Astor as partners in trade, under the name of the "American Fur Company," and made an immense sum of money. All the members became rich and wealthy. The immense and unbounded wealth of Mr. Astor, who furnished the larger part of the capital, gave double assurance to the undertaking and the enterprise. It was afterwards said that it was under the efficient and successful training of Bartholomew Berthold that Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and John B. Sarpy became the great, successful, prosperous, and prominent business men that they were, whereby millions were accumulated. Bartholomew Berthold, after a life of active business pursuits, died here in the year 1831.

Of Gen. Ashley, we have the following notes by Mr. Billon, from his personal recollections:

"Of Gen. Ashley's early life, I have simply learned that he was born in Virginia in the year 1785; that he came to Ste. Genevieve in the year 1803, then about eighteen years of age; that he was engaged in various pursuits in that vicinity for some years, as merchant, saltpetre manufacturer, etc., in Washington County, and finally as surveyor about 1816–17, having received a contract from Gen. Wm. Rector, the first United States surveyor-general of Missouri.

"Gen. Ashley's name is first found of record in the recorder's office of St. Louis County, in Book F, p. 350, in the following entry:

"'Jedathan Kendal and Margaret, his wife, to Wm. H. Ashley, July 23, 1817, for $400, six hundred and forty acres of land in the Richwoods settlement, on the waters of the Maramec, in Washington County, being the land settled and claimed by John Jones, as recorded in the United States recorder's office of land claims of Missouri Territory in the office at St. Louis.'

"Gen. Ashley fixed his permanent residence in St. Louis in the year 1819. 'Thompson Douglass sold to Wm. H. Ashley and Lionell Brown, April 15, 1819, a lot of sixty-two feet on Second Street by one hundred and thirty-two feet east on the cross street (afterwards Elm) (southwest quarter of Block 36), on which was a two and a half story brick house (built by Doug-

At that time the court-house was a one-story frame building on Third Street, between Almond and Spruce Streets, now occupied by the Sisters' Hos-

pital. The post-office was on Main Street, near the southwest corner of Elm Street, a one-story stone building; Dr. Robert Simpson, postmaster.

lass in 1816–17), for the sum of $8000.' This property being then under mortgage by Douglass to the Bank of Missouri, from which Douglass had obtained a loan to build this house, Ashley and Brown gave a bond to pay Douglass the consideration money which he would have paid off the mortgage, so that he could give them a good and sufficient title for the same within twelve months. (Book I, p. 7.) This mortgage Douglass paid off, and he and wife executed to Ashley and Brown a warranted deed for the above Dec. 2, 1819.

"After the above, Gen. Ashley's name is found of record in various real estate transactions.

"Gen. Ashley occupied this house in May, 1821 (date of Paxton's first St. Louis directory). His wife was sick in this house in the summer of 1824, and, I think, died therein shortly after.

"Gen. Ashton married his second wife, Eliza B. Christy, late in the fall of 1825. On Dec. 1, 1825, William Christy and Martha T., his wife, gave their daughter, Mrs. Eliza B. Ashley, a lot on the west side of Fifth Street, three hundred and forty feet front, from our present Morgan Street to Franklin Avenue, by two hundred and ninety feet deep.

"In the year 1819 there came to St. Louis from England Mr. William Stokes, bringing with him the then, in St. Louis, almost fabulous sum of $100,000 in cash, which he invested, in a brief period after his arrival, in real estate, placing in the hands of Gen. Ashley $60,000 for the above purpose, Ashley in his surveying having acquired personal knowledge of localities where the same might be judiciously invested. These facts are found on record.

"The first election under our State Constitution took place on the fourth Monday of August, 1820, although we were not yet officially recognized as a State. At this election Gen. Ashley was elected our first Lieutenant-Governor and president of the State Senate, which office he filled for the term of four years, until the second State election in 1824.

"My first personal acquaintanceship with Gen. Ashley was at this period of our first election in 1820.

"During his four years' term as Lieutenant-Governor he was extensively engaged in the fur trade with the Indians on the upper Missouri, in which trade he sent up several expeditions, some of the first resulting disastrously, by which he became deeply involved in debt; but by his indomitable energy and perseverance he was finally successful, and having acquired a competency in his last adventure, he retired from active business pursuits.

"Spencer Pettis, who had been elected to Congress a second time in 1830, having lost his life in the memorable duel with Biddle in August, 1831, Gen. Ashley was elected to serve out the balance of the term, at the expiration of which he was re-elected for the full term in 1832, and again in 1834, serving as our representative a period of five consecutive years; he was then succeeded by John Miller.

"Gen. Ashley, after retiring from active business pursuits, purchased a very handsome property, in the year 1826–27, of about eight acres, on what is now Broadway (then Federal Avenue), lying between what are now Biddle and Bates Streets, where he built for his residence a very fine house, on one of the lower Indian mounds, which he occupied for a number of years. The grounds were beautifully laid out and improved, with a fine fountain in front, the first thing of the kind we had in St. Louis.

"Gen. Ashley was three times married. After the death of his second wife, the Miss Christy previously mentioned, he married his third, the widow of Dr. Wilcox, of Howard County, a daughter of Dr. Mass. He had no children by either wife. After his death this last lady became the wife of Senator John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, and died not very long since.

"Gen. Ashley's personal appearance: A man of medium height, say about five feet nine inches, of light frame, his weight might have been from one hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and forty pounds; thin face, prominent nose, not Roman, but aquiline or Grecian, so that a profile view of his face presented a projecting nose and chin with the mouth drawn in. Had Gen. Ashley been an indolent man, he doubtless would have been a dyspeptic, but from his restless and active disposition, constantly on the move, and from the various suits he was engaged in from his youth upwards, he found no time to be sick, and his active life tended to preserve his health, but slightly impaired until his death in 1838–39, at the age of about fifty-three."

"Of the business places on Main Street, the first one established was on the south side of that thoroughfare, south of Washington Avenue. The building was owned by Peter Chouteau, Sr. It was of stone, two stories in height, and had a porch all around it. The store was kept by Mr. Daniels, a furrier.

"The other business places are given in the order of their situation, as follows:

"On the east side of Main Street, between Vine and Locust, a grocery-store, kept by J. Vickers, who made himself notorious by issuing shin-plasters of denominations from twelve and a half cents upward to one dollar each, and leaving unexpectedly before he redeemed them.

"Next, on the same side, below, Solomon Megreaun, gunsmith.

"On the northwest corner of Main and Locust, Joseph Bouju, watchmaker.

"Southeast corner of Main and Locust, Christian Wilt, merchant, who had a lead-factory on the river-bank, in the rear of his store.

"Same street, south of Wilt, J. B. Grant, jeweler and silversmith.

"Adjoining, a one-story log house, occupied as a school. The same was kept by Messrs. Lee & Leet, and subsequently by Mr. Rochford.

"South of the school, Michael Dolan, merchant tailor.

"Southward again, Gabriel and Réné Paul, merchants.

"On the north side of Main Street, just above the corner of Olive, were Drs. Farrar and Walker.

"On the east side of Main Street, south of Olive, a porter-cellar, kept by Mr. Brazeau.

"Same side of Main, between Olive and Pine, James and Geo. Kennerly, merchants.

"Northwest corner of Main and Pine, Charles Bosseron, blacksmith.

"Southwest corner of Main and Pine, Kibbey's hotel.

"South of Kibbey, Thomas McGuire, merchant.

"South, Thomas Hanley, merchant.

"South, Mr. Gratiot, merchant.

"East side of Main, south of Pine, Mr. Donahue, merchant.

"South, Mr. Jacoby, saddle- and harness-maker.

"South, Moses Scott, merchant.

"Northeast corner of Main and Chestnut, Sylvestre Labbadie, merchant.

"Southeast corner of same, Peter and Jesse G. Lindell, merchants.

"South, on Main, Henry Von Phul, merchant.

"South, same, James Clement, Jr., merchant.

"South again, Wm. Smith, merchant; P. A. Chouteau, J. Demund, and John B. Sarpy, merchants; Gen. Bernard Pratt, merchant, and Matthew Carr, merchant.

"Opposite, same street, Ephraim Town, hatter.

"Then came the market-house, a one-story building, running east and west, with the ground attached; it occupied a whole square. The east end of the premises rested on the river-bank. There were eight or ten butchers.

"On the west side of Main Street, south of the market, stood the mansion of Col. Augustus Chouteau. The building and grounds occupied a whole square. The property was inclosed with a stone wall. The Bank of Missouri was located on the first floor of the building. Col. Chouteau and family resided on the floor above.

"On the east side of Main Street, south of Walnut, was Mr. Hull, the baker.

"South, Michael Tesson, merchant; Peter Primm, merchant tailor, and Messrs. Sanguinette and Bright, merchants.

"Same street, opposite, Mrs. Pesky, merchant.

"On the northeast corner of Main and Elm, Mr. Vallois, locksmith.

"Southward, same street, Neal Deggitt, tinsmith; Richards & Quarls, tobacco manufacturers; Drs. Simpson and Quarls, druggists; J. Reed, merchant, and Andrew Elliott, merchant.

"Southwest corner of Main and Elm, Mr. Dangen, silversmith, and manufacturer of Indian trinkets.

"South, on Main, the Bank of St. Louis. This bank, too, was kept in the lower part of the building in which it was located, while a family occupied the second floor.

"On the west side of Main, south of Myrtle, Robert Collett, merchant.

"Southward, Mr. Estes', and two other establishments.

"Gen. Bernard Pratt built the first business house on the Levee. It was located on the corner of Market and Front Streets. At this time there were only two warehouses in the city, one built by McKnight & Brady, and situated on the river-bank, north of Cherry Street, and the other, built by Manuel Lisa, on the south side of Chestnut and the Levee. The latter is still standing.

"All the lumber used had to be cut with a whip-saw. There was not one saw-mill in the city. The first of these establishments, which were subsequently put up, was built by Sylvestre Labbadie. The millwright was Mr. Osborn. Several years afterward the mill was run by Stuart McKee.

"There was only one water-power flour-mill, which was owned by Col. Auguste Chouteau. The building stood till burned down west of Centre Market.

"There was a horse-mill, owned by Mr. de Chouquette. It was situated just north of the present site of the Lami Railroad Street depot.

"There were two hotels on Main Street, one on the southwest corner of Main and Green Streets, the other on the southwest corner of Main and Pine Streets. Another hotel, situated on Second Street, was known as the Green Street Tavern. Opposite to it Daniel Shope kept another public-house. These comprised all of the hotels in the city.

"The first brewery was owned by Joseph Phillipson, and located on the west side of Main Street, between Biddle and Carr Streets. Victor Hab was the brewer, and the first beer was brewed in the fall of 1817, and cooled in a pirogue.

"On Market Street, west of Fourth Street, Rev. Samuel Giddings, a Presbyterian, kept a school in a two-story frame building. It was well attended.

"The first brick-maker was John Lee. His bricklayer was William Jones, the father of William Jones, Jr., who is now residing at Cheltenham.

"John L. Sutton, George Casuer, Papin & Brother, and Charles Bosseron and Montangue were among the principal blacksmiths.

"The principal boss carpenters were Philip and Henry Rochsblave, Hill & Kees, Phineas Bartlett, Robert Paxton, and James Irvin. The only survivor of these is Capt. David B. Hill.

"Of the merchants, Henry Von Phul, James Clement Andrew Elliott, and Robert Simpson are the only ones now living [at the date of these memoranda].

"Thomas McGuire was the first man who built a house on the Hill. The building was at about that point where Ninth Street intersects Market Street. [But J. B. C. Lucas had built there earlier.]

"At the time of the date of this article there was only Main Street, George Street, now known as Second Street, and Barns Street, which is Third Street. The latter took its name from the barns which were located on the line of it. Market Street, from Main to the Levee, was the first thoroughfare paved.

"There were three roads which were principal ones, namely, the Bellefontaine, St. Charles, and Carondelet. A short distance south of what is known as Park Avenue, the Gravois road forked to the right of the Carondelet road. The St. Charles road forked west of Judge Lucas' field, which was situated just west of Lucas Place. At that time a branch of Chouteau Pond came up to Chestnut Street.

"A fire company was established about 1819. Every man who had a two-story house was required to furnish and keep two leather buckets; every man who had only a one-story house furnished and kept only one bucket. When a fire occurred a line was formed, and the buckets were passed up and down the line in the manner usual at that time.

"The first police force was organized on the 1st of January, 1818. Mr. Mackey Wherry was captain, and was also captain of the watch, market-master, and city register. There was but one constable in the city, a one-armed man, Gabes Warner, who did all the business. The police force consisted of about six men, including the captain."

The adult male population of that day (1817–20), says Mr. Billon, in one of his interesting reminiscences,—

"Was, in round numbers, about 700, divided about as follows: Of American birth, say 400; original French and Spanish, 150; and of foreign birth, 150. Of these last fully two-thirds, or about 100, were Irishmen, some 15 to 20 European Frenchmen, about the same number of English and Scotchmen, and some 10 or 12 Germans, etc.

"Our Irish citizens of that day in St. Louis included in their number a very liberal proportion of gentlemen of education and acquirements, some of whom held important positions in our then recently acquired territory. I instance James Rankin, our first, and Jeremiah Connor, our second sheriff, Thomas McGuire, Moses Scott, William Sullivan, Patrick Walsh, justices of the peace; Luke E. Lawless, attorney, afterwards judge; Joseph Charless and James C. Cummins, first and second proprietors of the *Missouri Gazette*; John and Thomas McKnight, John and Thomas Brady, John Mullanphy, Thomas Hanly, Patrick M. Dillon, James Arnold, John Crawford, Hugh Rankin, Andrew Elliott, Robert H. Catherwood, James Timon, Sr. (father of the late Rev. Bishop Timon, of Buffalo), Michael Daly, etc., all merchants: Maj. Thomas Forsythe, United States Indian agent; Maj. James McGunnegle, quartermaster United States army; James Nagle, Arthur L. Magenis, lawyers; Patrick Sullivan, pro-

fessor at the college; Francis Rochford, teacher; Matthew Murphy, and others whose names do not recur to me,—all these were here in the Territorial days of St. Louis.

"At that period there were but three houses on the west side of Second Street from Pine to Olive, now Block 62. At the northwest corner of Pine and Second, now No. 200, stood the two-story frame dwelling of Capt. Risdon H. Price, son-in-law of Gen. Daniel Bissel, United States army, built by Judge Clement B. Penrose, one of the United States land commissioners, in 1815, on the spot on which had stood in the early days an old house of posts, built by Francis Moreau in 1766, and occupied successively by him, Antoine Reithe, John P. Cabanné, Arend Rutger, John Mullanphy, Jacques de St. Vrain, and Clement B. Penrose. This was the only house on the south half of the block. On the north half, at the southwest corner of Second and Olive (Maguire's drug-store), there was a one-story stone house of the old French days, with a gallery in front and rear, and then occupied by Paul L. Chouteau, the third son of Pierre Chouteau, Sr.; and on the south part of this lot, near the centre line of the block, now occupied by house No. 213, there was another one-story stone house of the French days, of two rooms, with gallery in front. The rear part of this block on Third Street was Price's orchard. This last-described house was the residence of Mr. Connor, who, being a single man (never married), kept his business office in the front room, and occupied the back room as his chamber.

"Mr. Connor had become the possessor of two of the forty-arpens lots on the 'Hill,' as we then termed it, separated from Judge Lucas' by the 'king's St. Charles road' on the south, and adjoining on the north the four forty-arpens lots of Maj. Christy. After Chouteau and Lucas laid off their first addition to the town of St. Louis in 1816,—followed by Maj. Christy with his addition in 1817,—Mr. Connor concluded to lay off his land, between these two, also into lots; his front to the east was three hundred and eighty feet, extending westwardly about one and a half miles to the present Jefferson Avenue, the western boundary of these forty-arpens lots. He laid off in the centre of his plat Washington Avenue, eighty feet wide, leaving him one hundred and fifty feet on each side south to St. Charles Street, and north to the division line between him and Christy seventy-five feet south of Green Street. Consequently the people of St. Louis are indebted to the enterprise and public spirit of one of her earliest Irish citizens for the finest avenue they at present possess.

"Mr. Conner died in the house mentioned above late in the summer of 1823, and Col. John O'Fallon administered upon his estate."

One more contemporary glance at the St. Louis of the past and we have done. It is a sketch of the city as it was in 1837, from the recollections and memoranda of F. W. Southack, written in 1871. We can only give the skeleton and framework of this interesting paper, seeking to collect names in this chapter much more than to present facts. Mr. Southack says,—

"The boundaries of the city at this period were very limited, extending from the river west to Seventh Street, while to the north it went in a semicircular direction to a Spanish tower named Roy, on the river-bank, and to the south it extended to Mill Creek, on Second Street.

"The principal business then was transacted on the Levee and Main Street. Here were the large wholesale grocery and commission houses, and the Levee was the grand landing-place of everything that came in and went out of the city. Transportation was chiefly confined to steamboats, but occasionally a long line of wagons, commonly called 'prairie schooners,' could be seen on Main and the Levee, loading up for the great interior, several hundred miles distant.

"The following is a list of some of the steamers, with the names of their commanders, which were engaged in navigating the river during the year:

"'Prairie,' Capt. Sellers; 'Dubuque,' Capt. Atchison; 'Ark,' Capt. Dewitt; 'Pawnee,' Capt. Dunnica; 'Olive Branch,' Capt. Holcomb; 'Quincy,' Capt. Cameron; 'St. Louis,' Capt. Swan; 'Selma,' Capt. Blood; 'Belle,' Capt. Shallcross; 'Burlington,' Capt. Throckmorton; 'Chariton,' Capt. Dougherty; 'Ceylon,' Capt. Ranney; 'Vandalia,' Capt. Small; 'United States,' Capt. Hill; 'Palmyra,' Capt. Eaton; 'Oceana,' Capt. Beltzhoover; 'Boonslick,' Capt. Jones; 'American,' Capt. Lusk; 'Tempest,' Capt. Carroll; 'Adventure,' Capt. Van Houten; 'Dart,' Capt. Cleveland; 'Majestic,' Capt. Johnson; 'Howard,' Capt. Newman; 'Gypsy,' Capt. Gray; 'Pavilion,' Capt. Lafferty.

"At the foot of Market Street was the chief market square, occupying the whole space of ground between Main and the Levee, Walnut and Market Streets, where is now located the Exchange and other buildings.

"On the east side, fronting the river, stood the market-house, the butchers' stalls being in the lower part on a level with the square in front, while the upper story was used by the city officers.

"In the basement of the market-house on the Levee were several stores, and in the centre a room was used for the city calaboose.

"In the centre and around the side of the market square were located the vegetable stands and wagons of the farmers from Cahokia and Vide-Poche, offering for sale what few vegetables they were able to raise.

"A little above Main Street on Market Street were the stands for the wood-carts; these were very small and peculiarly constructed of willows, and called 'charettes,' the wheels being without iron tires. The usual price for a load was six 'bits,' or seventy-five cents; but if sometimes the honest old Frenchman was offered a dollar for a load, he would instantly reject the temptation with scorn, and cry out louder than ever, 'Seex beets! seex beets! no more, no less!' What a commentary is this on the present degenerate times.

"Around the sides of the market square were wholesale and retail stores, mostly for the country trade, among which were the old houses of Stanford & Davis, J. & W. McDowell, Chouteau & Barlow, Christy & Wiggins, Silas Drake, and David Coons, the former of which is still in existence, under the name of Samuel C. Davis & Co.

"Fronting the market on Main Street was the venerable mansion of Madame Auguste Chouteau, constructed in the French style, surrounded by gardens, embracing the whole ground between Main and Second and Market and Walnut Streets, excepting a narrow strip on Market Street and immediately on the corner of Main Street, where was a large brick building, constructed by Samuel Perry in 1829, the lower portion of which was used as a store by Hunt & Paddock. St. Louis at this period had a class of merchants who for character and sound commercial integrity were not excelled by any city in the Union.

"Among the business firms on the Levee engaged in wholesale groceries and commission and forwarding business were the following: E. & A. Tracy, McGunnigle & Way, Hempstead, Beebe & Co., J. & E. Walsh, Von Phul & McGill, Hunt, Ridgley & Co., L. & A. G. Farwell & Co., Christopher Rhodes & Co., Glasgow, Shaw & Tattum, George Collier & Co., Sanford

& Berthold, Reel, Barnes & Co., Theo. Labeaume & Co., Sproul & Buchanan, Pettes & Morrison, Risley & Martin, January Stettinius & Bro., Pope & West, P. A. Berthold & Co., T. W. Larkin & Co., Randolph, Buckley & Co., Reilly & Chouteau, Jamison, Samuel & Co., John Lee & Co., H. N. Davis & Co., Taylor & Holmes, Mulliken & Pratte, Stone, Field & Mark, Amelung & Layet, Elder & Jenkins, Powell, Lamont & Co., Alex. Hallam & Co.

"Main Street, however, was the chief business thoroughfare and the headquarters for all wholesale, retail, and miscellaneous business, but this street was not wholly filled up with stores. There were many citizens residing on it. Business was confined chiefly to the squares between Market and Vine Streets, although there were a few both north and south of these streets. Among the residents on Main Street were the following: North of Market Street, Widow Berthold, Madame Bosseron, Alfred Tracy, R. Rapier, Lobert Papin, Adolphus Meier, Gabriel Paul, Judge Mary P. Leduc, Madame Dumont, Dr. N. B. Atwood, Madame Serard, Hypolite and Theodore Papin, John J. Anderson, Eugene Jaccard, Monsieur Voizot, A. H. Cohen, John McNeil, Charles D. Sullivan, Frederick Billon, Madame G. Chouteau, Alexander Papin, John B. Sarpy, Mrs. Ingram, Monsieur Bouju, Renshaw, Henry Shurrd (cashier of the Bank of Missouri, above Vine Street), Pierre Chouteau.

"South of Market Street, on Main Street, were the residences of the following citizens: Madame Auguste Chouteau (before mentioned), Daniel D. Page, Thompson Douglas, R. B. Dallam, J. B. Daggett, John G. Barry, Joseph Robidou, Elliott Lee, Mr. Menard, Thomas Cohen (a noted and favorite fisherman), Mr. Lockwood, and others.

"Among the merchants doing business on Main Street were the following, extending from Market Street north: A. & G. W. Kerr & Co., Sublette & Campbell, H. L. Hoffman & Co., Warburton & King, Andrew Elliott & Co., James Clemens, Jr., Peter Powell & Co., J. S. Pease & Co., Edward Brooks, Adolphus Meier, N. E. Janney & Co., McKee, Stewart & Lind, J. B. & M. Camden & Co., John J. Anderson, J. F. Comstock & Co., Eugene Jaccard, John J. Martin, Robert Rankin, C. D. Sullivan, Taylor & Marshall, Meed & Adriance, Peter E. Blow, Joseph Charless, A. & L. Forbes, Burd, Tilden & Co., Edgar & Forsyth, Allen & Dougherty, T. S. Rutherford, Davis & Trowbridge, Hood & Abbott, Savage & Austin, J. C. Dinnies & Co., Crow & Tevis, Ricketson & Holt, Walker & Kennett, Henry Shaw, John Riggin & Co., Burrows & Jennings, Boggs & Stuart, J. Sylvester, R. D. Watson, J. & W. Smith, A. G. Switzer & Brother, R. Simpson & Son, Lynch & Trask, Settle & Bacon, Charles P. Billon, Sweringen & Bedell, Charles R. Hall, Larkin Deaver, George K. Budd & Co., F. W. Southack, O. D. Filley, Hudson E. Bridge, James Beakey, Powers & Randall, Salisbury & Collins, Hugh Boyle & Co., Nourse, Hyde & Co., J. & T. J. Homer, Edwin Chaffin, J. & W. Vandeventer & Co., J. H. Barnard & Brother, Jones & Bacon, Alonzo Child, Ira Todd & Son, Isaac Burnett & Co., Conn, Sprigg & Green, Watson & Austin, Grass & Robbins, Smith & Young, W. W. Amos, Hood & Abbott, Dinnies, Van Pelt & Co., M. Tesson & Son, Sinclair, Taylor & Co., Shipp & Woodbridge, C. Ulrici & Co., Jones & Corthron, H. Kortley, Corse & Anderson.

"On Second Street there were no large stores, the street being filled up with dwelling-houses, small shops, blacksmith-shops, one of which was owned by the noted favorite, Tom Gray.

"On the corner of Chestnut and Second Streets stood the post-office, a very small wooden building, which had been previously used for church purposes. On the opposite side, fronting Chestnut Street, was a row of two-story brick buildings, familiarly known then as 'Quality Row,' and occupied by the following distinguished families: Wilson P. Hunt (who was postmaster), Henry Von Phul, Henry L. Cox (cashier of the old United States Bank), J. W. Reel (of the firm of Vairin & Reel), and Thornton Grimsley.

"Next east, and on the present site of the *Republican* office, was the stately residence of Gen. Bernard Pratte, now living. Opposite his mansion were two fine large houses, with stone steps and iron railings, occupied by Joseph Powell and Duncan Lamont, built by the late K. Mackenzie. This immediate neighborhood was considered the fashionable part of the city.

"On the south side of Chestnut Street, and opposite 'Quality Row,' were several one-story wooden buildings, one of which was used as a tinner-shop by James Spencer.

"On Second Street, between Market and Vine, going north, were the residences of Antoine Chenie, J. Laveille, John H. Gay, Josiah Spalding, Stephen Gore, Rob[illegible]t. P. D. Papin, Pascal Cerré, M. E. Janney, William [illegible], Asa Wilgus, Henry Hough, B. W. Alexander, Dr. Hardage Bane, Larkin Denver, H. Reynard, Monsieur Laguerrière, Robert Moore.

"On the corner of Vine and Second Streets stood a large building, known as the Arcade Baths, which was the only establishment of the kind in the city. To the north of Vine Street there were a few other dwelling-houses, and all beyond was unimproved.

"South of Market Street, on Second Street, more citizens resided, among whom were the following: Mrs. Samuel Perry, David Coons, B. Mulliken, E. A. Johnson, Joseph Phillipson, Widow Speck, Madame Dowling, Wilson Primm, George Maguire, Elkanor English, Matthias Steitz, Madame Provenchere, Gen. Wilkinson, Madame Saugrain, and a few others.

"On this street, below Mulberry Street, was a bridge across Mill Creek, which was the outlet of the water from Chouteau Pond into the river. Near this bridge stood the original brewery of McHose, and also the residence of Mr. Clark, Mr. Studley, and Mr. Adams.

"Beyond this creek, to the south, was th[illegible]n and residence of the Soulards, and also Mr. Labarge, [illegible]ween this point and the Arsenal there were no improvem[illegible]nsequence excepting the farm and dwelling of I. C. Ly[illegible]n, a little to the north and west of the Arsenal.

"The father of Mr. Lynch was among the first persons who made beer for sale in the city. His brewery was a frame building on Second Street below Plum.

"Third Street was almost exclusively used for dwellings, and the following persons resided on this street: To the north of Market Street were the following: Charles Klunk, Jacob Baum, James Lane, Thomas Andrews, Mrs. John Mullanphy, John Thornton, Walton family, Madame Bouis, R. D. White, Dr. Trudeau, and W. A. Lynch (the oldest undertaker now living). North of the Denver House (then known as the City Hotel) were the fine residences and extensive grounds of Col. Strother and Col. Benton. The former included all the ground north of the hotel to Washington Avenue, and extended east to Second Street, while the latter occupied the south half of the next square, and running east to Second Street. These grounds were beautifully improved, and were covered with magnificent forest-trees.

"Just north of these residences commenced Broadway, which was opened as a street not much farther north than Carr Street. At the head of Green Street was the North Market-House, which had just been completed, but as the larger number of the citizens visited the Centre Market on Main Street, it was several years before this market became much patronized.

"All above this market-house as far north as the mound, and even beyond there to what is now called Bremen and Lowell, was comparatively desert waste, with the exception of the residences of Gen. Ashley on the east, and Mrs. Ann Biddle on the

west, directly opposite to each other. These residences were surrounded by beautiful grounds, and adorned by native forest-trees. Gen. Ashley's house was built on a small mound which overlooked the river and the Illinois country beyond as far as the bluffs.

"Returning now to the southerly portion of the city, on Third Street, south of Market Street, we find the following families residing: Bernardino Flores (just deceased), Samuel Wills, John Shade, David B. Hill, Dr. R. Simpson, Mrs. Hamilton, Joseph Wherry, Sullivan Blood, Madame Primm, Madame Larue, Madame Lafferty, Mrs. Hempstead, Matthew Rippey, Henry Duhring, Dr. Nicholas, Paul Berger, Michael S. Cerré.

"On the northwest corner of Plum and Third Streets resided Madame La Lumière, in a log building constructed in the old French style, and one of the first built in the city, which house is now standing in a very dilapidated condition, and is quite an object of curiosity to the antiquarian.

"On Fourth Street, between Market and Chestnut Streets, stood the court-house, in the centre of the square. It was a very plain brick building, two stories in height, and contained only two court-rooms and some small adjoining rooms for the juries and clerks. The sheriff's office was in a small brick building on the southwestern corner of the square.

"In the Circuit Court Judge Lawless presided, and in the Supreme Court were Judges McClirk, Tompkins, and Wash. Judge Peck presided over the United States District Court. The bar, which was celebrated for its talent and respectability, included the following well-known attorneys, viz.: Edward Bates, H. R. Gamble, H. S. Geyer, L. V. Bogy, Trusten Polk, J. F. Darby, Alexander Hamilton, Josiah Spalding, A. T. Bird, Wilson Primm, P. B. Hurdson, Beverly Allen, John Bent, C. D. Drake, Myron Leslie, A. W. Manning, and a few others.

"South of Market Street on Fourth Street there were but few residences. Among the citizens who lived there were the following: J. S. Pease, John McCausland, Edward Charless, Mrs. McCartan, W. K. Rule, J. J. Purdy, Mrs. McKinney, and Mons. S. Pierre. Below the hospital of the Sisters of Charity, the only one then in the city, there were no dwellings until near Plum Street. Here were located the beautiful residence and gardens of Dr. H. D. Hoffman, on the east side, while on the opposite side was that of Judge Lawless. A narrow lane divided these two estates, for at that time neither Fourth nor Fifth Street was opened any farther beyond, all below being unimproved as far as the Convent of the Sacred Heart, just below Chouteau Avenue, which was then considered quite out of town.

"The Lawless house was the first brick house built on what is now Fourth Street, and owned by Col. Riddick. The grounds surrounding it extended from the present Fifth Street nearly to Third, and afterwards known as Vauxhall Garden.

"To the north of Market Street resided the following citizens: Col. Shepard, opposite the court-house, who was then the chief schoolmaster in the city. On this block also lived William Tighe and W. Pocock. The block opposite the Planters' House was vacant, excepting on the corner of Chestnut Street, where stood the blacksmith-shop of Mr. Wimer. On the corner of Olive and Fourth Streets was a one-story stone dwelling-house, occupied by Nathan Patterson, who was connected with the house of J. & E. Walsh. His garden extended to Pine Street, and it was no uncommon thing to see corn growing in it to fully fifteen feet high.

"On the east side of Fourth Street, on the next square, Dr. Barcher, a cupper and leecher, had his shop and dwelling-house, on the spot where now stands the Everett House. Mr. William Hempstead resided on the opposite side of the street. The block of ground bounded by Locust and St. Charles and Fourth and Fifth Streets was a flat and vacant lot, subject to be overflowed after a heavy shower. This lot was owned by Judge J. B. C. Lucas (father of our fellow-citizen, J. H. Lucas), who sold it to George Collier for the extravagant sum of eight thousand dollars.

"On the ground where now (in 1871) stands the store of William Barr & Co. were two brick houses, owned by George Collier, in one of which he resided. Farther north were the dwellings of Charles Collins and Abel R. Corbin. Col. Brant had a large residence on Fourth Street, fronting Washington Avenue. North of this there were very few and indifferent dwelling-houses.

"On Fifth Street, south of Market Street, the dwelling-houses were fewer than on Fifth Street. The first house on the west side was the residence of Mr. Edward Tracy, an extensive commission merchant. On the second square below Boby Evans lived, and on the next square farther south the Widow Spencer lived.

"Below Elm Street lived the following citizens: Gen. Ranney, Lucien Dumaine, Capt. Gildersleeve, Dr. Call, George Wilson and mother, and Gabriel Chouteau. Below Spruce Street there were no buildings of any consequence as far south as the convent. The great space of ground between Fifth and Seventh Streets was a deep ravine, through which passed the waters of Chouteau Pond on their way to the river.

"North of Market Street, on Fifth, the houses were few and far between. A few prominent citizens lived on this street. Among them were Dr. W. Carr Lane, George A. Underhill, Madame Berthold, Mr. Orme, Capt. Shallcross, M. L. Clark, Capt. Atchison, Dr. McCabe, George R. Clark, Edward Bredell, G. W. Kerr, Judge Farrar, and Matthew Kerr.

"Sixth and Seventh Streets were considered too far out for dwellings, and being on the western limits of the city, there were few citizens residing on those streets. On Sixth Street stood the old county jail, and just east of it, fronting Fifth Street, the foundations of a new Episcopal Church were laid. This was Christ Church, and was consecrated in the year 1840 by the late venerable Bishop Kemper, who at that time was the first missionary bishop, and whose jurisdiction extended north to Wisconsin and west to the Rocky Mountains. Among the citizens residing on this street were the following: Madison T. Johnson, James Armen, Jr., Luther Farwell, Charles R. Hall, Julius de Mun, Enoch Price, Mrs. John Perry, Lieut. Kingsbury, U.S.A., Mrs. Cabanné, Dr. Scudder, and Alexander Selkirk. Seventh Street was still less occupied, it being the outer western limits of the city. Mr. Joseph V. Garnier resided a little south of Market Street, and Mr. Charles Bobbs between Market and Walnut Streets. Where the Polytechnic and Masonic buildings now stand was formerly the residence of Judge J. B. C. Lucas. Nearly all west of his dwelling was unimproved.

"All that vast extent of ground lying west of Seventh Street, and extending to the present limits of the city on Grand Avenue, was then unoccupied, excepting a very few locations. A heavy growth of forest-trees extended from Tenth to Twentieth Street, and from Market Street to St. Charles, and this was called Lucas Grove, in the midst of which Judge Lucas had a dwelling-house, which fronted on Washington Avenue, near the site of the First Presbyterian Church on Fourteenth Street. After his death, his son, James H. Lucas, resided there until he built the mansion on Olive near Ninth Street.

"On Market Street, west of Fourth, a few scattering houses were built, in which lived the following citizens: Wm. Tighe, Hez. King, John Kerr; Mrs. Charless, corner of Fifth Street; Philip Maure, opposite corner of Fifth Street; Mr. McGill, where the Varieties Theatre now stands; T. O. Duncan, J.

Parker Doan, Edward Brooks, George K. McGunnigle, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Isaac Letcher, James S. Thomas, Beverly Allen, Adam L. Mills, George L. Callender, Col. Johnson, Christopher Rhodes. Beyond Seventh Street was quite unoccupied, and beyond this the great road leading westwardly out of the city commenced. There were but few main roads leading out of the city at that time,—Bellefontaine road, Franklin Avenue, Market Street, Seventh Street, extending to the Gravois road, and Second Street, over the bridge to Carondelet Avenue, which led to the Arsenal and Jefferson Barracks.

"The hotels in St. Louis were the following:

"1. City Hotel (now named Denver House), on the corner of Third and Vine Streets, was kept by Mr. King in the true Virginia style, and was considered a first-class house. This house has been subsequently enlarged, and under the management of Messrs. Barnum & Moreland it maintained its former reputation.

"2. Missouri Hotel, on the corner of Main and Oak (now called Morgan), which was also considered a first-class house, and kept by Mr. Conger. It still stands, and any one fond of the antique can gratify his taste by a look at this ruined old house.

"3. The Union Hotel, corner of Main and Green Streets, was a good house, well kept by Mr. Farish, and afterwards by Mr. Sparr, who was subsequently one of the lessees of the Lindell. This hotel was built in 1830 by Messrs. Scott & Rule, then prominent merchants of the city.

"4. Old Virginia, on the north side of Vine Street, between Main and Second Streets; kept by a Mr. King.

"5. Jefferson House, a small and more private hotel, corner of Main and Pine Streets, kept by Mr. Curtis.

"6. The National (now named St. Clair), corner of Third and Market Streets. This house was rebuilt and refurnished in 1837, and kept by Messrs. Stickney & Knight, who subsequently leased the Planters' House on its completion in 1841.

"7. The Green-Tree Tavern, on Second Street between Myrtle and Spruce. This tavern was the Bull's-Head of St. Louis, a noted resort for farmers and drovers, conducted by Warren Ayres, a great favorite both as a boniface and municipal politician. This house was destroyed by the great fire of 1849, but has been subsequently rebuilt, and still exists under the same name. The visitor of the present day to the public room of this tavern no longer hears the friendly chat of the children of La Belle France, for it is succeeded by those of the Teuton.

"The church buildings in St. Louis were the following:

"1. The Roman Catholic Cathedral, on Walnut Street between Second and Third, the largest church building in the city.

"2. The First Presbyterian Church, on the corner of Fourth and St. Charles, fronting the latter, and occupying the site of the present Philharmonic Building.

"3. Christ Church (Episcopal), on Chestnut Street, corner of Third, a small brick edifice with a cupola in the centre, and looking more like an academy than a church building.

"4. The First Methodist, on the corner of Fourth Street and Washington Avenue, was a very plain brick building, built in the style common to that denomination in their earlier days.

"5. African Baptist, on Almond Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets. The present building is the second built on the same ground.

"Besides the above, there were several other church congregations worshiping in halls, who had no buildings erected, viz.: Unitarian, or First Congregational, and Baptists."

CHAPTER IX.[1]

SPANISH DOMINION, AND "THE AFFAIR OF 1770."

"In the latter part of 1769, Louisiana was startled by a report that Spain was fitting out a large expedition for the forcible occupation of the province. The rumor was well founded. Spain, exasperated by the insurgent spirit which had so long prevented the exercise of its rights of sovereignty, determined to suppress resistance by force of arms. Again the inhabitants resolved to repel the establishment of Spanish power. But when Don Alexander O'Reilly, the newly-appointed commandant of Louisiana, appeared at New Orleans with three thousand troops, the magnitude of his force disheartened opposition. The hopelessness of the attempt alone prevented a recourse to violence. Submitting to a force which they could not resist, the people of Louisiana saw with feelings of unavailing indignation the landing of foreign troops and the establishment of Spanish supremacy. Irritated by an unfriendliness that had so long deferred the assertion of Spanish ascendency, and fully aware of the popular desire to subvert the newly-instituted government, O'Reilly determined to teach by an impressive example the dangers of disobedience to imperial authority. The foremost leaders of the opposition were arrested and tried by the summary process of a court-martial. Convicted of treason, some were immediately shot, and others were condemned to a life-long imprisonment in the dungeons of Cuba. This severity produced the expected result. The rigor of the new commandant awed the people into submission.

"Shortly after the occupation of New Orleans, Don Pedro Piernas was dispatched with a body of Spanish troops to take possession of Upper Louisiana.

"The time of his arrival in St. Louis is not definitely known, but it was probably early in the spring of 1770.[2] The colonists, intimidated by the stern discipline of O'Reilly, received the Lieutenant-Governor without any demonstrations of resistance. Piernas managed his delicate mission with rare tact. He did not at once enter upon the discharge of his official duties, but, living quietly in the hospitable home of Laclede, spent several months in cultivating friendly relations with the people, and familiarizing himself

[1] This chapter was prepared by Professor S. Waterhouse.

[2] "Mr. Chouteau states that Piernas came to St. Louis Nov. 29, 1770.—*Hunt's Minutes*, vol. i. p. 107. But Mr. Chouteau, too confidently relying upon his unaided memory, made a number of misstatements; this is one of them.

"The date of the first official act of Governor Piernas, recorded in the Archives, is May 20, 1770."

with the resources of his department. The result of his observations was highly gratifying to the Spanish magistrate. He found his province blessed with every bounty of nature. The surpassing beauty of scenery, richness of soil, and facilities for the transactions of commerce awakened well-grounded expectations of rapid development. St. Louis, enriched with the wealth of an extensive Indian trade, was actively prosperous. It had already grown from an insignificant trading-post to a village of about seven hundred inhabitants. At length, having obtained the objects of his delay, Piernas, on the 20th of May, 1770, took possession of Upper Louisiana, and assumed the functions of his magistracy.

"In laying out the village, with a wise provision for the spiritual needs of the colony, Liguest had reserved a block for religious use. On this site the first Catholic Church was erected in 1770. It stood on the west side of Second Street, between Market and Walnut. It was built of upright logs, and the crevices were plastered with clay. The completion of this rude edifice was celebrated with popular rejoicing. On the 24th of June, 1770, the church was dedicated by Father Gibault,[1] of Kaskeskia, with ceremonies of joyous solemnity.

"The new administration was a happy disappointment. The disaffection with which the French colonists had first regarded the Spanish Governor was soon converted into friendship. His kindly courtesy and wise regard for the interests of the settlements quickly won the confidence of the people. Availing himself of the fortunate similarity of French and Spanish laws, Governor Piernas instituted no radical innovations. The slight changes in legal requirements and methods of civil procedure scarcely reminded the colonists that they were under the sway of a foreign power. The Governor resorted to every honorable means of conciliation. He filled the minor offices of his government with Frenchmen. He conferred upon St. Ange the rank of captain of infantry in the Spanish service. The French tenure of lands was based upon an illegal grant. The insecurity of their property filled the colonists with alarm. They feared that they might be dispossessed of grounds to which they had no lawful claim. But Governor Piernas allayed their apprehensions by a public confirmation of all the land titles which St. Ange had granted. To define the bounds of real property and avoid litigation, the settlers solicited an official survey of land grants. The Governor promptly complied with the request of the petitioners, and appointed Martin M. Duralde, a Frenchman, to the surveyorship which he had created. The honors bestowed upon their countrymen and the practical benefits of the government fully reconciled the French settlers to their new allegiance.

"The Spanish force which then protected the post and upheld the majesty of the law numbered six officers and twenty men.

"On the 27th of December, 1774, St. Ange de Bellerive died at the house of Madame Chouteau. St. Ange had been successful in all the trusts confided to his charge. His direction of colonial affairs, though unwarranted by the forms of law, gave universal satisfaction. The voice of complaint, which is always prone to censure an authority exercised without legal right, never ventured to assail his administration of the public interests. His skill in business enabled St. Ange to amass an ample fortune. The influence of his genial character, passing beyond the bounds of his own race, conciliated alike the taciturn Indian and the haughty Englishman. A pleasant proof of his personal popularity is recorded in the early annals.

"When Capt. Sterling died at Fort de Chartres in January, 1766, the residents of the place invited St. Ange to come over and take charge of the post until Capt. Sterling's successor should arrive. In compliance with a request so fraught with confidence, St. Ange went to Fort de Chartres, and held command until relieved by the arrival of Maj. Frazer from Fort Pitt.[2] In 1775, St. Ange died at the ripe age of seventy-six years, and was buried with public honors in the graveyard adjoining the Catholic Church.

"The wife of Governor Piernas was a Frenchwoman. This alliance greatly strengthened the friendship which his liberal policy had first inspired. His dignity of manner was agreeable to the French, but distasteful to the Indians. An Osage chief, mistaking his reserve, so different from the affability of the French, as an evidence of personal dislike, resolved to kill him in revenge for the fancied insult; but while intoxicated he betrayed his murderous secret to a Shawnee Indian, who prevented the assassination by slaying the intended assassin.

"It was during the term of Governor Piernas that some of the traders of St. Louis began to derive large profits from dishonorable sources. The Floridas had been ceded to England by the treaty of 1763. The loss of its fair provinces filled Spain with humiliation and resentment. In retaliation for what was deemed an act of rapacity, the Spanish government adopted

[1] "Pierre Gibault, 'Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec in Illinois and the adjacent countries.'"

[2] "Monette's Hist. Mississippi Valley, vol. i. p. 411. Reynolds' My Own Times, p. 50."

a policy hostile to the commercial interests of Great Britain. The duties which it levied on English imports were almost prohibitive. Some of the St. Louis dealers evaded the oppressive imposts by systematic smuggling. The transactions of this clandestine trade enriched many of the colonial merchants. In May, 1775, Piernas was superseded by Don Francisco Cruzat. The impulses of a kindly nature, not less than the dictates of political discretion, induced Cruzat to follow the liberal policy of his predecessor. His genial fellowship endeared him to a people fond of social enjoyment. The French could not help liking a magistrate so friendly to their pleasures and interests. At this time the Atlantic colonies were agitated by the commotions that attended the outbreak of the American Revolution. But the turbulence of the sea-board did not disturb the little village on the bank of the Mississippi. Careless of ambitious achievement and happy in its exemption from scenes of strife, the hamlet pursued its round of humble toil and simple pleasure. But the revolt of the American colonies, while it did not disquiet the tranquil life of St. Louis, involved the nations of Europe in fresh dissensions. After the outbreak of hostilities it was rumored that England, in retaliation for the unfriendliness of Spain, was secretly instigating the Canadian Indians to an assault upon the Spanish settlements in America. Alarmed for the safety of St. Louis, which, in the event of an invasion from the north, would be the first point of attack, Cruzat began to mature a system of fortification, but before he attempted to carry his plans into effect he was removed from office.

The popular regret at the departure of Governor Cruzat was deepened by the character of his successor. Don Fernando de Leyba came into power in 1778. He was singularly deficient in the qualities which command political success. Devoid of tact and discretion, reputedly penurious and intemperate, he was subjected to an ordeal which conspicuously exposed his weaknesses. The difficulties which beset his administration were such as none of his predecessors had ever encountered. Doubtless his personal unpopularity led the people to magnify his faults. Public suspicion seems to be the only ground for many of the charges against De Leyba. But, in the absence of proof, the repetitions of tradition cannot invest these apparent fictions with a title to a place in authentic history.

"Shortly after De Leyba's accession to office the father of the colony died.

"Pierre Laclede Liguest came to New Orleans from Bion, in Southern France. His personal appearance was striking. An erect figure, somewhat above the ordinary stature of Frenchmen, a dark, olive complexion, a broad forehead, a prominent nose, and penetrating black eyes were the physical traits of the founder of St. Louis. Endowed with a restless nature, Laclede could not be content with the uneventful life of an obscure French province. A longing for a career of adventure and an ambition to found a French colony in the domain of Louisiana were the supreme motives that impelled Liguest to seek his fortunes in the New World. At his solicitation, a number of his countrymen accompanied him to America for the express purpose of establishing a new settlement. History records few examples of a more complete realization of ambitious hopes. From the very nature of the case, but few men through the lapse of centuries have enjoyed an exclusive privilege of founding great cities. Laclede must have derived an incidental advantage from the place of his birth. Reared at the foot of the Pyrenees, he could scarcely have grown to manhood on the very borders of Spain without acquiring a familiarity with the language of Castile. In Louisiana, under the Spanish rule, this accomplishment was doubtless of practical service to Laclede in the conduct of his business. Liguest occupies but little space in the political history of the colony which he founded, for the reason that he devoted himself exclusively to commercial pursuits. His charter guaranteed to him a monopoly of the Indian trade for eight years. The ample fortune which Laclede left seems to warrant the inference that he exercised his exclusive rights for the full term of the royal privilege.

"After the death of Liguest it was found that his estate was somewhat encumbered with debt. The largest claims were preferred by his partner, Maxent, to satisfy the rights of creditors. The estate was in 1779 sold at auction. The sum realized from the public sale was far less than the value of the property. The whole block which in later years became successively the site of the Chouteau mansion and of Barnum's Hotel was sold to Auguste Chouteau for three thousand dollars. As the limited wealth of the colony did not permit an active competition, the greater part of the estate passed into the hands of Antoine Maxent for a fraction of its real worth.[1]

"Smitten with the fatal illness while coming up from New Orleans, he was carried to the military post near the mouth of the Arkansas, where he died

[1] "This statement is confirmed by the personal assurance of Gabriel S. Chouteau. Auguste Chouteau got the 'saw-mills,' and Madame Chouteau the 'farm' of Laclede.—*Archives*, 1779."

June 20, 1778,[1] at the age of fifty-four. His remains were buried in the wilderness on the south bank of the Arkansas River. In a few years every vestige of the grave was obliterated, and now the city which would gratefully erect a monument in honor of its founder will search in vain for the place of his burial.

"There is a tradition that in 1779 the colony was disquieted by rumors of a contemplated attack by the Indians. The report, which is unsustained by any documentary evidence, contradicts every probability. It is not likely that the Indians, without the instigation of the English, would plan an incursion against a village with which they had always been on friendly terms. But the Canadian English had then no motive for an expedition against St. Louis. Ignorant of the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and England, they would never have ventured to incite the savages to assail the subjects of a power which they still believed to be friendly. The intelligence that Spain had resorted to arms was communicated by George III. to the British Parliament, June 16, 1779. But in those days of slow transmission the news could not have crossed the Atlantic and reached the far distant frontier posts of the Northwest in season for the organization of an expedition before the close of 1779. After the tidings of the war with Spain had arrived, months must have elapsed before the Indian tribes could have been mustered and tardy rumor could carry to remote St. Louis the news of the intended irruption. Besides, so long a march in the depth of winter could never have been contemplated. In 1781, Charles Gratiot, who had recently removed from Cahokia to St. Louis, testified that in the month of March, 1780, he was absolutely ignorant of the declaration of war between Spain and England.[2] If a man of intelligence and inquiry had not heard of so important an event, it is fair to assume that the news of the rupture had not then reached the settlements of Upper Louisiana. Therefore, the inhabitants of St. Louis, ignorant of any cause for hostility, could have entertained no apprehensions of an inroad by a power with which they supposed their sovereign was still at peace.

"Consequently, the tradition which describes the alarm of 1779 may be discarded as destitute of authentic foundation.

"But in the spring of 1780 the people of Cahokia were startled by the intelligence—seemingly well founded—that the English at the North were fitting out an Indian expedition for the recapture of their village. The prospect of an incursion of savages excited profound alarm. The danger appeared imminent.[3] In this instance—unlike that of St. Louis in

[1] "Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107."

[2] "In the early part of March, 1780, Charles Gratiot, then a resident of Cahokia, sent a barge loaded with goods and provisions to Prairie du Chien for the purpose of trade; but thirty miles below its destination the barge was captured and pillaged by a party of English and Indians. In the suit which in 1781 the boatmen brought for their wages, a charge of collusion with a public enemy was preferred against Mr. Gratiot. In his written defense before Governor Cruzat, Mr. Gratiot says,—

"'Ainsi que le séjour souffert dans ce village de M. St. Paul Lacroix, commerceant de Michilimakinac, qui y étoit venu chercher des vivres, et que le gouvernement lui a permis d'emporter, et cela un mois après le départ de ma berge; *ce qui fesoit donc que nous ignorions absolument la déclaration de la guerre entre l'Espagne et l'Angleterre.*

"'Mon but dans cette expédition n'a été que de faire un commerce que j'avois coutume de faire tous les ans, . . . et non pour aller livrer à nos ennemis (*que j'ignorois pour lors*) des vivres.' July 12, 1781.

"In 1780, Mr. Gratiot, then living in Cahokia, brought an action against Mr. Charles Sanguinet, of St. Louis, for the recovery of some goods which the plaintiff had temporarily placed in the hands of the defendant for safe-keeping. The original papers in both these suits are now in the possession of Mr. F. L. Billon, of St. Louis. The kindness of Mr. Billon has permitted an unrestricted use of these important documents. The present version of the affair of 1780 is mainly based upon the testimony in these cases.

[3] "The papers in the lawsuits that have been mentioned contain frequent allusions to the troubled state of public feeling:

. . . "'Qu'à l'instigation des habitans des Cahos s'étant transporté auprès du Col. Clark pour solliciter auprès de lui un prompt secours contre les incursions des sauvages dont on étoit menacé.'—*Plaintiff in the suit of Gratiot vs. Sanguinet*, May 8, 1780.

"'Le Sieur Grassiot avant son départ pour aller trouver le Col. Clark lui fit dire par son commis de recevoir ces marchandises chez lui en cautionnement de ce qu'il lui devoit dans la crainte de quelques accidents—ce qui le suppliant a accepté volontairement, rapport au tems critique où nous nous trouvons.'—*Defendant in the suit of Gratiot vs. Sanguinet*, May 10, 1780.

"'D'autant qu'il est demeurant sur une rive étrangère et que dans les circonstances présentes son commerce peut se trouver altéré par l'évènement de la guerre dont on est menacé.'—*Ibid.*, May 10, 1780.

"'Qu'il n'avoit mis ces marchandises lui déposant que comme un dépôt dans la crainte qu'elle ne fussent pillée aux Cahos par les sauvages pendant l'absence de Sieur Grassiot.'—*Testimony of François Duchenau in the same suit*, May 11, 1780.

"'En l'absence du suppliant qu'au cas de malheur auquel l'on a été tous les jours menacé sur notre rive, et par le voyage qu'il étoit obligé de faire auprès du Col. Clark, à la réquisition des habitans.'—*Charles Gratiot, Ibid.*, May 12, 1780.

"'Ou d'autres évènemens fâcheux dans le tems critique où nous étions . . . ce n'étoit que pour chercher les sauver des évènemens auquel l'on s'attendoit tous les jours.'—*Ibid.*

"'Mais dans la position où ce pays se trouve, la fortune change d'un jour à l'autre.'—*Charles Sanguinet, Ibid.*, May 20, 1780.

"'De plus s'il fusse vrai que j'eusse eu quelques intelligences secrettes avec les Anglais, nos ennemis, et que j'eusse conspiré à la perte du pays des Illinois tel que mes accusateurs le prétendent par le secours qu'ils ont eu dans ma berge. . . . aurois-je sacrifié mes propres intérêts en laissant mes affaires

1779—there was ground for hostility and a motive for invasion. The American colonies were now fighting the battles that led to their independence. In 1778, Col. Clark had, with distinguished gallantry and without the effusion of a drop of blood, taken possession of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. It was but natural that the British, humiliated by these disasters and fearing a permanent loss of their possessions in the Mississippi valley, should attempt to regain the captured posts. Cahokia, being farther north than Kaskaskia, would be the first point of attack. It was then defenseless. Col. Clark, who presumably would be anxious to hold the place he had taken, was at that time absent. He was at the 'Iron Banks,' on the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Ohio (the site of Fort Jefferson).[1] Impelled by a sense of public danger and the urgency of immediate preparations for defense, the people of Cahokia called a meeting to concert measures for the safety of the village. It was resolved to send for Col. Clark, and employ his skill to provide the means of security. Charles Gratiot, an intelligent young merchant of Cahokia, and a warm personal friend of Col. Clark, was selected for this perilous service. He accepted the mission, ventured down the Mississippi, and succeeded in finding Col. Clark. This officer at once returned to Cahokia, and took effective steps for the defense of the village. These measures, inspiring a confidence in the means of self-protection, allayed the fears of the inhabitants.

"No early records give an account of the expedition of 1780. A mysterious silence keeps the secrets of history. In the absence of documentary description the narrator must trust mainly to the guidance of circumstantial evidence.

"In 1780, Detroit was the most important British military station in the Northwest. This fact would seem to warrant the belief that the invasion of the Illinois settlements was planned at that post. But the assumption, however plausible, is scarcely tenable. Detroit, weakened by the withdrawal of the troops with which Governor Hamilton took Vincennes, could hardly have spared any of its regular soldiers for a remote expedition. When, in 1779, Col. Clark recaptured Vincennes, the seventy-nine men who capitulated were sent as prisoners of war to Virginia. Consequently the fort at Detroit was not strengthened by the return of its former defenders. After the surrender of Fort Sackville, Detroit, guarded by only eighty men, many of whom were disabled by wounds and sickness, was itself in danger. Col. Clark was then urgently soliciting reinforcements for the express purpose of effecting its capture.[2] In this critical condition of weakness and peril, a further reduction of its garrison would have been an act of great military imprudence. The probability that there were no regular soldiers in the invading force borders upon certainty. Of every expedition that was conducted by British commanders the official dispatches give some account; but no military report contains a line of allusion to this incursion. The inference, therefore, that this movement was not under command of British officers, but of irresponsible adventurers and partisans, seems to be unavoidable. This view is corroborated by the declarations of the plaintiffs in the suit of the boatmen against Mr. Gratiot. The claimants state that upon their arrival at Rock Island their leader met a certain Calvé, one of the partisans who levied the Indian forces for an attack upon St. Louis.[3] At Turkey River, thirty miles below Prairie du Chien, Mr. Gratiot's barge was seized and plundered by a band of savages under English leadership. The crew were taken prisoners and carried to Mackinaw.[4]

à l'abandon pour donner un secours que j'ose dire et selon l'avis de tout le monde que sans cela le village des Cahos étoit perdu et auroit probablement entraîné la perte de tout le pays?'—*Defendant in the suit of the Boatmen vs. Charles Gratiot*, July 12, 1781.

"Ce Cardinal qui s'est exposé au plus dur châtiment de la part de nos ennemis, pour avoir voulu détourner les parties sauvages de venir en guerre contre nous,' etc.—*Ibid.*

"With two exceptions, these statements are taken from legal documents that were drawn up before the attack of May 26, 1780. The extracts clearly reveal the feverish disquiet of the public mind. The passages elsewhere cited from the papers in the suit of the Boatmen *vs.* Gratiot also disclose the same state of popular apprehension."

[1] "Aurois-je . . . party immédiatement . . . pour la mine de fer où étoit alors le tien. Clark? . . . Aurois-je abandonné ma maison, mes affaires, exposer ma vie le long du Mississippy?' etc.—*Defense of Mr. Gratiot in the Boatmen's suit*, July 12, 1781.

[2] "M. Butler's History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, p. 87 (edition of 1834)."

[3] "'Puisque entrant dans l'île de la rivière à La roche, le dit Cardinal . . . a recontré le nommé Calvé, *un des partisans* qui levait les nations pour venir frapper à St. Louis.'—*Plaintiff in the suit of the Boatmen vs. Gratiot*, June 8, 1781. In his reply, dated July 12, 1781, Mr. Gratiot, while partially quoting these words, makes a significant addition. He mentions 'un nommé Calvé, un des partisans *anglais*, qui levoit les nations.'"

[4] "'Et en étant à dix lieues plus bas, les suplians . . . se sont trouvés investés par l'armée anglaises et sauvages, qui les ont pillés jusqu' à leurs armes, et les ont fait prisonniers et conduit à Mic'Alimaquina.'—*Statement of the boatmen in their suit against Mr. Gratiot.*

"'La Berge a été saisie et pillée et les engagés (ont été) faits prisonniers de guerre à la rivière au Dinde, distance de dix lieues de la Prririe du Chien, et de là (ont été) conduit à Michilimakinac.'—*Defense of Mr. Gratiot*, July 12, 1781.

"'Avoir fait notre voyage jusqu' à la rivière au Dinde, distance de dix lieues de la Prairie du Chien, sans aucun accident

"It appears from the documents submitted to Governor Cruzat in the above-mentioned suit that the Indians who captured the barges were the same band that subsequently invaded the Illinois country. The plaintiffs assert that the pillage of the barge supplied the savages with the provisions without which it would have been impossible for them to reach St. Louis.[1] If this statement is true,[2] there can be no reasonable doubt that the assailants of St. Louis were the same Indians whom the partisan Calvé led. It is stated that after the attack of 1780 a tomahawk, inscribed with the name of Calvé, was found in the common fields northwest of St. Louis. Those who place any faith in tradition will find in this incident an additional confirmation of the foregoing view. Upon the well-grounded assumption that the captors of the barge and the invaders of St. Louis were the same band, then the expedition of 1780, wherever planned, must have set out from Mackinaw.[3] Mackinaw, though far inferior to Detroit in military importance, was the only considerable post in the extreme Northwest. It is clear that a force starting from Detroit would not come to St. Louis by way of Mackinaw, and it is equally evident that the marauders of Turkey river, having barely time for the direct march, would not invade the Illinois settlements by the circuitous route of Detroit. The capture of Mr. Gratiot's barge must have taken place in April,[4] and the interval between this event and the attack on the 26th of May was not sufficient to permit a useless détour of several hundred miles.

mais qu'aussitôt notre arrivée en cet endroit nous sommes vus entourés par une armée *tant anglaises que sauvages* qui nous ont pillé les effets de la ditte Berge, et nous ont fait prisonniers . . . que le dit Sieur Cardinal a été envoyé avec nous à Michilimakinac.'—*Testimony of J. A. Matthews*, July 30, 1781."

[1] "'Lesquels vivres, effets, et munitions ont été la seule ressource de l'armée qui est venu frapper à St. Louis qui sans cette approvisionnement était hors d'état d'arriver à St. Louis.'—*Statement of the Prosecution in the Boatmen's suit*, June 8, 1781."

[2] "With a single exception, where there was a selfish motive for misrepresentation, the statements of the plaintiffs seem to be entirely trustworthy. The captain of the barge was John B. Cardinal, and the crew consisted of Peter Lafleur, John M. Durand, Francis Chevallier, Louis Lamarche, and J. A. Matthews. The suit was instituted by Lafleur, Durand, and Chevallier. Lamarche and Matthews did not join in the action. A charge of having had treasonable intercourse with the enemy was brought by the claimants against Mr. Gratiot. This accusation, prompted probably by personal resentment, was subsequently retracted. Betrayed by vindictive feeling, the boatmen misrepresented a business affair that materially affected their own interests; but their account of events, independent of commercial transactions, appears to be fully entitled to credence.

"Their statements are confirmed rather than controverted by the testimony of the other witnesses."

[3] "In his little 'History of Illinois,' p. 99, John Reynolds asserts positively that the expedition was planned at Mackinaw. He gives a very plausible account of its origin. In 1779, Dominique Ducharme, a Canadian trader, bought some goods at Mackinaw, and carried them up the Missouri for the purpose of selling them to the Indians. This trespass upon the commercial rights of Spain the authorities at St. Louis arrested by the seizure and confiscation of the goods. The intruder barely escaped with his life. Full of vindictive indignation at the Spaniards who had despoiled him of his property, he returned to Mackinaw and spent the winter in unremitting efforts to rouse the savages to hostilities against the Spanish settlement. His crafty appeals to the cupidity and warlike passions of the Indians were successful. Enticed by promises of pay and prospects of plunder, the band set forth on their murderous mission. The guides were Canadian Frenchmen, who, through motives of revenge or greed for British gold, were willing to betray their countrymen into the hands of ruthless savages.

"All the traditions of 1780 concur in stating that Ducharme was seen in the neighborhood at the time of the attack. He may have been one of the partisans who acted in conjunction with Calvé.

"As Ducharme began to recruit Indian warriors in 1779, he must have pretended that the object of his invasion was the recapture of Cahokia, for surely the British authorities at Mackinaw, not yet having learned that the king of Spain was a public enemy, would not have allowed him to make war on the subjects of a government with which they supposed that the relations of England were still amicable. Mr. Reynolds does not cite any documents in proof of his account, but if his story is true it affords a possible elucidation of some obscure points. Prior to May 26, 1780, no document refers to any project of an incursion against St. Louis. The repossession of Cahokia was stated to be the sole object of the intended inroad. It was not till 1781 that the records give any intimation of an original purpose to attack St. Louis. Possibly this subsequent announcement of a hostile design resembles the Irish prophecy, in which the event preceded the prediction. It seems strange that the Indians should come so far with the avowed intention of capturing Cahokia, and then not even make a demonstration against the place. But Mr. Reynolds' account affords a simple explanation. The British at Mackinaw would readily sanction an expedition whose ostensible aim was to retake Cahokia from the Americans. A nephew of Calvé lived in St. Louis, and a brother of Ducharme dwelt in Cahokia. The partisans had often visited their kinsmen. They knew the way, and could easily guide the Indians whom they had raised. If revenge was Ducharme's real motive, the capture of Cahokia was merely the pretext by which he secured the approval of the English authorities and the co-operation of his savage allies. Having no ill-will against the people of Cahokia, many of whom were personal friends, he would gladly avail himself of the completeness of their defensive preparations as an excuse for not attacking them. He then proceeded to carry out the secret object of his expedition. Leading his dusky warriors to the west bank of the Mississippi, he sated his vengeance by the slaughter of the unoffending farmers and then withdrew.

"But unless new documents are found, the authenticity of Mr. Reynolds' story will always remain a matter of doubt."

[4] "The distance by river from St. Louis to Prairie du Chien is five hundred and thirty-six miles. Against the current a heavily-laden barge could hardly make a daily progress of more than fifteen miles. At this rate it took about five weeks to make the voyage. The barge started from St. Louis early in March."

"After his capture Cardinal attempted to dissuade the Indians from their contemplated inroad against the Illinois colonies. For this offense he was severely punished. Sent in irons to Mackinaw, and thence to Montreal, he was treated during his whole captivity with unrelenting rigor.[1]

"This severity reveals the embittered earnestness[2] of the British partisans and their exasperation at any effort to frustrate their projected invasion.

"In his endeavors to divert the Indians from the proposed hostilities, Cardinal would naturally address his remonstrances to their principal sachem. This was Matchikiwis,[3] a chief of the Chippeway tribe. But the Chippeways lived in Upper Wisconsin. From this it is evident that the Indians whom Calvé summoned to the expedition of 1780 came from their northern haunts to Mackinaw, crossed over to Prairie du Chien, and then marched directly down the Mississippi valley.

"The statement of the boatmen that the supplies derived from the captured barge were the main support of the Indians on their march from Turkey River to St. Louis has been already quoted. If game was abundant, these provisions were not necessary; if game was scarce,—as the need of additional subsistence implies,—then the band of invaders was not numerous.[4] One small boat, heavily laden with merchandise, could not carry food enough to maintain many warriors on so long a march. The probability that the number of savages was not large is strengthened by the ultimate events of the expedition.

"Cahokia was then a very small village. In 1783 the number of male householders was eighty-one, and some of these were disqualified for military service. Cahokia was one of the main objects of the invasion. Assuredly a large force, which had marched hundreds of miles for the express purpose of recapturing the place, would not have been disheartened by so small an array of defenders. But there is not a single sentence in the public records or private correspondence of Cahokia to show that the main body of Indians ever came in sight of the village. It is, therefore, just to infer that the small band of warriors, informed by their spies of the defensive measures which Col. Clark had taken, and distrusting their ability to capture a place which they could not surprise, desisted from their intended attack. The subsequent movements of the savages are unknown. The lack of records leaves the historian chiefly to the guidance of probability. It is likely that the main body disbanded and retreated to the North, for the same reasons which induced the leaders to refrain from an attack upon Cahokia would also persuade them to relinquish an assault upon St. Louis. They must have presumed that places so near each other were alike apprised of their incursion and equally prepared for defense. But it is certain that some of the Indians, allured probably by hopes of pillage, lingered on the eastern bank in the neighborhood of St. Louis.

"In the mean time, the people of St. Louis, unsuspicious of peril, were indulging in careless gayety. Negligence supplanted vigilance. It has been stated, upon the uncertain authority of tradition, that on the evening of the 25th of May the colonists were warned of their danger. According to rumor, a French guide named Quenelle, informed his brother, who was living in St. Louis, of the intended attack. But, engaged in festive enjoyments and heedless of their impending fate, both Governor De Leyba and the people discredited the report and took no precautions for the public defense. Their want of vigilance exposed them to a surprise which might have proved fatal to the life of the colony. It was very fortunate for the village that the attack did not occur twenty-four hours earlier. The 25th of May was a Catholic holiday. It was the festival of Corpus Christi. The day was spent in religious devotions and social festivities. In the afternoon many of the inhabitants went out into the fields to pick strawberries. Had the attack been made at this time, when the people were engaged in their holiday diversions, it might perhaps have resulted in the

[1] "'N'ayant point la liberté de voir et parler au Sieur Cardinal, notre conducteur, j'appris qu'il avoit été fort maltraité et mis en fer pour avoir parlé aux sauvages, et les avoir détourné de venir en guerre aux Illinois—que le dit Sieur Cardinal a été envoyé avec nous à Michilimakinac et qu'à son arrivée ainsi que pendant le tems qu'il y a été détenu, il a resté dans les fers jusqu'à son départ pour Montréal où il a été envoyé.'—*Testimony of J. A. Matthews in the suit of the Boatmen vs. Gratiot*, July 30, 1781."

[2] "It appears that the sentiment of hostility to the Spaniards and Americans was so strong as to repress the exercise of common charity towards the prisoners of war. 'Croyant que ce Monsieur n'aura aucune eu demander le payement crainte d'être subsonné d'intelligence avec Messieurs les Espagnols et Amériquains, comme nous avons vu nombre de personnes charitable qui auroient chercher à adoucir notre captivité, mais qui n'ausoient crainte de donner des soupçons qui auroient pu leur faire tort sous le governement Brittanique.'—*J. A. Matthews in the suit of Boatmen vs. Gratiot*, July 30, 1781."

[3] "'Car s'il fut vrai que le dit Jean Bapte Cardinal eut reçu de ma part des ordres précises de livrer la dite Berge pour seconder les efforts de nos ennemis, auroit-il publiquement fait des reproches a Mr. Gauthier et ses partisans, les eut-il défié au combat, auroit-il détourné Matchikiwis, *chef de la nation Santeuse* du party royaliste.'—*Defendant in suit of the Boatmen vs. Gratiot*, July 12, 1781."

[4] "In the legal documents above mentioned this body of Indians is styled 'l'armée.' But the phrase conveys no definite indication of numbers. In those days a force of less than one company was sometimes called an army."

capture of St. Louis and the slaughter of its inhabitants.

"Fatigued with the late pleasures of the preceding evening, the merry villagers did not rise early on the morning of the 26th, and but few of the farmers went to work in their fields. The inactivity resulting from the festival probably saved the lives of many Frenchmen. The Indians, who during the 25th had been lurking in the woods of what is now East St. Louis, crossed the Mississippi before dawn on the 26th, and landed near the site of the present water-works. Assuming that most of the able-bodied men would be engaged at this season of the year in cultivating their crops, the savages made a détour, so as to surprise the farmers at their work and deprive the village of its strongest defenders. Stealthily advancing by way of the fair-grounds, the Indians at length came in sight of their victims and rushed to the attack. Five of the unarmed husbandmen were slain, and another, severely wounded, crept into the adjoining underwood and there perished of exhaustion; but the rest of the wounded, aided by their companions, managed to save their lives by flight. If the Indians contemplated the seizure of St. Louis, it must have been their purpose to kill the unprotected farmers in their fields and then capture the village, which they had already stripped of its defenders. But, disappointed in their expectation of finding many laborers at work on their lands, and well aware that the inhabitants, informed of their approach by the fugitive husbandmen, would rush to arms in the defense of their homes, the savages abandoned their intended assault and retired. Mercilessly slaughtering helpless husbandmen, they shrank from an encounter with an alert and armed foe. That no attack was made upon the village itself is evident from the fact that nobody was killed in its immediate neighborhood. The farmers were slain at distances varying from one to five miles from St. Louis.[1] Not even tradition, with all its careless exaggerations of fact, has ventured to assert that a single Indian was killed. This exemption of the savages from the fatalities incident to battle conclusively shows that their assault was limited to the massacre of unarmed men. If the Indians had approached the line of the defenders, their ranks would have been thinned by volleys of musketry. That they should actually have attacked the village and yet have finally retreated without the loss of a single warrior is supremely improbable. Seemingly nothing but the self-distrust of the assailants saved St. Louis from capture. On the 26th of May, 1780, there were ninety-seven male householders in St. Louis. Doubtless there were other residents who, having no families of their own, were inmates of these households. But usually many of the colonists, engaged in hunting, boating, or trading with the Indians, were absent from home in the service of their callings, and others, in consequence of sickness or age, were incapable of bearing arms. At the time of the attack the number of effective men could not have reached one hundred, and even this small force was scattered along an extended line of defense. Weakened by dispersion, it could not have repelled a concentrated assault. Therefore, if timidity had not prevented the onset, the Indians would in all probability have captured St. Louis.

"For days after the attack the inhabitants stood in momentary expectation of its renewal. The men did not venture beyond the limits of the stockade, while the women and children, deserting their defenseless cabins, took refuge in the fortified inclosures of Auguste and Pierre Chouteau. But their immunity from attack soon convinced the people of the final withdrawal of the savages, and permitted them without further apprehension to resume their wonted occupations.

"It is said that the Indians gratified their cruel instincts by mutilation of the dead and inhumanity to the few captives whom they took in the neighborhood of the American and Spanish settlements. The prisoners were carried north, and subjected to all the horrors of an Indian captivity. Half starved and half naked even during the inclemency of a northern winter, they were scourged to the menial service of their barbarous captors; but the peace of 1783 restored them to liberty. After their release they returned in safety to the homes which the hardships of their bondage had doubly endeared to them.

"In commemoration of the Indian attack the old French colonists always called 1780 the year of the massacre. It was a date of tragic prominence in the history of the colony.

"Governor De Leyba survived the humiliation of that eventful day only one month. He was buried in the little log church on the 28th of June, 1780. It was thought that his death was hastened by dissipation and remorse.

"The memory of Governor De Leyba has been covered with unmerited obloquy. His decisions, recorded in the Archives, show that he was a man of clear intelligence, business knowledge, and sound judgment. His insight into the principles of law, and his impartiality in the administration of justice, are unmistakable evidences of high qualities. Possi-

[1] "Hunt's Minutes, vol. ii. p. 56; Commissioners' Minutes, vol. vii. p. 43."

bly something of his unpopularity may have been due to the indiscretions into which his alleged habits of self-indulgence betrayed him. The gravest fault of his official career was his neglect to fortify St. Louis. It appears from the testimony of Mr. Gratiot[1] that Governor De Leyba was aware of the impending danger. In view of this fact, his remissness to prepare for defense was a culpable negligence of duty. But at the time of the massacre even the people themselves believed that the danger was past. If they were still anticipating an attack, they would hardly have neglected every precaution for their personal safety and have gone unarmed to their distant fields. However censurable may have been the Governor's failure to provide adequate means of defense, it seems scarcely just, at this juncture, to reproach him for entertaining a belief that was common to all the inhabitants of the village. Exasperated at the loss of their relatives, the people, with genuine French impulsiveness, not only ascribed the massacre to the criminal misconduct of their Governor, but also imputed to him many offenses and indiscretions of which there is not the slightest evidence that he was guilty. This narrative offers no palliation for the known faults of Governor De Leyba, but simply seeks to perform an act of tardy justice in vindicating his character from undeserved opprobrium.

"The next incumbent of the executive office was Silvio Francisco Cartabona, lieutenant of the Spanish troops. He served as acting Governor until the arrival of Cruzat, who had been reappointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana. The tragic experiences of 1780 forcibly admonished the colonists of the insecurity of their unfortified village. Cruzat signalized his second administration by the erection of a strong system of defenses. The details of this fortification have been given in another place.

"The life of the colony was never again imperiled by an attack of the Indians. Other villages in the West were afterwards assailed, but St. Louis was happily exempt from further molestation. The construction of fortifications probably obviated a necessity for their use. The strength of the works discouraged the hope of a successful assault.

"The peaceful Frenchmen never disturbed the social order of St. Louis by acts of bloodshed, but during the second term of Cruzat a Spanish soldier, in a moment of passion, killed one of his companions. The crime enjoys a unique distinction. It was the only murder ever committed in St. Louis during the whole period of French and Spanish rule.

"In June, 1785, a great flood inundated the Mississippi valley.[2] On the alluvial lands grain-fields were submerged, cattle drowned, and cabins overturned. In some instances the inhabitants, surprised by the sudden rise of the waters, were rescued through the second-story windows of their dwellings. Cahokia and Kaskaskia were islands in a wide waste of waters. Opposite St. Louis, the overflow extended to the far-distant highlands. An eminence of thirty or forty feet above the ordinary stage of water seemed to guarantee to St. Louis an immunity from harm; but when the flood rose in places above the crest of the bluff and began to invade their dwellings the terror of the people became extreme. Apparently their homes had escaped destruction at the hands of the Indians only to be swept away by a resistless rush of waters. The steady rise of the river threatened imminent ruin. But when the inhabitants were preparing to forsake their cottages and remove their household property to the security of the higher ground in the rear of the village, the subsidence of the flood allayed their anxiety for the safety of their dwellings. Tradition claims that, with the single exception of the high water of 1844, this was the greatest deluge that ever inundated the Mississippi valley. The French, who were fond of associating important events with the date of their occurrence, always called 1785 the year of the flood.

"In 1787 the band of pirates which for years had infested the Mississippi River was dispersed. Grand Tower and Cottonwood Creek were the principal rendezvous of the robbers. The names of the leaders were Culbert and Magilvray. The gang was composed of the most vicious elements of every nationality.

[1] "'Aurois-je aussi tel que nous avons eu des nouvelles de l'armée Anglaise et sauvages qui venoit en guerre contre nous party immédiatement à solicitation de Monsieur De Leiba, ainsi qu' à celles des habitans des Cahos, pour la mine de fer où étoit alors le Général Clark à fin de lui exposer le danger où étoit alors le pays, le besoin qu'il y avoit qu'il vint à envoyer de prompt secours et combien sa présence seroit nécessaire pour opposer la force à de tels assacins.'—*Testimony of the Defendant in the suit of the Boatmen vs. Gratiot*, July 12, 1781.

[2] "'The Mississippi rose twenty feet above the highest known water-marks. 'This deponent went in a boat, for the purpose of procuring plank, from St. Louis, through the woods growing in the American Bottom, to Kaskaskia. This was in April, 1785.'—*Auguste Chouteau*, April 18, 1825: *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. i. page 107.

"'The following year after the commencement of the new village (Ste. Genevieve) was "l'année de grandes eaux." The old village was overflowed so as to be on the top of the houses. A boat by Mr. Chouteau arrived at this time, and they made the boat fast to the top of one of the chimneys, and dined on the roof of the house of old André. In the big field the water was in many places ten to fifteen feet deep.'—*Julien Labrière*, Oct. 22, 1825: *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. ii. page 225."

Outcast whites, half breed Indians, and negro desperadoes were members of the league of bandits. To systematic piracy they added frequent murder. They were numerous, well armed, and fully organized. No single boat could repel their attack. Only a fleet of boats could defeat such veterans in the service of rapine. Their murderous rapacity had long since demanded the extinction of this band of brigands. Their very existence was a reproach to the Spanish government. But every effort to suppress them had thus far been ineffectual. At length the Governor-General, alarmed by the frequent loss of life and property, forbade the navigation of the Mississippi by single boats. For the sake of the mutual protection which this order contemplated, in the spring of 1787, ten keel-boats, fully armed and strongly manned, set out from New Orleans for St. Louis. At Grand Tower the crews landed and advanced to the attack. But the robbers, unwilling to encounter an equal force, or to confront the fate which, if taken prisoners, they would be sure to suffer, saved themselves by flight; but their lair, stored with provisions, arms, ammunition, and merchandise, was captured. These goods, the rich booty of successful piracy, were restored to their rightful owners. The dispersion of these robbers freed the commerce of the Mississippi from further depredations. In French traditions the year 1787 was always associated with the arrival of the ten boats.

"On the 25th of November, 1787,[1] Don Manuel Perez succeeded Cruzat in the administration of the government. His affable manners and genial sociability soon won the regard of his subjects. He was very adroit in his management of the Indians. The spirit of some of the neighboring tribes was not wholly friendly. If a white man ventured alone into the solitudes, his life often paid the penalty of his hardihood. Bands of savages, too cowardly for open attack, prowled in the vicinity of St. Louis, and killed or carried into captivity unwary wanderers. The Osage Indians manifested their unfriendliness by numerous acts of rapine and violence. To guard against these predatory incursions, Governor Perez conceived the ingenious policy of interposing friendly Indians between St. Louis and the hostile tribes. The Delaware and Shawnee Indians were then living under British dominion in the region east of St. Louis. To these tribes Governor Perez sent Louis Lorimier, subsequently the commander of the military post at Ste. Genevieve, with overtures of an alliance and offers of large land grants, if they would remove to the west side of the Mississippi. Many of these brave warriors accepted the terms, and, settling in the neighborhood of Cape Girardeau, became stanch allies of the colonists, and a powerful defense against the depredations of the Missouri tribes.[2] For his success in the conduct of these negotiations, M. Lorimier was rewarded with a grant of thirty thousand acres of land.

"During the administration of Perez, Spain and the United States became involved in a misunderstanding that threatened a rupture of their peaceful relations. Spain claimed that the treaty of cession invested the Spanish government with an absolute jurisdiction over the waters of the Mississippi River. The United States strenuously resisted the pretension. The adjustment of this question of commercial rights involved momentous interests. The Mississippi River had already become an important factor in the movement of commodities. The surplus grain and other products of the Ohio valley were carried to market by way of the Mississippi. The West, determined that no foreign power should ever subject this growing commerce to its vexatious imposts, resolved to maintain the freedom of the river by force of arms. But Spain was not idle. Spanish emissaries were actively fomenting dissensions throughout the Western States. Instigated by Spanish promises of emolument and honor, politicians and officers in the military service of the United States were engaged in disloyal intrigues with the court of Spain. It was the aim of these conspiracies to sever the Western States from the Union, and form a new confederacy under the protectorate of Spain. Cannon were planted on the banks of the Mississippi, and both governments were preparing for hostilities. But finally the arts of diplomacy averted the shock of arms, and Spain amicably surrendered its claim to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi. The treaty of 1795 settled the boundaries between the United States and Spain, and secured to both nations the right of free navigation upon the waters of the Mississippi. But the controversy perceptibly affected the fortunes of Upper Louisiana. The population of the province increased slowly. Governor Perez invited immigration by generous concessions of land. But Americans, lately freed from British thraldom,

[1] "Attested by his signature in the Archives."

[2] "'At the request of the Spanish government, Lorimier brought a number of Shawnee and Delaware Indians to settle in the vicinity of Cape Girardeau, and they served as a guard to the country against the depredations committed by the Osages; the Shawnees and Delawares had six villages between Cape Girardeau and Cape St. Cosme.'—*Pierre Menard*, March 16, 1833: *Commissioners' Minutes*, vol. vi. p. 127."

were naturally disinclined to place themselves under a monarchical form of government, and the recent difficulties with Spain had developed a general aversion to Spanish authority. Consequently, during the administration of Governor Perez very few Americans joined the colony.

"But during these years St. Louis, though it received but few accessions to its population, was sluggishly prosperous. The survey of the public domain was continued, the Indian trade extended, and the appearance of the village gradually improved by the erection of better dwellings.

"1792 was the date of a novel arrival. It was the year in which honey-bees came to St. Louis. The new colonists settled on the grounds of Madame Chouteau. The appearance of the little friends who closely follow the footsteps of pioneers was greeted with expressions of curious interest and satisfaction.

"In 1793, Perez was recalled, and Zeñon Trudeau succeeded to the vacant office. The administration of a Governor amicable in social life and generous in public action was deservedly popular. Impressed with the economic importance of immigration, Governor Trudeau bestowed lavish grants of land upon new settlers. The influence of this unstinted bounty was soon felt. The policy which had addressed itself to human cupidity did not fail in its appeal. Immigration began to flow into the province with a fuller tide. Merchants came to the growing settlement to avail themselves of its superior facilities for trade. Business became more active. The new buildings were more spacious and elegant. In every branch of industry the indications of increasing prosperity were distinctly visible. This flow in the tide that was bearing the colony on to better fortune was partly due to the attractive influence of Governor Trudeau.

"This popular and prosperous administration terminated Aug. 29, 1799.

"His successor was Charles Dehault Delassus de Deluzière.[1] Though a Frenchman, Delassus had become a Spanish subject. He had served with distinction in the armies of Spain, and been honored with positions of military trust. The ability with which he had discharged the duties of post commander at New Madrid caused his promotion to the government of Upper Louisiana.[2] His celibacy did not impair his popularity among the fair maidens of St. Louis. The first executive act of Delassus was to order an enumeration of the population. According to this census the total number of people in Upper Louisiana in 1799 was 6028. Of this aggregate 4948 were whites, 883 slaves, and 197 freedmen. The population of St. Louis was then 925. Delassus even surpassed his predecessors in the prodigality of his concessions. The trouble of asking for land was apparently a valid consideration for the grant. Tracts embracing in some instances thirty thousand acres were conferred for alleged services scarcely more arduous than the draught of the petition. The ease with which concessions of land were obtained stimulated wild hopes of wealth. A spirit of speculative excitement pervaded the community. Distempered dreams of opulence disturbed the wonted repose of society. It was confidently believed that the rise of real estate would soon enrich its owners. To satisfy the numerous applications for grants of the royal domain it became necessary to extend the surveys into the remote districts of the province. These surveys were regarded by the Indians as acts of aggression. In revenge for what they deemed an unwarrantable attempt to dispossess them of their heritage the savages killed many explorers who had incautiously ventured beyond the protection of the forts. Some of the captives were subjected to every refinement of torture which barbarous instincts could suggest. A French surveyor named Bouvet, captured by the Osage Indians in the neighborhood of Ste. Genevieve, was burned at the stake. But not even these unredressed outrages deterred the dauntless pioneers from their quest for valuable lands. Cupidity was stronger than the sense of danger, and brave adventurers, some of whom paid the price of life for their temerity, explored the wilderness in search of mineral wealth. Applicants strove with eager competition to secure grants of land in the rich ore-bearing districts of Southern Missouri.

[1] "It is permissible to judge from the case of Delassus that the Lieutenant-Governors received no compensation for the discharge of the varied duties which the executive office imposed.

"'Charles Dehault Delassus had no salary as Lieutenant-Governor, but sixty dollars per month as his pay for his rank in the army; he acted as civil and military Governor and judge; his jurisdiction extended from Arkansas to the northern extremity of the Spanish possessions on the western side of the Mississippi; his administration of the government of Upper Louisiana gave general satisfaction to the people under his command."—*Albert Tison and Fremon Delaurière*, 1832: *Commissioners' Minutes*, vol. vi. p. 50.

[2] "Delassus stated, Sept. 9, 1825, that 'he left Spain and came to Louisiana, A.D. 1796, and was appointed civil and military commandant of the district of New Madrid, where he resided until July, 1799, at which time, being promoted to the appointment of civil and military Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, he came to the seat of government, to wit, at St. Louis, in the said month of July, where shortly after he took command, and acted in that capacity until the delivery of said Upper Louisiana to the United States of America, to wit, on the 9th day March, 1804.'—*Hunt's Minutes*, vol. ii. p. 179."

Yet while many of these tracts ultimately became valuable, the popular expectation of immediate affluence was doomed to disappointment. But few of the settlers attempted to unlock the vaults so richly stor .l with natural treasures. A lack of capital and of scientific method permitted the mineral riches of the province to remain an undeveloped source of public wealth. But while this speculative fever disturbed with its unhealthy excitements the regular industries of the colony, it was not wholly unproductive of good, —it made known the resources and increased the population of the province.

"The winter of 1799–1800 was remarkable for its extreme severity. The intensity of the cold destroyed vines and fruit-trees even in the semi-tropical climate of the Gulf States. At St. Louis the temperature fell as low as thirty-two degrees below zero.[1] In 1801 the smallpox startled St. Louis by its unwelcome presence. It was the first appearance of this dreadful contagion in Upper Louisiana.

"In 1803, Delassus, in consequence of the death of the Intendant-General at New Orleans, was forbidden to issue any more grants of land. The practical disobedience of Delassus to this order was a fruitful cause of litigation.

"At this time Europe was the scene of momentous events. The first Napoleon was now in the midst of his splendid but tragic career. With matchless genius and military skill, he was remodeling the kingdoms of Europe for the aggrandizement of France. Napoleon had the opportunity for which Alexander sighed in vain. There was now a new world to conquer. Eager, perhaps, to attain a distinction which had been denied to the Macedonian hero, and ambitious to equal the colonial greatness of England, Napoleon compelled Spain to retrocede Louisiana to France. But the British navy, obviously intended to intercept the movement, was then watching the east of France with a vigilance which the French fleet could scarcely hope to elude. At length, despairing of his ability to retain possessions which the maritime supremacy of Great Britain constantly endangered, Napoleon resolved to sell Louisiana to the United States. Acting, presumably, in conformity with official instructions, M. Talleyrand conveyed to the American minister an intimation of the willingness of the First Consul to part with Louisiana. This informal proposition was made on the 11th of April, 1803. Mr. Monroe was then on his way to the French court, invested with plenary powers to treat, in conjunction with Minister Livingston, for the purchase of the Floridas and the island of New Orleans. Deeply impressed with the paramount importance of the French overture, the American plenipotentiaries began at once to negotiate for the acquisition of the whole province.

"Messrs. Talleyrand and Marbois,[2] distinguished for their astuteness and diplomacy, represented the interests of France. By this transaction, after nineteen days of negotiation, the American ministers succeeded in purchasing the province of Louisiana for fifteen million dollars. The treaty of sale was concluded on the 30th of April, 1803, signed on the 3d of May, and ratified by the United States Senate on the 21st of the following October. The purchase was the most illustrious act of Jefferson's administration. The sale was a master-stroke of French policy. It replenished the treasury of the First Consul, prevented Louisiana from falling into the hands of England, and conciliated a growing republic, which will ultimately wrest from Great Britain its mastery of the seas. Napoleon expressed his sense of the importance of the transaction in a memorable prediction which time has already verified.

"'This accession of territory,' said the First Consul, 'strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride.'

"But even the transcendent genius of Napoleon failed to comprehend the extent or to appreciate the value of the boundless territory that had been severed from the domain of France. Not even his intuitive glance fully foresaw the stupendous results of the act which transferred Louisiana to the United States.

"The treaty of 1803 did not meet the approval of Spain. The Spanish government strongly remonstrated against the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. The ostensible cause of its opposition was the alleged illegality of the treaty. It was averred that the articles which reannexed Louisiana to France contained an explicit stipulation that the province should remain an indissoluble portion of the French dominions. In consequence of this covenant it was urged that the treaty of 1803 was invalid, inasmuch as it authorized an act in violation of existing obligations.

"But the protests of Spain did not prevent the fulfillment of the treaty. The act of transfer was consummated at New Orleans, on the 20th of December, 1803. On that day, M. Laussat, the prefect of the French government, delivered to Governor Claiborne and Gen. Wilkinson, commissioners of the

[1] "Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107."

[2] "On the part of France the negotiations, which terminated in the convention of April 30, 1803, were conducted chiefly by M. Barbé Marbois."

United States, full and formal possession of Louisiana. A proprietary title to the whole province was then vested in the United States. No further action was necessary to perfect its right of ownership. But to avoid all possibility of controversy with regard to the extent of the purchase, the precaution was taken to have the French title to Upper Louisiana formally relinquished to the United States. On the 9th of March, 1804,[1] Governor Delassus transferred Upper Louisiana to Capt. Amos Stoddard, of the United States army, who, by virtue of a commission from the First Consul, took possession of it in the name of France. On the following day Capt. Stoddard delivered the province into the hands of the United States authorities.[2]

This was the last act of foreign rule in Louisiana. For forty years the province had been under the sway of France and Spain. The Governors of Upper Louisiana were men of ability and of exceptionally genial nature. Even De Leyba's faults were probably attributable to insobriety rather than to a lack of intelligence or of affability. Without any assumption of superiority, they mingled with the humblest villagers on terms of social equality. They permitted no prejudices of race to exclude Frenchmen from office. They granted favors with a uniformity that suggested an amiable incapacity of refusal. Under their popular administration the people were content and happy. But their life was indolent and unprogressive. It seems as though an Arcadian simplicity, surviving the changes of time, had been brought into startling contrast with the restless activities of American civilization. Another race, instinct with the energies of liberty and progress, now assumed control of Louisiana.

Appendix to the Affair of 1780.—"Occasional allusions to the affair of 1780 are found in the early writers. A volume of travels written by M. Perrin Du Lac, and published in 1805, contains the following passage:

"'St. Louis fut attaqué très vivement en 1780 par un nombreux parti de Sauvages, commandé et armée par les Anglois. Il n'y avoit eu jusqu' alors aucune fortification, mais à la suite de cet évnément qui coûta la vie à un assez grand nombre d'habitans, le gouvernement fit construire un fort en bois sur la partie la plus élevée de la ville, et y placa quelques pièces de canon de gros calibre. Au commencement de cette guerre, sur les représentations du lieutenant-gouverneur, on y a ajouté quatre tours en maçonnerie, dont les batteries croisées seroient suffisantes pour protéger la ville contre les Sauvages, mais rien de plus. Il est probable que l'avantage le plus réel a été pour le constructeur.'

"In his 'Sketches of Louisiana,' page 79, Maj. Stoddard says,—

"'The commandant of Michilimackinac, in 1780, assembled about 1500 Indians and 140 English, and attempted the reduction of St. Louis, the capital of Upper Louisiana. During the short time they were before the town,' [and when the whole number of male householders was only ninety-seven,] 'sixty of the inhabitants were killed and thirty taken prisoner.'

"In his topographical report, page 83, Mr. Nicollet uses this language:

"'There were not more than one hundred and fifty males in the place, of whom not more than seventy could be relied upon as efficient to repel an enemy numbering, according to the best authorities, nine hundred combatants. . . . It is said that sixty were killed and thirteen made prisoners.'

"All of these passages contain internal evidence of traditional origin. If they had been founded on records, the statements, however varying in diction, would express an identity of facts. The want of uniformity is conclusive proof that the several authors merely reduced to writing inexact verbal descriptions. It would require strong testimony to overcome the inherent improbability of such assertions. That nearly all of the male householders of St. Louis should be slain or captured and no evidence of the fact exist is simply incredible, but not a line of record has been cited in proof of these accounts. Hence it would seem that all of these tales, differing from each other and irreconcilable with reason, emanated from an untrustworthy source. Doubtless some of these legends were obtained from the common stock of traditions by independent inquiry, while all the rest were actual or virtual transcripts. But no mere frequency of repetition can verify an error, and no array of authors who merely copy from each other stories that were originally derived from tradition can authenticate an initial misstatement.

"The earliest references to the attack of 1780 are brief paragraphs, but the first detailed description of the event was written in 1831 by Wilson Primm. It was printed in 1832, in the May number of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, and republished with a few alterations in the oration which Judge Primm delivered on the [illegible]sary of the founding of St. Louis, on the [illegible] day of February, 1847. The repetition of this story in nearly all of the sketches of St. Louis has given it the force of accepted history, but in many important respects the account cannot possibly be true. It was more than fifty years after the event before a full narrative of the tragedy was written. For half a century the busy tongues of

[1] "Hunt's Minutes, vol. ii. p. 179."

[2] "But the Spanish authorities did not at once withdraw from Upper Louisiana. It appears from the statement of Paul Dejarnais that 'the Spanish officers had not then (June, 1804) left the country.'—*Commissioners' Minutes*, 1806, vol. i. p. 305."

men were distorting the simple facts with the embellishments of fiction. In the words of Mr. G. S. Chouteau, 'every man had his own tale about the affair,' and in the course of time the exaggerations of lively imaginations and the misstatements of defective memories were received as the facts of authentic history.

"The motive of the following strictures is not at all to depreciate the acknowledged ability of Judge Primm, but simply to show that many of the oral traditions which he incautiously embodied in his sketch lack the elements of historic probability.

"It may be alleged in extenuation of Judge Primm's inaccuracies that at the time his account was written the legal papers which have recently been brought to light were not known to exist, but a study of these documents would have obviated only a part of his errors.

"The sketch of 1831 gives the 6th of May as the day of the attack, but the oration of 1847 states that the massacre occurred on the 26th of May. No authority is quoted in support of either statement, and no reason is given for the change of date.[1] The legal documents quoted in previous notes incontestably prove that no attack was made prior to the 26th of May, and facts will be hereafter adduced to show that no Indian assault was ever made upon St. Louis itself.

"The following passage from Judge Primm's oration describes the fortifications which, it is alleged, were built in anticipation of the Indian attack:

"'The town was almost destitute of works of defense, but the inhabitants . . . immediately proceeded to inclose it with a species of wall, formed of the trunks of small trees planted in the ground, the interstices being filled up with earth. The wall was some five or six feet high. It started from the half-moon, a kind of fort in that form situated on the river.'

"These statements, derived solely from tradition, are probably incorrect. Prior to the erection of fortifications by Governor Cruzat, in the latter part of 1780, no defenses are mentioned in the Archives.

"It is, therefore, in the utter absence of affirmative evidence, almost certain that there was no wall or fort at St. Louis until several months after the attack. There seemed to be no need of costly defenses. The neighboring tribes of Indians had always been friendly. It is indeed true that lawless savages had occasionally committed depredations in the country, but they had never dared to attack the settlement. The number of these marauders, whose acts of rapine were not authorized by their sachems, was too insignificant to cause alarm, and no white foe had ever before menaced the security of the village. The danger could not, then, have been regarded as very grave, for Governor De Leyba, though apprised of the meditated incursion, took no steps to insure the safety of St. Louis. There is not a particle of evidence to show that the 'walls' and 'half-moon' were built by Governor De Leyba, and as it is certain that they were not constructed by any of his predecessors, it is not at all likely that they then existed.[2]

"The following statements, apart from their intrinsic improbability, are inconsistent with each other:

"'In expectation of an attack, Silvio Francisco Cartabona, a governmental officer, had gone to Ste. Genevieve for a company of militia to aid in defending the town in case of necessity, and had, at the beginning of the month, returned with sixty men, who were quartered on the citizens. As soon as the attack commenced, however, neither Cartabona nor his men could be seen. Either through fear or treachery, the greater part concealed themselves in a garret, and there remained until the Indians had retired.'

"'The offer of (Col. Clark's) assistance was rejected, on the ground that no danger was really apprehended.'

"'Under the pretext of proving to them that there was no danger of attack, he (Governor De Leyba) had, a few days before it occurred, sold to the traders all the ammunition belonging to the government.'

"The first extract reproaches the Spanish troops with cowardice, asserting that, in the supreme moment of danger, when every arm was needed to ward off the impending blow, these soldiers ignominiously fled from the post of duty and sought safety in a garret.

"Is it likely that every individual of so large a force would prove an arrant coward, or that the mass of poltroons would huddle in one small room where every shot would be sure to hit?

"Cartabona did not seek aid of his own accord. He would not dare to disobey his superior officer. If he went to Ste. Genevieve for help he was ordered to go by Governor De Leyba. If, then, no danger was really apprehended, 'why did the Governor dispatch an officer for reinforcements, and why did he send to remote Ste. Genevieve for assistance, and yet decline the co-operation of troops that were only three miles distant?'

"But there is proof that the Governor, instead of

[1] "Though the source is not acknowledged, the date of May 6th was, of course, derived from the statement of Auguste Chouteau (Hunt's Minutes, vol. i. p. 107); but this date, given on the fallible authority of memory, is contradicted by the records Catholic Church. The parish register and several inries in the Archives expressly mention the 26th of May as the day of the massacre."

[2] "The words of Du Lac are unequivocal. Speaking of the time of the attack, he says, 'Il n'y avoit eu jusqu' alors aucune fortification.' * If reliance can be placed upon the authority of Du Lac, there can be no further doubt of the incorrectness of Judge Primm's assertion."

rejecting a proffer of succor, himself sought the aid of Col. Clark. Consequently the alleged refusal of Col. Clark's overture conflicts not only with the theory of relief from Ste. Genevieve, but also with the sworn testimony.

"Again, would the Governor, only a few weeks after the pretended arrival of the reinforcements from Ste. Genevieve, and after a proven appeal to Col. Clark for the services of his troops, sell the means of successful defense? The reason assigned for the sale of the powder is as frivolous as the act itself is unlikely. Statements so contradictory and unreasonable seem entitled to little credit.

"Is it probable that Ste. Genevieve sent sixty men to the relief of St. Louis?

"A few historic facts, illustrative of the size of colonial forces, may aid the judgment of the reader.

"When, in 1764, De Neyon evacuated the Illinois country, he had about one hundred men subject to his authority. But this aggregate was divided into four garrisons, which, occupying widely remote forts, protected a vast territory from encroachment.

"In 1765, Capt. Sterling took possession of this domain with a body of soldiers equal to one modern company. But this force, although weakened by distribution in distant posts, was deemed sufficient for the defense of the country.

"In 1767, Antonio de Ulloa came to New Orleans to take possession of Louisiana in the name of the Spanish government. His army of occupation consisted of eighty men,[1] and even this small number was separated into four divisions and sent to guard the principal forts of the country.

"In 1768, Capt. Rios came to St. Louis for the purpose of establishing Spanish authority in Upper Louisiana; the escort to which Spain confided the maintenance of its sovereignty numbered perhaps twenty-five men.

"It should be borne in mind that although in the foregoing instances the troops were sent on pacific errands, they were liable at any time to be assailed before the possible arrival of reinforcements. Their members were adjusted not merely to the idle parades of peace, but also to the grave exigencies of war. The force with which, in 1778, Governor Hamilton retook Fort Sackville from the Americans numbered eighty soldiers and 'about four hundred Indians.'[2]

"On the occasion of the transfer in 1804, Capt. Stoddard, acting in behalf of the United States, brought to St. Louis one company of artillery, comprising perhaps not more than one hundred men. After the transfer the Spanish troops were withdrawn from the 'Fort on the Hill,' and stationed for seven months in a log house at the corner of Third and Elm. Their number may be conjectured from the size of the building in which they were quartered,—their barrack measured twenty by forty feet.

"In 1804, Lewis and Clark set out with a force of twenty-eight men to cross the continent.[3] This small band was considered large enough to surmount all the obstacles of the pathless wilderness, and to repel all the attacks of implacable savages.

"Not a line of record can be cited to prove that a solitary soldier was sent to the relief of St. Louis. In default of confirmation, is it credible that Ste. Genevieve sent reinforcements so much larger than the ordinary military bodies of that period? Every farmer who could devise an ingenious excuse would seek to evade a service that required him to leave his lands for a month or six weeks in the busy season of planting.

"These considerations will enable the reader to decide whether the account of the reinforcements from Ste. Genevieve is entirely fictitious or partly true; wholly true it can hardly be.

"Judge Primm maintains that Col. Clark, in view of the rumored approach of the Indians, tendered to Governor De Leyba the services of his troops in defense of the Spanish colony:

"'In February, 1779, Col. George Rogers Clark . . . was in the neighborhood of St. Louis, raising men . . . for the purpose of recapturing St. Vincent's, now called Vincennes. . . .

"'Understanding from some source that an attack was meditated on St. Louis by a large force under British influence, that, too, at a time when Spain was contending with England for the possession of the Floridas, Clark . . . at once offered to the Lieutenant-Governor, Leyba, all the assistance in his power to repel the contemplated attack. The offer of assistance was rejected, on the ground that no danger was really apprehended.

"'In my former sketch of St. Louis, I had placed the time of this offer by Clark in 1780.'

"This extract is crowded with errors. It is asserted that in February, 1779, Spain was contending with England for the possession of the Floridas. The fact that the king of Spain did not declare war against England until the 16th of June, 1779,[4] somewhat impairs the credibility of this statement. Hostilities

[1] "Gayarré's History of Louisiana, vol. ii. p. 132."

[2] "Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 80."

[3] "Allen's Journal of the Expedition, p. 2."

[4] "Knight's History of England, vol. vi. p. 396. 'Le 16 Juin l'ambassadeur d'Espagne à Londres prit congé du Cabinet de Saint James par un manifeste que suivit immédiatement une déclaration de guerre.'—*Martin's Histoire de France*, vol. xvi. p. 440."

between these powers did not begin in Florida until the following September.[1]

"Two dates of the alleged offer of aid by Col. Clark are given, but no records are cited in verification of either, or in explanation of the change; but neither of the dates is correct, for the simple reason that Col. Clark never made any offer of assistance. In 1781, Mr. Gratiot testified before Governor Cruzat, that at the solicitation of Governor De Leyba and of the inhabitants of Cahokia, he had gone in the spring of the previous year to the iron-mines of Illinois to inform Col. Clark of the public peril and to secure his help.

"It appears from this that the courier who bore to Col. Clark his first intelligence of the meditated invasion undertook his mission partly at the request of Governor De Leyba. It is obvious that Col. Clark would not offer relief before he learned there was any danger, and it is equally clear that Governor De Leyba would not solicit succor if it had already been tendered him. The testimony of the very man who carried the message proves that the Governor sought the help which he had no opportunity to reject. He could not decline an offer that never had been made.

"Other passages in the oration are palpably inconsistent and exaggerated:

"'When within a proper distance the Indians began an irregular fire, which was answered by showers of grape-shot from the artillery. The firing for a while was warm. . . . Had those who discovered the Indians in the prairies fled to the lower gate they would have escaped; but the greater part of them took the road that led to the upper gate, through the very ranks of the enemy, and were thus exposed to the whole of their fire. About twenty persons, it is computed, met their death in endeavoring to get within the entrenchments. None of those within were injured, and none of the Indians were killed, at least none of them were found.

"'On the 26th, the body of the Indians,'—elsewhere said to number 'upwards of 1400,'—'crossed ("the Mississippi, a little above St. Louis") and marched directly towards the fields, expecting to find the greater part of the villagers there. . . . But these perceived the approach of the savage foe, and immediately commenced the retreat towards the town, . . . nearly through the mass of the Indians, and followed by a shower of bullets."

"According to this description, the Indians advanced by way of the common fields. This is substantiated by the fact that the body of one of the victims was found nearly five miles northwest of St. Louis.[2] Other corpses discovered in the outskirts of the village, about four miles from the initial point of attack, indicate the persistency and limit of the pursuit.

"Therefore this account invites us to believe that a small body of Frenchmen broke through the ranks of fourteen hundred Indians, and, though followed several miles with showers of bullets, finally escaped with the loss of only twenty men. It also requires us to credit the absurdity that fourteen hundred savages could assault intrenchments warmly defended with volleys of musketry and of grape-shot, without the injury of a single individual on either side. Surely such statements pass the limits of possible belief.

"From the considerations which have been already adduced, it is likely that tradition, with its usual extravagance of statement, has greatly magnified the invading force. It is not probable that more than five hundred men were engaged in this expedition.

"Stoddard and Nicollet—the former partially originating, and the latter substantially following the popular version—have placed the number of the slain at sixty. If one-half, or even one-sixth of the adult male population of St. Louis had been killed, the registries of burial would enroll the names of the dead, the Archives would contain the inventories of their properties, public documents would record the occurrence, and private description would relate the incidents of so ghastly a tragedy. The reason why none of these proofs has been found is simple: only six men were killed. On the day of the massacre four bodies were brought in from the fields and buried in the Catholic churchyard. Their names are recorded in the parish[3] register. Inventories preserved in the Archives attest

1 "Stoddard's Sketches of Louisiana, p. 76; Remembrancer, vol. ix. p. 359.

"'Immediately after the rupture a Spanish force took possession of Baton Rouge, and finally conquered the whole of West Florida.'—*Lyman's Diplomacy of the United States*, vol. i. p. 211.

"Fort Manchac was captured on the 7th of September, 1779, and Baton Rouge surrendered on the 21st of the same month. This was the beginning of the struggle in Florida.—*Gayarré's Hist. of La.*, vol. iii. pp. 127 and 129; *Monette's Hist. of the Miss. Valley*, vol. i. p. 438.

"The following passage from Mr. Gratiot's testimony, quoted elsewhere to establish a different point, is again cited for convenience of reference: 'Aurois-je aussi tel que nous avons eu de nouvelles de l'armée Anglaise et sauvages qui venoit en guerre contre nous, party immédiatement à solicitation de Monsieur de Leiba, ainsi qu'a celles des habitans des Cahos, pour la mine de fer où étoit alors le Général Clark a fin de lui exposer le danger où étoit alors le pays, le besoin qu'il y avoit qu'il vint à envoyer de prompt secours et combien sa presence etoit nécessaire pour opposer la force à de tels assacins.'"

2 "Commissioners' Minutes, vol. vii. p. 43."

3 "'In the year 1780, the 26th day of May, I, Capuchin priest and apostle missionary, have buried in the cemetery of this parish the bodies of Charles Bissette, Aimable Guion, the lad Calvé, and a negro of Chancellor, *massacred by the Indians*.

"'F. Bernard.'

"Translation from the register of the Catholic Church."

the death of two others.[1] The inhabitants of St. Louis were then all Catholics. The names of all who were interred in consecrated ground were always enrolled in the records of the parish. If twenty men had fallen, surely some evidence of the fact would be found in the lists of their properties. But not the slightest intimation of the death of more than six[2] men can be discovered in the records of church or court.

"The names of the half-dozen who were slain are inscribed upon public documents, and, with the exception of young Calvé and the negro, some facts in the personal history of each are known; but of the fourteen others alleged to have been killed absolutely nothing has been ascertained. It has baffled research to discover even their names, or to find corresponding vacancies in the later lists of householders. The foregoing facts lead to the inevitable conclusion that tradition, with its natural proneness to exaggeration, has magnified a few murders into a battle, and attempted to sustain its fictions by an array of casualties more than three times as large as the actual number.

"The inaccuracies which have been exposed excite distrust in those statements that are based upon the traditions of 1780. The main feature of the received version is the attack upon the village itself. The incompatibility between the alleged assault and its results has already been mentioned. The reasons for the conviction that no onset was ever made on St. Louis will now be given.

"On the 13th of March, 1780, Charles Gratiot, a young merchant of Cahokia, bought on credit a stock of goods of Charles Sanguinet, of St. Louis. Mr. Gratiot's note, payable in the following July, was indorsed by J. B. Cardinal.

"Some time after this transaction the inhabitants of Cahokia, alarmed by rumors of an impending invasion, requested Mr. Gratiot to go in search of Col. Clark, and secure his skillful service in defense of the village. Before starting on his mission, Mr. Gratiot, apprehensive that during his absence the Indians might capture Cahokia and pillage his store, sent his goods and valuable papers to St. Louis, and placed them for safe-keeping in the custody of Mr. Sanguinet. In prompt response to this appeal for help, Col. Clark at once returned to Cahokia, and made preparation to repel the expected incursion. Then Mr. Gratiot, deeming the danger no longer imminent, sent for his goods, but Mr. Sanguinet refused to deliver them on the ground of an alleged insufficiency of security. Pretending that the indorser of Mr. Gratiot's note had become insolvent, he claimed that a protection of his own interests justified his detention of the merchandise until a responsible guarantee of payment was given. He averred that the goods were safe in St. Louis, but insecure in Cahokia; and that, if they were carried back and then plundered by the Indians, he himself would incur the loss, inasmuch as Mr. Gratiot, having been robbed of the means of payment, would be unable to meet his obligations.

"Mr. Gratiot brought an action to recover his property. The following passages from the evidence in this suit suggest important deductions:

"'Qu'il il a fait transporter chez le dit Sieur Sanguinet, avec son agrément et pour l'assurance de son payement en case de malheur au quel sont exposé tous les hommes les susdittes marchandises a dessins de reprendre au retour de son voyage pour en faire la vente et remplir son obligation; que le Sieur Sanguinet à la demande qu'il lui en fait, c'est absolument refusé non seulement de les lui rendre, mais même celles qui lui appartiement en propre et qui ont été pareillement deposée chez lui.'—*Plaintiff in the suit of Gratiot vs. Sanguinet*, May 8, 1780.

"'Le supliant n'a jamais refusé de remettre les marchandises et autres effets au Sieur Grassiot mais il seroit en droit en les remettant de demander un caution au Sieur Grassiot pour le payer a son defaud au terme de son billet. . . . Lorsque le Sr Grassiot a acheté du supliant il a consent y son obligati société avec le nommé Cardinal qui se trouvé aujour d'hui in solvable et même les affaires du dit Sieur Grassiot peut être beaucoup derangées.'—*Defendant, Ibid.*, May 10, 1780.

"'Le supliant a l'honneur de vous observer, monsieur, que hier neuf du courant en présence de Duchesne voyant que le Sieur Grassiot ne lui avoit point demandé une cassette ou il y a des papiers (suivant ce que lui dit son commis en la lui remettant) il l'a offerte le dit jour de hier a son dit commis, dans l'idée que le Sieur Grassiot pouroit avoir besoin des papiers de la dite cassette, et qu'il pourroit former un mauvais pretexte contre le supliant de la lui avoir retenue, il offre encore, monsieur le remettre en même nature qu'elle lui a été remise.'—*Ibid.*, May 10, 1780.

"'Que le Sieur Grassiot l'avoit chargé de chercher une maison à St. Louis pour y déposer ses marchandises, quelques pelleteries et autres effets, que ne connoissant personne à St. Louis, il s'est addressé au Sieur Sanguinet, qui lui dit, "Si vous voulez mettre vos marchandises chez moi, elles y seront en sureté, et vous les reprendrez quand vous voudrez." . . .

"'Qu'il n'avoit mis ces marchandises lui déposant que comme un dépôt dans la crainte qu'elle ne fussent pillée aux Cahokias les sauvages pendant l'absence de Sieur Grassiot. . . . Que le Sieur Sanguinet) lui dit, 'Ne soyez pas inquiet; je sais ce que vous me mettez les marchandises de Sieur Grassiot en dépôt et vous les reprendrez quand vous voudrez.' Et que M. Sanguinet offrit de lui rendre sa marchandises, et qu'il pourra venir chercher quand il voudroit, qu'il savoit bien qu'elle n'qu'en dépôt chez lui, et non en cautionment.'—*Testimony of François Duchenau, Ibid.*, May 11, 1780.

"'Dont il aisé de prouver la faussetté par la déposition commis du demandeur, qui prouvera par serment qu'elle

[1] "Their names were John Marie Cardinal and François Hebert."

[2] "A man called Belhomme was at first supposed to be the *seventh* victim, but it was subsequently ascertained that the name was a sobriquet for François Hebert."

été déposé en l'absence du supliant qu'an cas de malheur au quel l'on été tous les jours menacé sur notre rive, et par le voyage qu'il étoit obligé de faire au près du Colonel Clark, à réquisition des habitans, et que le supliant n'a jamais eu d'autre vue que celle de reprendre ses effets à son retour a fin d'en faire la vente et remplir son engagement envers le deffendeur.'—*Plaintiff, Ibid.*, May 12, 1780.

"'Que s'il les a fait transporter chez lui, ce n'étoit que pour chercher les sauvre des évènemens au quel l'on s'attendoit tous les jours, que même il y' avois fait transporter tous ses papiers les plus précieux, et qu'il crois que le Sieur Sanguinet ni qui que ce soit puisse lui en disputer la propriété.'—*Ibid.*, May 12, 1780.

"The decision in this case was given by Governor De Leyba in the Government House at St. Louis, May 26, 1780. All the other dates were written in the ordinary way, but fortunately this date was expressed in full: 'À St. Louis des Illinois, le vingt-six May, mil sept cent quatre-vingt.'

"If figures only had been used there would be a possibility of clerical error; but no suspicion of such inaccuracy can attach to a date that is written out in full.

"It is a matter of record that the papers in another suit were filed on the 26th of May.

"It appears from the preceding extracts that no attack was made on St. Louis before the 26th. All the tenses and turns of expression indicate the expectation, not the occurrence, of an attack.

"It is alleged that the assault on St. Louis took place on the morning of the 26th, but at this very time Governor De Leyba was engaged in trying the case of Gratiot *vs.* Sanguinet. The record shows no evidence of an interruption of the trial, or of a postponement of the decision. The entry of another suit on the same day proves that there was no interference with the ordinary routine of business. The trial of Mr. Gratiot's case must at least have occupied the whole forenoon. Now is it at all probable that the Governor and some of the principal men of the place spent the morning in court while a desperate conflict, involving the lives and property of the entire colony, was raging almost at the very doors of the Government House?

"The assertion of such a possibility is an affront to the intelligence of the reader.

"The foregoing facts in disproof of an assault upon St. Louis are morally conclusive, but there is also negative evidence that confirms the same view.

"On the 26th of May, 1780, the following persons were residents of St. Louis:

"Governor De Leyba, Lieut. Cartabona, Father Bernard, Joseph Labuscière, J. B. Trudeau; M. M. Piralde, the Spanish surveyor-general (but absent in New Orleans on the 26th); Pierre Pery, the register; Réné Kiercereau, the church-warden; Auguste Chouteau, Pierre Chouteau; Capt. De Volsay, of the Spanish service; Lieut. P. Belestre, of the Spanish service; Eugene Pouré, captain of the militia; J. L. Martigny, captain of the militia; Joseph Conand, physician; Antoine Reynal, physician; Bernard Gibkins, physician; J. P. Sarpy, merchant; Silvestre Labbadie, merchant; Gabriel Cerré, merchant; Louis Perrault, merchant; Joseph Segond, merchant; Louis Dubreuil, merchant; Charles Sanguinet, merchant; J. M. Papin, merchant; Joseph Labrosse, merchant; Auguste Reilhe, merchant.

"All of these individuals were men of intelligence, and many of them were of European birth and education. There is not a man on the list who was not able to write an intelligible account of the attack, and some of the persons were specially fitted for the task.

"It was the official duty of Governor De Leyba to write a report of the repulse of the assailants.

"Cartabona was the officer who is said to have brought reinforcements from Ste. Genevieve.

"Father Bernard was the parish curate who buried four of the men killed by the Indians.

"Labuscière was the notary public who recorded more than one thousand documents in the Archives, and indited numberless letters from those who were unable to write.

"Trudeau was the village schoolmaster. Skillful in composition, he was fully qualified to write a narrative of the tragedy. His attention must have been often called to the massacre, for he married Madame Hebert, the widow of one of its victims. Trudeau did indeed write some verses on the event, in which he freely used the license of poetic art. But an effusion full of fancy, passion, and baseless assertion cannot soberly be cited in proof of contested facts.

"Charles Gratiot was in St. Louis on the 26th of May. His correspondence was extensive. Many of his letters have been preserved. Besides matters of graver import, they contain even trivial details of local news.

"Auguste Chouteau kept a journal, but unfortunately its destruction has deprived posterity of a knowledge of its contents.

"Both Auguste and Pierre Chouteau lived to an advanced age. Before their death St. Louis had already become a large and prosperous city. Facts relative to its early history were eagerly sought. The Chouteaus were not insensible to the impulse of an honorable ambition. Conspicuous among the founders of St. Louis, they would presumably avail themselves of so memorable an opportunity for asso-

ciating their names with the most momentous event in its early annals. Their silence, broken only by a few incidental allusions to the attack, is suggestive.

"Now is it likely that men accustomed to writing, and apparently desirous of facts to record, would ignore an event that threatened the extinction of the whole colony? A story replete with incidents of such tragic interest could not elude recital. And yet, in all the writings of these men who were on the spot and must have participated in the battle, there is not a solitary sentence of formal description of the alleged assault.

"Nor did Col. Clark, who wrote a memoir of his military exploits, leave any narrative of the important event in which he is reported to have acted so conspicuous a part.

"The following passages, cited from depositions in public documents, are the chief if not the only references to the affair of 1780 that the Archives contain:

(1) "'Some time prior to the year 1780 orders were issued by the commandant that all of the settlers at some distance from the village of St. Louis should leave their houses, with their families, and retire to the said village, the same being threatened of an attack from the Indians, and he, the said commandant, not being able to afford any protection nor assistance to settlers at any distance from the same. François Marie Cardinal was, in the year 1780, killed by the Indians within a short distance of said land.'—*Auguste Chouteau*, Sept. 3, 1806: *Commissioners' Minutes*, vol. i. p. 517.

(2) "'He was sent out by the Lieutenant-Governor in 1780 to warn John Hildobrand and other settlers on the Maramec to abandon their habitations on account of the Indian depredations, which they did.'—*Pierre Chouteau*, Nov. 28, 1808: *Commissioners' Minutes*, vol. iii. p. 377.

(3) "'In 1780 he (John Baptiste Gamache) was ordered away by the Governor on account of Indian disturbances.'—*Auguste Chouteau*, Nov. 19, 1811: *Commissioners' Minutes*, vol. v. p. 424.

(4) "'He was born in St. Louis, and lived here ever since. Forty-five years ago, at the time the Indians attacked St. Louis, he was about seventeen years old. The line of intrenchments made by the people or government ran through this lot, and he mounted guard in this. At the time it was owned by Michael Lami, who owned it until he died.'—*Laurent Reed*, April 11, 1825: *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. i. p. 91.

(5) "'On the 6th of May, A.D. 1780, St. Louis was attacked by one thousand four hundred Indians and Canadians.'—*Auguste Chouteau*, April 18, 1825: *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. i. p. 107.

(6) "'He is nearly eighty years of age, and was born at Fort de Chartres, and came to this place at the time Auguste Chouteau first came. They were both young at that time, say about ten or twelve years of age. He, this deponent, was, and he supposes Mr. Chouteau to have been, about sixteen years of age at that time. They came in the company of Laclede Liguest, and he, this deponent, lived in this town until *l'année du comp.* After that he removed to Florisant, and has lived there ever since. He was taken a prisoner at the attack on St. Louis by the Indians at Cardinal's spring, and was tied by the Indians at the spring. He was asleep in the house at the spring, which house was built by and belonged to John Marie Cardinal at this time. At the time the attack commenced (and he, this deponent, was taken prisoner by the Indians), Cardinal was wounded by them in attempting to make his escape, and he lived until he got to the Beaver Pound, about two or three miles when he, Cardinal, died. The inhabitants lost in killed or taken prisoners fifty-eight or fifty-nine by this attack of the Indians, which commenced in Grand Prairie about the middle of the day. He, this deponent, was taken prisoner by the Indians to Chicago, when he made his escape and returned to St. Louis, after which he removed to St. Ferdinand, where he has lived ever since.'—*John Baptiste Rivière, dit Baccanné*, July 9, 1828: *Hunt's Minutes*, vol. ii. p. 56.

(7) "'Francis Hebert was killed by the Indians whilst cultivating his land, and his body could never be found.'—*Pierre Chouteau*, Oct. 20, 1834: *Commissioners' Minutes*, vol. vii. p. 34.

(8). "'After the attack of the Indians on the settlement in 1780, all the settlers were called in.'—*Pierre Chouteau*, July 7, 1835: *Commissioners' Minutes*, vol. vii. p. 210.

"Some of the statements in these depositions require explanation. Nos. 1, 2, and 3:

"The 'orders' here mentioned did not refer to the attack of 1780, for the simple reason that the authorities had no intimation of the contemplated invasion before the spring of that year. The public records show that the Indians had been 'troublesome' for many years. The depredations of the savages during the colonial period of St. Louis were numerous and annoying. The extent of their outrages is partially indicated by the accompanying references: Hunt's Minutes, vol. ii. p. 134; Commissioners' Minutes, vol. i. pp. 48–438, 59–482, 269–485, 270–488, 273–499, 409–517; vol. iii. p. 377; vol. iv. pp. 149, 199, 276; vol. v. p. 261; vol. vi. pp. 100, 118, 125; vol. vii. p. 43.

"Every one of these references, which extend from 1767 to 1806, alludes to acts or fears of savage violence.

"Such orders and warnings as are mentioned in these depositions were frequent. Whenever an inroad of the prowling marauders was apprehended, the distant and defenseless settlers were cautioned to withdraw to a place of safety.

(4) "An attack upon St. Louis does not necessarily imply an assault upon the village itself. The attack was made upon the farmers in Grand Prairie, four or five miles from St. Louis. But men would not, upon every occasion of a reference to the event, stop to enumerate all these particulars. They would naturally use the shorter expression, and describe the occurrence as an attack upon St. Louis.

"It has already been proved that there were no fortifications at St. Louis prior to the 26th of May, 1780, therefore, 'the line of intrenchments' spoken of in the above passage must refer to the defensive works which Governor Cruzat erected after the invasion of the savages. Before the attack the fear of Indians was not strong enough to induce the colonists

to fortify their village, but afterwards the liveliest apprehension existed. It is not surprising that sentinels were stationed on guard, as 'for at least three or four years after 1780 nobody ventured to cultivate land in the Grand Prairie, there being almost every day alarms caused by Indians.'—*Commissioners' Minutes*, vol. vii. p. 43.

(5) "This statement, which was made almost forty-five years after the event, apart from creating a presumption that there was an attack some time in 1780, is worthless, for there is absolute proof that the assault was made, not on the 6th, but on the 26th of May; while from the very circumstances of the case, from the brevity of the onset, the distance from the village of the scene of conflict, and the immediate flight of the Indians, it was utterly impossible for any man to ascertain the number of the invaders. The few farmers, bewildered by the suddenness of the onslaught and fleeing for their lives, would hardly stop to count their assailants.

(6) "This deposition was taken more than forty-eight years after the massacre. The deponent's memory was then so defective that he contradicted himself in successive sentences. And yet Rivière, with faculties confused by the infirmities of fourscore years, is the authority upon whom writers have relied for their statements of the number slain in the attack of 1780. The improbability that many men were then killed by the Indians has already been discussed. The exaggeration is too patent to require further exposure.

"Rivière's assertion that 'this attack of the Indians commenced about the middle of the day' is certainly incorrect. The approach of the savages excited great terror. The inhabitants would not dare to leave the village while the Indians remained in the vicinity, and yet it has been proved by the parish record that the killed were buried on the very day of the attack. The time required to ascertain the retreat of the savages, to go about five miles into the country, to search all over Grand Prairie, to bring in the bodies, and inter them on the day of the massacre is inconsistent with the supposition of a midday attack. Known facts compel us to believe that the assault began early in the morning.

"It will be observed that not one of all these meagre and inconclusive accounts speaks unequivocally of a direct assault upon St. Louis. All of the statements are reconcilable with the theory that the conflict began in Grand Prairie and ended in the outskirts of the village.

"From all of the foregoing considerations it seems reasonable to conclude that the popular account of the affair of 1780 is mainly a tissue of ingenious fictions, fabricated by creative imaginations during fifty years of oral tradition. Full of inconsistencies and unsustained by authority, it is not entitled to a place in authentic history.

"An acceptance of this conclusion consigns a number of alleged incidents to long-merited oblivion.

"The following paragraph from Judge Primm's oration is a conspicuous illustration of historic romance:

> "'At this stage of affairs the Lieutenant-Governor made his appearance. The first intimation that he received of what was going on was by the discharge of artillery on the part of the inhabitants. He immediately ordered several pieces of cannon which were posted in front of the Government House to be spiked and filled with sand, and went, or rather was rolled in a wheelbarrow to the scene of action. In a very peremptory tone he commanded the inhabitants to cease firing and return to their houses. Those posted at the lower gate did not hear the order and consequently kept their stations. The commandant perceived this and ordered a cannon to be fired at them. They had barely time to throw themselves on the ground when the volley passed over them and struck the wall, tearing a great part of it down.'

"Upon the assumption that there was no attack, every single assertion in the above quotation is fabulous.

"No booming of artillery roused the Governor from a debauch; no ordnance was either spiked or discharged at the villagers, and no wall was torn down by grape-shot, for the twofold reason that no cannon was fired and no 'wall' existed.

"It is intimated that early in the morning Governor De Leyba was already so drunk that he could not walk, and that consequently he had to be 'rolled in a wheelbarrow to the scene of action.' Now, it has been proved by sworn testimony that the Governor, at the very time he is represented to have been in a state of helpless intoxication, was in the council-chamber, soberly and wisely discharging his judicial duties. As all of these statements are based upon a common tradition, this example will enable the reader to judge of the solidity of their foundation.

"Some writers have declared that Col. Clark brought reinforcements to the relief of St. Louis. If there was no attack the statement is obviously incorrect, but even upon the supposition that there was an attack the assertion is incredible.

"The evidence in the case of Gratiot *vs.* Sanguinet proves that intelligent men on both sides of the river thought that the main object of the expedition was to reoccupy the places which Col. Clark had taken from the English,—to re-establish British authority in a domain which the invaders regarded as the rightful possession of the king of England. Cahokia was to encounter the brunt of the onset. It is

certain that Mr. Gratiot would never have placed his goods in the custody of Mr. Sanguinet if he had not supposed that they were in greater safety than they were at Cahokia. It is indeed true that Governor De Leyba applied to Col. Clark for aid. His motive in making this request was probably a fear that lawless Indians, in their indiscriminate pursuit of plunder, might cross the river and commit depredations within his province. There is no proof that Col. Clark promised the solicited succor.

"Even if he was not fully occupied with the responsible duties of defending the conquests which he had made, he may have prudently declined to infringe the law of nations. He was well aware that he had no right to march his troops into foreign territory and fight the battles of Spain. It was his duty to observe the American policy of neutrality. But if Col. Clark did promise assistance he had no opportunity of keeping his word.

"If there really was an attack upon St. Louis it was sudden and unexpected. If it had been anticipated at that time, Mr. Gratiot would not have imperiled his life by going to St. Louis on the very day of the assault. Governor De Leyba would have been preparing for the defense of the village instead of hearing a law-case, and the farmers would not have courted death by going unarmed to their remote fields. The fact that Mr. Gratiot had some time before sent for his goods seems to imply that even at Cahokia the danger of an Indian irruption was thought to be less imminent. But the surprise and the brevity of the contest would not permit a seasonable arrival of distant reinforcements. Even the common version, with all its exaggerations, represents the conflict as brief. Cahokia was three miles away. If the struggle lasted two or three hours, the time was still insufficient for a messenger to summon help. If the fleet couriers of the air had been used, and the booming of cannon had been the preconcerted signal for the relief, the troops would have to march three miles and then cross the Mississippi swollen with spring floods. Only a few boats were available. The transportation of 'two hundred' men by means so inadequate implied the delay of repeated returns. Retarded by such impediments, Col. Clark could not possibly have reached St. Louis in season to join in the repulse of the savages. The Indians must have retreated from their ineffectual assault long before the arrival of the American troops.

"Col. Thomas H. Benton explained the withdrawal of the savages as follows:

"'On the approach of so formidable an enemy, the inhabitants, despairing of successful resistance, deputed one of their most respectable citizens, the late Charles Gratiot, to solicit the aid of Gen. G. R. Clark, then encamped with his men in the American Bottom. Gen. Clark, although having but four hundred men, led two hundred of them to the ferry opposite the town, and made a demonstration of crossing, while two hundred more were sent to cross under the bend of the river. The Indians were disconcerted and hastily retreated.'

"This extract is a fine example of compact misstatement. On this occasion a vague fear, rather than positive knowledge, was the motive of public action. It was rumored that an expedition of hostile Indians had been organized at the north, but nothing whatever was known of the actual movements of the savages. The surprise was itself the first credited announcement of their arrival. Therefore it was not a definite intelligence of their approach that led to the appeal for aid. The message was sent several weeks before the massacre, for it has already been proved by legal testimony that the messenger had returned from his mission prior to the 8th of May.

"The application for help was made, not by the inhabitants of St. Louis, but by the people of Cahokia.

"As Mr. Gratiot did not leave Cahokia till 1781, he was not one of the 'citizens' of St. Louis in 1780.

"At the time that his assistance was solicited, Col. Clark was not encamped in the American Bottom. He was then two hundred miles down the Mississippi River.

"It is stated that Col. Clark had a force of four hundred men. When, in 1778, he took possession of Kaskaskia, he had, according to Butler, 'but four companies.'[1] His recruiting orders were to form companies of fifty men each. When, in 1779, Col. Clark captured Vincennes from the English, he had just two hundred and sixteen men, of whom forty-six arrived by boat too late to participate in the reduction of the place. Now, when he had abandoned all further offensive movements, and was simply holding the posts he had taken, how does it happen that the number of his troops was more than twice the available force with which he achieved his greatest conquest? The statement is a palpable fiction.

"The reader is informed that two hundred men, starting from a point opposite St. Louis, made a detour of six miles, exclusive of an obstructed passage of the Mississippi, and yet arrived at the scene of a very brief conflict in time to frighten the savages into retreat. Such celerity of movement is without precedent in the history of forced marches.

"It is said that Col. Clark's troops were encamped on the lowlands east of St. Louis. But why should such a locality be selected for a camp? It commanded no approach and intercepted no retreat. It

[1] "Butler's History of Kentucky."

possessed no advantage of position that justified a removal of the soldiers from convenient quarters and the base of supplies. A force stationed at that point could not shield St. Louis, for the Mississippi, impassable in the presence of a foe, lay between it and the Spanish settlement. It could not guard Cahokia, for that place was three miles distant. The inhabitants of Cahokia besought Col. Clark to protect the village which his arms had won. Bound by no obligation to assist the dependents of a foreign power, he was under the constraint of a high and imperative duty to defend the subjects of his own government.

"If Col. Clark was anywhere in this region on the 26th of May, he was at Cahokia, and not in the immediate neighborhood of St. Louis. Therefore, even in the event of an attack, his forces, delayed by a march of several miles, and by a necessarily slow crossing of the Mississippi, must have arrived at St. Louis too late to participate in the defeat of the Indians.

"The affair of 1780 has been discussed at length, because, even when shorn of its exaggeration, it was one of the most important events in the early history of St. Louis, and also because the common account has been so widely accepted that a different version, unless fully sustained by records and arguments, would fail to convince the public mind of its authenticity."

[NOTE.—While this portion of the history was going through the press we received from Frederick L. Billon a memorandum embodying his views in regard to the affair of 1780. Anxious as we are to throw every possible light upon an event so conspicuous in the early annals of St. Louis, and in regard to which there has been so much controversy, we make room for Mr. Billon's note, written in 1880. It is as follows:]

AN AUTHENTIC VERSION OF THE AFFAIR OF FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1780.—This centennial anniversary of the first serious blow inflicted on the infant village of St. Louis, then in its teens, and numbering some one hundred houses, and less than that many adult males, presents a fitting occasion for a brief sketch of the occurrences of that day, and the antecedent causes that led to it; and as the affair, as here narrated, will differ materially in some of its essential details from the heretofore conceived impressions of it, derived *solely* from oral tradition with its manifold exaggerations, as passed down through successive generations, it will be necessary to go back a few years, and commence our narrative from the period that Clark took possession of the other side by the surprise of Kaskaskia, on the night of July 4, 1778, and supplanted the royal standard of Great Britain with the Stars and Stripes, and from which the present affair had its origin.

After Clark had captured Kaskaskia, he proceeded to Cahokia, which place he also took, and leaving Maj. Bowman in command, he returned to Kaskaskia, where he established his headquarters, and sent Capt. Helm with a small force to Vincennes, which place he took without any opposition from the French inhabitants of the place.

The inhabitants of these several places having generally taken the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia, the Legislative Assembly of that State passed on the 12th day of December, 1778, an act organizing the whole of the newly-acquired territory into the county of Illinois, and establishing the seat of government at Kaskaskia. Col. John Todd, of Lafayette County, was appointed judge and civil commandant; and in a letter to him from Governor Patrick Henry, dated at Williamsburg, Dec. 12, 1778, apprising him of his appointment, the Governor concludes his instructions to him as follows:

"That the people of Illinois could not expect peace and safety so long as their enemy the English had a footing in the country, and so long as they hold Detroit they could intercept the trade of the Mississippi, hence the necessity of the capture of that place and others still held by the English; to assist Clark to the extent of his means to rid the country of the English our enemies; that the French and Indian inhabitants, appearing at present to be favorably inclined towards the Americans, to cultivate and conciliate the affections of the French and Indians by giving them all the aid in his power; to impress upon them the blessings and value of liberty and of being free citizens, and see that justice be administered to them in all cases, and that they receive no injury nor oppression from the troops, etc.; for if their present favorable feelings are once lost, it would be difficult to regain it, etc."

As evidence of the sagacious views of Governor Henry, above set forth, and somewhat remarkable coincident thereto, the British Governor at Detroit, Col. Henry Hamilton, had collected a force of thirty British regulars, fifty French volunteers, and four hundred Indians, had passed down the Wabash, and retook possession of Vincennes on Dec. 15, 1778, only three days after the expression of the views of Governor Henry as given above, taking prisoners Capt. Helm with his few men.

So soon as Clark received this news at Kaskaskia, having but a few men, he ordered Maj. Bowman to evacuate Cahokia and join him at Kaskaskia, where he prepared to defend himself, expecting an attack from

Vincennes. On Jan. 29, 1779, he learned that Hamilton had but eighty men with him, having dispatched his Indians to blockade the Ohio River and prevent assistance to Clark, and that this would be an auspicious time for him to recover possession.

He immediately commenced his preparations, and left Kaskaskia on February 5th, with one hundred and seventy men. After twenty days' march, contending with incredible difficulties from the inundated condition of the country, etc., he finally succeeded in crossing the Wabash, and invested the place on the night of the 23d, and on the 25th, at ten o'clock A.M., Col. Hamilton and his men marched out of the fort as prisoners of war, and Clark received possession. Thus ended Clark's second capture of the place, and the American authority was re-established in the country.

After this second expulsion by Clark of the British domination on the eastern side of the river the country was tranquil for a time, no further attempts being made by them in this direction during the balance of the year 1779.

During the fifteen years prior to this that the British were possessors of the eastern side of the country, they had naturally succeeded in attaching to themselves a number of the old French inhabitants by the various ties of intermarriage, kindred, and interest; among these were some very prominent individuals of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, some of them holding official positions of trust, etc., and that these parties should look upon the "American rebellion" in the same light as did the mother-country and the British authorities in Canada, as an event to be put down at no distant day, and the country restored to British rule, was but natural.

Be that as it may, there is abundant evidence in written documents of the time still extant to show that the British at Detroit had it in contemplation and prepared another expedition in the early part of the year 1780 to repossess themselves of the country by abandoning the old route by the Wabash River, and taking a new one through Illinois, to fall upon and surprise Cahokia, the northernmost settlement of the country, at a moment when, the people of the place being entirely unapprised of it and unprepared for any resistance, it would become an easy conquest.

I must here digress somewhat from the main point in my narrative of this affair to introduce as an important support a gentleman, then but recently in the country, but whose long subsequent residence of nearly forty years in our place, and the important position he attained in this community until his death in 1817, added to his indirect participation in the prior occurrences which led to it, is of itself sufficient to establish the correctness of my theory.

Charles Gratiot, a native of Lausanne, Vaud, Switzerland, had lived for some years in London when quite young, previous to his coming to America, and had there become proficient in the English language. Crossing to America, he remained for a time in Quebec and Montreal, where he became connected with the Scotch house of David McCrae & Co., Indian traders, who furnished him with an outfit of merchandise, with which he came the usual route at that day, through the lakes to Mackinac, and by the portage of the Fox and Ouisconsin and the Mississippi River to Cahokia, where he arrived and established himself in business towards the close of December, 1777, about six months before its capture by Clark, with whom, possessing the advantages of a knowledge of the English and French languages, he soon became on intimate terms, rendering Clark many important services on different occasions, and for these reasons he was selected subsequently by the people of the village as the most proper person for the important and somewhat hazardous mission he undertook and accomplished.

In the spring of the year 1780, the people of Cahokia, having received an intimation that the British authorities at Detroit had in contemplation, aided by their Indian allies, to attempt the surprise of that place, with a view to the re-establishment of the British authority in the country east of the Mississippi, held a meeting and selected Charles Gratiot as the most suitable person, in consequence of his intimacy with Clark, then absent and supposed to be at the Iron Banks in the south, to undertake the perilous mission of going to seek him and apprise him of the danger the village was in, and the necessity for his immediate return to provide for its defense.

Clark, who had spent the winter of 1779 in command at the Falls of the Ohio, was ordered by the Governor of Virginia, early in 1780, to repair to the Iron Banks, on the east side of the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Ohio, to build a fort, which he named Fort Jefferson, and then set out on his return to the Falls on foot, with only one man as a companion. It was here that Gratiot sought Clark; whether he found him or not does not appear. At all events the anticipated expedition against Cahokia, if ever contemplated at all, or ever set out, finding the people of the place apprised of it and prepared for its reception, and that even if successful it could only be so with great loss to themselves, was abandoned, and some straggling portions of the Indians, doubtless disappointed in their expectations of pillage and plun-

der, their sole inducement in their predatory incursions, crossed over to the St. Louis side, and vented their spleen and malice in cruelly shooting down the half-dozen persons whose bodies were found in different parts of the prairie fields, at from one to four miles northwest of the village, and that no combined attack was ever made on the village itself will be made manifest, I think, to all reflecting minds by the various circumstances which will be adduced to substantiate this theory.

What were the reasons that led the British authorities at Detroit to conceive their project for the surprise of Cahokia? Simply to endeavor to regain possession of territory they considered as rightfully belonging to their sovereign, which had been unlawfully wrested from him by his rebellious subjects, "*the Americans*," and to bring them again under the dominion of their legitimate sovereign.

What reasons could they have had for an attack upon St. Louis, the people of which mostly were their fellow-countrymen and kinsmen from Canada, and with whom they and their Indian allies had been on terms of friendship ever since the first establishment of the place? None whatever.

The answers to these two simple queries are in themselves almost sufficient to sustain the correctness of my position, that had they succeeded in their design on Cahokia the affair on this side would never have transpired.

But we will now proceed to more conclusive proofs.

Charles Gratiot, *of Cahokia*, had purchased from Charles Sanguinet, of *St. Louis*, on March 13, 1780, an invoice of merchandise to replenish his stock, and gave Sanguinet his note for the same, payable in July following. These goods he took over to his store in *Cahokia*. Some little time thereafter, at the urgent request of the united people of *that* village, as already stated, he went in search of Col. Clark, in whose skill and bravery these people had unbounded confidence, to assist them in repelling an expected attack of the British and Indians on *that* place, an intimation of which they had received. Gratiot, a man of prudence and foresight in the management of his business affairs, being apprehensive that in his temporary absence on his mission the expected attack on *the place* might occur, and knowing well the main object of the Indians was pillage solely, deemed it prudent to send his goods, etc., over to *St. Louis*, a place of safety. His clerk, Mr. Ducheneau, took them over and deposited them with Mr. Sanguinet, from whom he had purchased a portion, with Mr. Gratiot's casket of his valuables.

After Mr. Gratiot's return to *Cahokia* from his mission, and apprehensions of an attack had measurably subsided, he sent his clerk over to *St. Louis* for his goods, etc.; but Mr. Sanguinet, still apprehensive that an attack might yet be made on Cahokia, declined to return them, unless Mr. Gratiot would give him an additional indorser on his note he had given Sanguinet for them.

Mr. Gratiot thereupon commenced a suit for the recovery of his goods from Sanguinet before Governor De Leyba, on May 8, 1780, and the decision of the Governor, after an impartial trial before him, was rendered on the *identical* 26th day of May, 1780, in the Government Hall (the large central room in the old Laclede building), in presence of the parties and some of the principal personages of the village.[1]

Now, the questions naturally arise,—

1. Why did Mr. Gratiot, a resident of Cahokia, send his goods and valuables across the river to St. Louis?

Because he considered them in danger in Cahokia, and perfectly safe in St. Louis, where no apprehensions existed.

2. Why did Mr. Sanguinet decline to return them to Gratiot?

Because, being still apprehensive that an attack might yet be made on Cahokia, and that Gratiot might be plundered of his goods, and in consequence, perhaps, unable to pay him for them, deemed it advisable for his own surety to still retain them for a time.

I think this makes the case perfectly clear.

But we will proceed to other circumstantial proofs.

How does it happen that Auguste Chouteau, then thirty years of age, and just beginning to assume the important position in the affairs of the place heretofore exercised by Laclede, and who kept a journal of events; Charles Gratiot, who indirectly had some connection with the events from which it arose, and an indefatigable writer; Charles Sanguinet, Gabriel Cerré, Louis Perraute, and Louis C. Dubreuil, merchants; Milong Duralde, surveyor and writer; Pierre Peri, register; Antoine Regnal and Bernard Gibkins, physicians; John I. Motard, Joseph A. Hortiz, and, above all, Joseph Labuscière, the public notary and factotum, all men of education, as their private papers clearly show,—how is it, I ask, that not a word of the affair is found in the papers of either of these gentlemen? Labuscière, "king's attorney," as he styled himself, notary, scrivener, factotum, who did nearly all the writing, official and private, for over

[1] "The papers in another case, Labbadie *vs.* his engagees, were filed on same day, May 26, 1780.

twenty years, more than a thousand documents written by him in the Archives, on every subject great and small, nothing is to be found of his about that affair; very strange that he, of all others, should not have left something about it. It is only found mentioned in the Archives, and then but incidentally in the few inventories of those killed, and of these we find the interment of but four persons in the register of the parish priest on the same day of the affair. Why are not the others noticed? All proving, beyond controversy, either that it was not considered of much importance by the authorities, or that there was gross neglect on their part in not leaving a detailed history of an occurrence which, however trivial it might have been (and no doubt was, when compared with the mammoth proportions it acquired in after-years), yet was at least an event in the history of the village, and should have been preserved in the public documents of the day.

All this is irrefutable and cannot be controverted.

Summed up briefly it amounts to this:

The British authorities at Detroit, being still bent on repossessing the country on the east side of the Mississippi, contemplated another attempt by abandoning the old route by the Wabash and Vincennes, and taking a new route through Illinois farther north, might fall upon and surprise the village of Cahokia, the northernmost settlement, where the people, being ignorant of their approach and totally unprepared for them, they expected an easy conquest with little or no loss to themselves. But learning subsequently that the people of the village had become apprised of their design and were prepared for their reception, the attempt was abandoned; and a small party of their Indian allies, whose only inducement to engage in the enterprise was pillage and plunder, being disappointed in their expectations, crossed the river above the village to this side and committed the murders on the persons of the half-dozen victims of their wrath whose bodies were found at different points at from one to four miles northwest of the place.

The following residents of the place at that day were all men of more or less education, prominent in the place, and each competent to have written a history of the affair, and yet we have not a line from either:

1. The Governor, De Leyba himself.
2. His lieutenant, Cartabona, from Ste. Genevieve.
3. Father Bernard, the parish curate, who buried the four brought in; capable of writing, and, one would suppose, partly his duty.
4. Joseph Labuscière, long in public office, and a professional writer.
5. John B. Trudeau, the school-teacher, a poet, who married the widow of Francis Hebert, one of the victims; fully competent.
6. Martin Duralde, the Spanish surveyor-general.
7. Pierre Pori, the village register.
8. Réné Kierserenu, church-warden, who officiated at funerals in the occasional absences of the parish priest.
9. Capt. De Volsay; and, 10, Lieut. P. Belestre, of the regular service.
11. Auguste Chouteau, then thirty; and, 12, his brother, P. Chouteau, twenty-one years.
13. Louis Dubreuil; 14, John B. Sarpy; 15, Joseph Segond; 16, Louis Perrault; 17, Silvestre Labbadie; 18, Aug't Reilhe, merchants; all European Frenchmen.
19. Joseph Comand, physician, France.
20. Joseph M. Papin, merchant.
21. Joseph Labrosse, merchant.
22. Charles Sanguinet, merchant.
23. John I. Motard, jeweler, France, educated.
24. Eugene Pouré, captain of militia.
25. J. L. Martigny, captain of militia.
26. John B. Tardif, brewer, from France, and some half-dozen others from across the river.

Some of the above may have been temporarily absent from the village on the day named, but very few if any.

Charles Gratiot, Sr., was a man of great system and regularity in his affairs, and withal very careful in preserving all his books and papers relating to his affairs, etc., and after his death, in 1817, and that of his widow, in 1825, and his estate had been settled, the trunk containing these papers was for many years in the loft of the residence of his youngest son, the late Paul M. Gratiot, my brother-in-law, at Cheltenham, a number of which came into my possession from his children.

From a close study of some of his letters, etc., I arrive at the following conclusions regarding the disposition and character of the man:

He was a man of great energy and decision of character and indomitable industry, and withal ambitious to acquire a competency of this world's goods. He kept his own books, attended to his own correspondence, and was very particular to note down in writing every trivial matter connected with his affairs. Now, is it likely that this man, so particular to preserve in writing everything, however trivial, relating to or concerning himself, and who was here on the very day of the occurrence of this affair, and who must have witnessed all that transpired on that occasion, would not have made some note of it, had it been the important affair represented in later days to have resulted in so great a loss of life? Undoubtedly he would. And yet we find not a solitary line, either from this man or any other of the educated men of the day here at the time, giving any account of it, and our sole knowledge of its extent is what has come down to us from the traditions of the period.

Not even the Governor at the time, De Leyba, nor his successor in office, nor the village schoolmaster, John B. Trudeau, who subsequently married the widow of one of the half-dozen who fell victims of that eventful day, and who was fully competent to give an authentic history in detail of the occurrence and its extent, have left a solitary line on the subject.[1]

John Reynolds, who was a man of twenty-nine years at the date of the death of Mr. Gratiot, and who had become acquainted with him and his history, in a brief notice of him in his book, says,—

"Charles Gratiot was born in Lausanne, Switzerland. At ten years of age placed with a friend in London for his education, and learned his business in a large commercial house, where he was taught that the height of human happiness was to keep books neatly and to acquire great wealth."

Governor John Reynolds' version of May 26, 1780:

"Dominique Ducharme, a Canadian Indian trader, lived at intervals in Cahokia, where he had a brother, Charles Ducharme, residing. He had great influence with all the tribes in the Upper Mississippi region. In 1779 he came down from Mackinac, and ascended the Missouri to trade with the Indian nations in the Spanish dominions, contrary to the Spanish regulations. After proceeding up the Missouri some distance, he was overtaken by a barge, with an officer and some Spanish soldiers, sent after him from St. Louis, his boat and goods were captured; he escaped with his gun and life. He swore vengeance against St. Louis. All winter he was active in raising his savage friends for the attack. The British garrison at Mackinac furnished him a few regulars, and some Canadians joined him. With this force Ducharme descended the Mississippi in the spring, and made his assault on St. Louis on the 26th of May, 1780, and after killing as many as appeased his wrath, he withdrew his red warriors and abandoned the massacre. It is said that when Ducharme and his Indians saw their old friends dead, their anger turned to sorrow, and they withdrew to their wigwams in the north. It was Ducharme's campaign, not the British. The year of this attack, 1780, was known afterwards as '*l'année du coup.*'"

Now the capture and confiscation of Ducharme's boat and goods was an actual occurrence, with the difference that it occurred more than six years prior to the date given by Reynolds.

It occurred in the early part of the year 1773, in the administration of Piernas, the first Spanish Governor. The affidavit of Ducharme's men, who were captured with the boat, is dated March 15, 1773, and the inventory of the goods, etc., after the confiscation, March 29, 1773. These dates are found in the Archives of St. Louis.

Now here is a man (Reynolds) who came to Illinois as early as 1800, at the age of twelve years, and passed there the balance of his life, a man of eminent position, as Governor of the State, representative in Congress, etc., known to and acquainted with almost every individual in the country in his day, who got up a history of his times, with every facility and means within his reach to inform himself on the subject, if the information was attainable, who, to procure material sufficient to make up a book, was under the necessity of introducing in his work numerous occurrences and matters of comparatively trivial nature concerning individuals alone, where events and occurrences were tenfold more abundant than on our side of the river. Surely it seems to me that if the affair had been of any historical *importance*, Reynolds was the man to have given such an account of it in his book as it would then have merited, particularly as the people of the two sides of the river were as one, having daily intercourse with each other, and almost isolated from the balance of mankind.

I have read, I believe, almost every work that ever came out in regard to the early history of this Upper Mississippi valley of the French and Spanish domination, and, with the exception of some half-dozen or less, no mention is made of this affair, and then in so brief a manner only by the few who have mentioned it as proves conclusively either that they had learned so little reliable in regard to it, or that the affair in itself was so unimportant as scarcely to need mention. It is altogether from the mere chance of my having come into possession, within the last few years, of the Gratiot manuscripts and other authentic original documents of the day that the true history of this affair has, to some extent, been brought to light; for had Primm ever seen or known of these papers, a man of his judgment would never have embodied in his address the statements he there introduced as based on tradition alone. It is thus that much of what is termed history is produced, either by ignorant pretenders, or by those who undertake it unprovided with authentic data upon which to ground their statements.

[1] This old teacher, Trudeau, kept school here for forty-five years after the event, until about 1825, on Pine Street. He died in 1827.

CHAPTER X.

SPANISH, FRENCH, AND AMERICAN INTRIGUES IN THE WEST.

THE immediate cause of the negotiations which resulted in the purchase and cession of Louisiana, and its permanent annexation to the United States, was the agitation in the West and in Congress in conse-

quence of the refusal of "the right of deposit" at New Orleans to American goods, and the practical denial to this country of the advantages accruing from the free navigation of the Mississippi River. This, in connection with the knowledge of the treaty of San Ildefonso between the French republic and the king of Spain, of the 9th Vendemiaire, an 9ème (Oct. 1, 1800), by which Spain retroceded to France all the colony of Louisiana, just as it was when Spain had come in possession of it, caused such a ferment in the country that the government of Mr. Jefferson was forced to do something as an act of self-defense. Senator Ross, of Pennsylvania, introduced in the United States Senate, in February, 1803, a series of very positive resolutions, on which there was a famous three days' debate, ending in the adoption of a more moderate resolution, which, however, was still significant. Mr. Ross' resolution declared that

"the United States have an indisputable right to the free navigation of the river Mississippi, and to a convenient place of deposit for their produce and merchandise in the island of New Orleans. (2) That the late infraction of such, their unquestioned right, is an aggression hostile to their honor and interests. (3) That it does not consist with the dignity or safety of this Union to hold a right so important by a tenure so uncertain. (4) That it materially concerns such of the American citizens as dwell on the Western waters, and is essential to the union, strength, and prosperity of these States that they obtain complete security for the full and peaceable enjoyment of such their absolute right. (5) That the President be authorized to take immediate possession of such place or places in the said island or the adjacent territories as he may deem fit and convenient for the purpose aforesaid, and to adopt such other measures for obtaining that complete security as to him in his wisdom shall seem meet. (6) That he be authorized to call into actual service any number of the militia of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, or of the Mississippi Territory which he may think proper, not exceeding fifty thousand, and to employ them, together with the military and naval forces of the Union, for effecting the objects above mentioned. (7) That the sum of five millions of dollars be appropriated to the carrying into effect the foregoing resolutions, and that the whole or any part of that sum be paid or applied on warrants drawn in pursuance of such directions as the President may from time to time think proper to give to the Secretary of the Treasury."

These resolutions, though not adopted, did not convey an idle threat. They were no mere *brutum fulmen*. The policy they embodied had been vehemently urged upon the government in many quarters, and was seriously contemplated by numbers of sagacious statesmen and soldiers as the best and most effective, and possibly the most pacific, solution of the difficulty. The idea contemplated was such a *coup de main* as would anticipate, and probably forestall, the expected arrival of the army of Gen. Victor from Hayti, after the downfall of Toussaint L'Ouverture and the conquest of that island. If Victor's troops came, there would be a war anyhow for the control of the Mississippi, and it was easier to act on the defensive than to take the offensive against a *corps de armée* of Napoleon's veterans. The people of New Orleans, excepting the Creoles, all yearned for such action as Ross' resolution directed. In Mississippi Territory the Legislature tendered the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants in support of an energetic policy. From all sections west of the Alleghanies memorials poured in upon Congress demanding instant action by the general government, or leave to the people of that section to act, so as to save themselves and their crops. These memorials took high ground. No protection, they said, no allegiance. If the government did not defend them it was their duty to march in their own defense.

But, in fact, the policy of seizing New Orleans had been closely considered at Washington during the trouble with the French, which terminated in 1800, and action was only prevented in 1795 and 1799 by the concession then of the right of deposit at New Orleans for a term of three years. It was commonly supposed that the calling out of the troops under Washington and Hamilton had an ulterior object besides resistance to the French, and that this object, even of John Adams' pacific administration, was the capture of New Orleans. Wilkinson, in his "Memoirs," shows that Alexander Hamilton, practically commander-in-chief of the army to be levied, was very particular in his inquiries as to the offensive and defensive resources of the West and the state of affairs in Louisiana, and the first outbreak of the Spanish war then looked for would have been signalized by an immediate descent upon New Orleans. After it became known that Spain had yielded possession of Louisiana to France, statesmen of all parties united in believing that the time had come to act. Even Mr. Addington, the British minister in Downing Street, went out of his way to let Rufus King, United States ambassador to the Court of St. James, know and understand that Great Britain not only would not object, but would be very glad if the United States should seize upon the whole of Louisiana. Its possession by France would be sure to lead to a war with England, and the mouth of the Mississippi was not at that time thought to be worth a war to any power except the United States.

Still Mr. Ross did not succeed in getting the Senate to adopt his resolutions. A substitute was offered, in the way of an amendment, by Hon. John Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and carried by a vote of yeas 15, nays 11; after which the Senate voted unanimously

in favor of the resolutions as amended. These were to the effect that

"the President of the United States be and he is hereby authorized, whenever he shall judge it expedient, to require of the Executives of the several States to take effectual measures to organize, arm, and equip, according to law, and hold in readiness to march at a moment's warning, eighty thousand effective militia, officers included. (2) That the President may, if he judges it expedient, authorize the Executives of the several States to accept, as part of the detachment aforesaid, any corps of volunteers, who shall continue in service for such time, not exceeding —— months, and perform such services as shall be prescribed by law. (3) That —— dollars be appropriated for paying and subsisting such part of the troops aforesaid whose actual service may be wanted, and for defraying such other expenses as, during the recess of Congress, the President may deem necessary for the security of the territory of the United States. That —— dollars be appropriated for erecting, at such place or places on the Western waters as the President may judge most proper, one or more arsenals."

The money actually appropriated under this resolution was two million dollars, and, as it was not expended for military recruiting, it was looked upon as belonging to the secret service, and Napoleon openly spoke of it as a fund for corruption, to the temptation of which he would not permit the immaculate Talleyrand to be exposed.

In the House of Representatives a resolution of John Randolph's was adopted, expressing the unalterable determination of the country to maintain the boundaries and rights of navigation and commerce through the Mississippi River as established by existing treaties. It was on this basis, and fortified by careful instructions by Jefferson and Madison, that James Monroe went to Paris to reinforce Robert R. Livingston, our minister there, and settle the Mississippi imbroglio upon a definitive plan. The result was the cession of Louisiana.

But a long train of preliminary circumstances led up to this event, many of them of the greatest interest in the general history of the West and of importance to the history of St. Louis, since it was the scene of a great many of these transactions, all of which, perhaps, were necessary to secure the annexation of Louisiana and Missouri to the territory of the Union. The political intrigues in the West in the period immediately after the Revolution were of the most exciting character, and they were carried so far, in consequence of the adroit devices of the adventurers who conducted them, the keen desires of the European governments interested to curb the progress of the nascent republic, and the turbulent men and disorganized society of the sections involved, that almost at any time between 1781 and 1802 a spark of excitement might have been fanned into such a flame of revolution as would have disintegrated the republic and restricted the United States to the regions east of the Alleghany Mountains. The discontent of the West in 1783 was as distinctly formulated as that of the South in 1830. The difference was this, that while the South claimed that its rights under the Constitution had been violated to such an extent that it would not consent to support the Union any longer without additional safeguards defining and maintaining its specific interpretation of the Constitution, the West took the more practical view that, in consequence of insuperable geographical obstacles, the Union, and the Constitution when it should be formed, were of no value to them, and would become hurtful. There could be no allegiance without protection, they contended, and protection was impossible with the mountain barrier where it was. Every increase of population, every development of resources would simply make the condition of the people of the West more intolerable. They would naturally gravitate towards the country which might control the Mississippi. That was the law of nature, the "manifest destiny" of a great and growing section. It was only wisdom to prepare for it, and it was simply a vicious sentimentalism which clung to the idea of Union and a continuance of the old Confederacy, because a successful war had been waged by the Eastern colonies against the waning forces of Great Britain. This was the way in which the people and their leaders had come to look at it almost universally, and it is useless to deny the fact that in 1785 every section of the West that was settled at all was settled by a thoroughly disaffected, if not disloyal, people.

The true history of this condition of affairs has never been fully set forth, for several reasons: (1) the prime actors and leaders of those days found it expedient at a later period to be very silent in regard to their views and position, for they wished to retain their influence in a community which forgot it was ever disaffected, and would have repudiated the men who ventured to remind it of the fact; (2) the foreign governments mixed up in these intrigues were constrained by a variety of considerations to conceal their methods and ignore their contrivances, in order at once to screen their agents and pensioners and to avoid entangling and compromising revelations; (3) the *history* of this country, as a rule, has been written by Northern people, and the greater part of these intrigues and discontents had ceased to agitate the public mind and were conclusively quieted before any authorized and legitimate settlements began in the Northwestern Territory. Kentucky and Tennessee were as

wide apart from one another in those pioneer days as Japan is apart from China. The political history of Kentucky and Tennessee, Georgia and the Mississippi Territory has indeed been written, but in a fragmentary way, and it has not been connected at all with the proper history of the great West as an extension of the thirteen colonies which secured the independence of the United States.

France and Spain were not actuated entirely by a disinterested sympathy for the weak struggling against the oppressor in extending the liberal and vital aid which they gave to this country during the Revolutionary war. There were many purely selfish considerations to impel them to act as they did. In France, indeed, there was a force of popular sympathy and enthusiasm which a government desiring and needing popularity could not well resist. But while availing themselves of this enthusiasm for their own purposes, the cool heads of administration in France by no means shared it. Maurepas frequently told the elder Ségur that public opinion had forced the government, against its own wishes, to side with America.[1] The Count de Vergennes is said to have originally opposed the American alliance, and to have resisted, as far as he safely could, every separate measure of aid, either in money or men, extended by France to the United States. He did all that was in his power to narrow the boundaries of the new country and restrict and confuse its authority.

The object of France in giving support at all to America was twofold,—jealousy and opportunity. England was her commercial and maritime rival. To injure British commerce, defeat British armies and navies, and dismember the British empire would, according to the notions which control international relations, contribute at one and the same time to the glory and to the welfare of France. A large portion of the British territory in America had been French territory until a very recent period, and another portion, equally large, had been ceded by France to Spain merely in order to prevent Great Britain from taking possession of it. France might easily expect to recover at least some portion of this lost empire while aiding to humiliate her rival, and to reduce the magnificent proportions which the genius of Pitt had given to the British colonial possessions. Spain's motives for an alliance with the United States, and for sharing the risks and burdens of the war in America, are not so clear, though the genius and decision of Galvez enabled her to turn that war to great profit by the reduction of Baton Rouge, Natchez, Mobile, and Pensacola, thus completing the conquest of Florida, and securing under her absolute and sole control every part of the firm land boundaries of the Gulf of Mexico, which now became truly a Spanish lake. But Spain's colonial interests were too great for that country to avoid viewing with lively apprehension a colonial revolt of such proportions as that of the American Revolution, and the rulers of that monarchy were not easy in contemplation of the enterprise, audacity, and growth of the rebellious States. Maj. Stoddard, in his "Sketches of Louisiana," remarks that "the era of the American Revolution was not viewed by Spain with indifference, and she found it no easy matter to decide on the policy which it became her to pursue. . . . Nothing disturbed Spain more than the contemplated establishment of an independent empire in America. She was apprehensive that the spirit of innovation would make its way into her provinces, and eventually dismember them from the parent country. But she could not resist the lures held out by France, and when she engaged in the war it was merely as an auxiliary, and with a determination to protect her own interest and to remain quiescent as regarded the independence of the United States. The acquisition of Gibraltar Jamaica, Minorca, and the Floridas were splendid objects in her view. She readily perceived that, in case the United States succeeded in breaking their connection with England, the Floridas would change masters, and she deemed it prudent to add them to her own dominions before we had a legitimate claim to them." Probably the "family compact," by which Spain had originally acquired Louisiana from France would have compelled her under any circumstances to unite with that country and the United States in the alliance against Great Britain. But the chance to acquire control of the Gulf of Mexico, and with it the Mississippi River, was not to be thrown away slightly The danger from revolution was not so prominent in 1778 as it had become when Maj. Stoddard wrote It was a real danger, as was proved by the movements of Gen. Miranda (which had the sympathy of Jefferson and the aid of Burr) immediately after the peace of 1783. But Spain was quite aware that it was necessary for her to take possession of the Floridas in order to prevent the United States from doing so. The operations of Capt. Walling in the Mississippi in 1776 proved that conclusively. This officer attempted to take Natchez, and it was well understood that Georgia claimed through to the Mississippi River on the parallel of Savannah, while Virginia and North Carolina had begun already to survey a boundary line t

[1] Ségur: "Mémoires," i. 111. Flassan: "Diplomatie Française," vii. 166.

that river from the Atlantic, which would mark the limits of their claims in the West. The most effectual way for Spain to prevent the United States from encroaching upon either her western limits or those bordering on the Gulf was to occupy new ground in her own right. The proverbial slowness of Spanish military movements enabled Gen. George Rogers Clark to establish a fort in the name of Virginia on the eastern bank of the Mississippi (Fort Jefferson), below the mouth of the Ohio, before Spain could do so much, and this act, with the capture of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, and the American victories in the Cherokee and Chickasaw country, materially reduced the prospects of carrying out the Spanish programme. Galvez, however, did the best he could to repair the consequences of this dilatoriness by extending the limits of West Florida towards the Tennessee River, and by sending an expedition to the St. Joseph's River, to plant a fort where La Salle had had his trading-post in 1679. Upon these movements Spain claimed that she was entitled to a boundary far east of the Mississippi River, and also that the navigation of that river must be entirely in her control.

These pretensions of Spain were supported and insisted upon by France. That country did indeed render hearty and valuable aid to the United States, but in return for it demanded things which it did not comport with national self-respect to concede. In fact, France assumed the right to direct almost the entire foreign policy of the United States, and to select the limits within which our growth and ambition were to be given room to play. Gouverneur Morris, in the course of the debate in the Senate on the resolution of Mr. Ross, quoted above, took occasion to say that "The French minister, Mons. De la Lucerne, when Congress were deliberating on the ultimatum for peace, obtained a resolution that our ministers should, as to our Western boundary, treat under the dictation of France. Our ministers disdained the condition, and refused to obey. Their manly conduct obtained for us the countries whose fate is now suspended on your deliberations." In fact, however, Congress did not quite obey the terms dictated by France. These were insolent in the highest degree, and would never have been suggested had not our country been feeble, impoverished, and anxious for peace at any price. They make it probable that the policy of the French Cabinet, from the time of the cession of Louisiana to Spain in 1763, had contemplated its retrocession at the first favorable opportunity, as occurred under the treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800, and that in the mean time it was expedient to aid the tenant at will in every possible effort to extend and improve his premises. With a boundary line coming near the Alleghanies, Napoleon could have made Louisiana a very uncomfortable neighbor of Great Britain in Canada, if indeed he failed to conquer back that country. When John Jay arrived as minister of the United States at Madrid, in 1780, he found that the French minister in Philadelphia had already signified to Congress what should be his instructions and what terms Spain would expect him to be willing to concede in order to consummate an alliance. The United States, Mr. Jay was informed, were to take explicit and moderate grounds on the subject of "a precise and invariable Western boundary to the United States, the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi River, the possession of the Floridas and the territory on the left or eastern bank of the Mississippi River;

"that on the first article, it is the idea of the Cabinet of Madrid that the United States extend to the westward no farther than settlements were permitted by the royal proclamation bearing date the 7th day of October, 1763. (This limit was the Alleghany Mountains.)

"On the second, that the United States do not consider themselves as having any right to navigate the river Mississippi, no territory belonging to them being situated therein.

"On the third, that it is probable the king of Spain will conquer the Floridas during the course of the present war; and in such an event, every cause of dispute relative thereto between Spain and the United States ought to be removed.

"On the fourth, that the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon the settlements were prohibited by the aforesaid proclamation, are possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and proper objects against which the arms of Spain may be employed for the purpose of making a permanent conquest for the Spanish crown. That such conquest may probably be made during the present war. That, therefore, it would be advisable to restrain the Southern States from making any settlements or conquests in these territories. That the Council of Madrid consider the United States as having no claim to these territories, either as not having had possession of them before the present war, or not having any foundation for a claim in the right of the sovereignty of Great Britain, whose dominion they have abjured."[1]

This was a very serious business, and demanded a great deal of tact on the part of Mr. Jay. In fact, France did not want the United States to become strong and powerful, nor to extend the area of their

[1] This claim, however, did exist, and was perfectly well founded, for the reason that the Mississippi River was made the boundary between France (and therefore Spain) and Great Britain, in an explicit manner, in the treaty of Paris in 1763. In 1783, again, when Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States, and signed a treaty of peace with them, it was defined that the boundaries should be the same as those of 1763, *i.e.*, the Mississippi and Iberville Rivers. Georgia and South Carolina, therefore, as well as Tennessee and Virginia, while often disputing about their own frontiers, united at all times in insisting that the Mississippi was the true boundary of the United States on the west. (See Dr. Stevens' "History of Georgia," vol. ii., for a complete statement of this chain of titles.)

territories. Vergennes was afraid of the example of the nation he had helped to create. He understood that republicanism propagates itself, and he wished to wall it in. His successor, the Count Montmorin, went still farther. He instructed the French envoy to this country that "it is not advisable for France to give America all the stability of which she is susceptible. She will acquire a degree of power which she will be too well disposed to abuse."[1] In fact, the French and Spanish governments thought to check the Revolution by limiting the territory of the United States and paralyzing their autonomy. Spain trusted neither England nor the revolted colonies. The Governor of Louisiana, Don Luis de Unzaga, at the time of the first outbreak of the Revolution, wrote to his government that he had sent a spy to Philadelphia, and was watching everything carefully. "I suspect," said he, "that at any moment the royalists and insurgents may make up their quarrel and unite their forces, in order to take possession by surprise of one of the domains of some European power, and thus to indemnify themselves for their losses and expenses." In 1777, Galvez was instructed that in case the Americans, Capt. Walling, or any one else, showed a disposition to capture the British posts on the lower Mississippi, he was himself to seize and hold them "in trust or deposit" until they could be otherwise disposed of. And the French and Spanish authorities both reprobated Capt. Walling's attack upon Baton Rouge and Fort Manchac in 1778, albeit it was made from New Orleans. The French commissioners wrote from New Orleans about it, saying,—

"The Spaniards here see with regret these conquests, because it cuts off their hope of executing them on their own account, and of thereby securing for themselves the exclusive possession of the Gulf of Mexico. Besides, they feel that the mildness and other advantages of the climate of Louisiana may seduce the Americans, and attract them to a region from which the communication with the Gulf of Mexico begins to be better and more practically known."

Under such circumstances Jay was called upon to act with exceeding circumspection. His course was greatly simplified by the fact that Patrick Henry, Jefferson, and Gen. Clark had removed two of the conditions laid down by Spain and France from the region of fact. The capture and occupation of Kaskaskia, the building of Fort Jefferson, and the erection of Illinois into a county made it no longer possible to say that the United States had no territory on the Mississippi River. So, likewise, Tennessee was extending towards the river, and Georgia preparing to create its new "Bourbon County," afterwards the State of Mississippi. In the instructions to Jay from Congress, that body had been so anxious to please that it had told him "not to insist" upon the right to navigate the Mississippi. And Jay himself was finally willing to *waive* that right in exchange for other considerations for a term of years. In this he had the support of Washington and a majority of the Eastern statesmen, who thought that the right to navigate the Mississippi was of no present importance. Indeed, there were others not a few (Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, and Washington among the number) who looked with mistrust upon facility in navigating the great river. They were afraid it would be injurious to other parts and especially to the stability of the new government, by depopulating the older States and pouring the farm labor of the country into the West. Jefferson, as one of the reasons he gives in favor of the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, stated that the country could not possibly be settled for many years, and hence it would do no hurt in diverting or attracting population.

M. De la Lucerne was careful that the instructions to Mr. Jay should be forwarded to him at once, and also that new ambassadors should be sent out to Europe to reinforce Franklin and Doane and overrule John Adams. The instructions were to the effect that Jay should not "insist" upon the free navigation of the Mississippi below the thirty-first parallel. This specific "instruction" grew out of an act of the Virginia Legislature in 1781, assented to by all the Southern State Legislatures except that of North Carolina. Spain at this stage of the proceedings had advanced money to the United States—Congress, in fact, had drawn upon her to the extent of half a million dollars—and was at war with Great Britain. But she would neither acknowledge American independence nor make a treaty with the United States, so that the situation was one of considerable embarrassment. Franklin, when Jay went to Paris, thought that he should yield the matter as he was instructed to do. But Jay was reluctant to make such a sacrifice. Count Aranda and Count de Vergennes pressed it upon his attention again in Paris, and this pressure was the more potent from the fact that Congress had under the manipulation of Lucerne, instructed its plenipotentiaries in Paris to undertake nothing in the way of negotiations for peace or truce without the knowledge and concurrence of the French ministers, and in their final action to be governed by "their advice and opinion." This, of course, was perfectly right in case of such an alliance, the continuance of

[1] Barbé Marbois, "History of Louisiana," p. 152.

[2] Butler's History of Kentucky, 140.

which was not possible without perfect mutual confidence, though Mr. Mann Butler, in his "History of Kentucky," is disposed to treat it as "a step of degrading compliance, which, whenever this country may be again disposed to take, it had better surrender in form an independence which she would no longer retain in reality." But advice and opinion of allies are not to govern in case of boundaries, except under very peculiar circumstances, for no power has the right to expect its ally to surrender territory which it would not surrender in a similar contingency. This was the position to which Jay held when France endeavored to influence and control him in his negotiations with Spain, and the result finally was that he secured the support of his associate envoys and carried the main point for which he had been contending,—the ultimate right of the United States to enjoy the benefits of the free navigation of the Mississippi. But De Vergennes gave him great trouble, his object undoubtedly being to open the way for the retrocession of some part of the West to France, either by Spain, or Great Britain, or by the United States in acknowledgment of their obligations to France. The country west of the Alleghanies and south of the Ohio, he contended, could not belong to the United States except as being a part of British territory. But it was not territory of Great Britain, because that country had excluded the whites from it and acknowledged the independence of the Indians settled in it,—the Shawanese, Cherokees, Chocktaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws. He proposed, therefore, a line starting at the north boundary of West Florida, on the Tombigbee River, up that river northeast till its head was reached, thence across to the bend of the Cumberland, and down that river to the Ohio. East of this line was to be territory of the United States; west of it free Indian territory, but the tribes to be under the protection of Spain. The lands situated to the north of the Ohio, Vergennes proposed, with significant obscurity, were to be "regulated by the Court of London." This proposed boundary, it will be observed, excluded the United States entirely from the Mississippi River.

Jay would not assent to any such terms, however, and after a tedious negotiation,—the preliminary articles being signed Jan. 20, 1783, but the final treaty of peace not being concluded until September 3d, and the ratifications were not exchanged until May, 1784,—a basis for peace between the four powers was determined, Spain securing East and West Florida and the free navigation of the Mississippi River from its source to its mouth being granted to both the United States and Great Britain. The dividing line between Spain and the United States on the south was on the thirty-first parallel, running due east from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochie, down that to its junction with the Flint, thence to the head of St. Mary's River, and down that river to the ocean. Spain, however, had no intention whatever of conceding the free navigation of the lower Mississippi to the United States. She explicitly withheld and denied the privilege in fact, with the sinister intention of profiting by the agitation which was expected to ensue. A correspondence arose between Mr. Jay and the State Department authorities and the Spanish minister, Don Diego Gardoqui, who protested that the Spanish king would never permit any nation to use that river, both banks of which belonged to him. Mr. Jay was called before Congress, the only power in the country under the feeble and disorganized *régime* of the old Confederacy, and he informed that body that Spain was ready to grant the United States some extensive and valuable commercial privileges, but also that she was capable, by favoring Portugal and England, and by spurring the Barbary States to new acts of piracy, to injure us seriously. No treaty could be had with Spain, however, he assured Congress, until boundary lines and the Mississippi River question were definitely settled. The claims of the United States were just and should prevail, but, under existing circumstances, Mr. Jay was inclined to believe in the expediency of "a treaty with Spain, limited to twenty or thirty years, the United States stipulating that, for the term of the treaty, they would forbear to navigate the Mississippi below their southern boundary." Mr. Jay's view was that, "however important the navigation might ultimately be, it would not probably be very essential during the proposed term; and that, therefore, it might be good policy to consent not to use for a certain period what they did not want, in consideration of valuable commercial privileges."

Gardoqui rejected this proposition of Jay's, which had been adopted by Congress by a vote of seven Eastern States to five Southern ones. The Spanish minister would not make that the subject of a treaty which his sovereign claimed as an absolute right, and so accordingly he declined to negotiate further. The news, however, got to Kentucky of these negotiations. It reached there in the shape of a distorted rumor that Jay had proposed to the Spanish minister to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty or thirty years, and this rumor, circulated among a disquieted, discontented, and excitable people, was like fire to tinder. A flame of disorder arose, adroitly fanned by designing men, which several times threatened war and the dissolution of the Union.

Kentucky had many causes for discontent about

this time. There was a great rush of immigration, and there had been so many changes in the land laws that titles were in constant conflict, and many of the old settlers had lost their lands entirely. The products of the rich and teeming soil of Kentucky could only find their way to market down the Mississippi to New Orleans, where they were liable to seizure and plunder, and subject to a hundred exactions. The rapidly-growing population had scarcely any government at all, and no protection except what their own strong arms afforded them, while all the northern frontier of the country across the Ohio was infested by hostile savages, urged to murder and rapine by British emissaries and British pay. Virginia had taken but little care of her strapping backwoods child; the great and big-hearted soldier who, under Virginia's commission, had defended Kentucky, captured Illinois, conquered peace and quelled the savages, by the mere terror of George Rogers Clark's name, into subjection, had been ignobly cashiered; his drafts were dishonored; the debts contracted by him in Virginia's name were unpaid; he and his friends were ruined as well as humiliated, and warrants and writs were taking from him even the little pittance of land which had been the only reward paid him for services such as few men ever rendered to an infant State. Kentucky, moreover, had petitioned Virginia, and Congress likewise, for liberty to become a separate State in the Union; but the petitions were disregarded and ignored. The spirit of self-reliance and independence was very strong in those people; the yoke of allegiance sat very lightly upon their necks, and they were convinced that they could never be very closely united to States with which the only intercourse possible must be had over a barrier of mountains and wilderness.

Spain took note of this condition of Kentucky, and began to encourage it, so as to make it the basis of a series of complicated and subtle intrigues, almost immediately after the close of the war of the Revolution. But the field of the operations of Spain was not confined to Kentucky by any means. They were extended into the whole South west of the Alleghany Mountains. They involved States, Territories, public men, land companies, and Indian tribes, and for nearly twenty years they made the country south of the Ohio the focus of more intrigues of the sword and cloak order than our territory has ever known before or since. Nor was Spain alone in these designs against the peace and unity of the United States. Great Britain twice took part in the intrigues, the first one leading to the exposure, humiliation, and expulsion of a United States senator, and the next to the detection of the miserable Henry conspiracy, the explosion of which was the immediate cause of the war of 1812. France also tried her hand in these Western intrigues under the irrepressible Minister Genet. Don Gardoqui succeeded in his part of the intrigues so far as to establish a plantation of Americans at New Madrid under Col. George W. Morgan, and also in organizing the Mississippi land companies that attempted the Yazoo "land grab," by means of which St. Louis, at least, gained the O'Fallon family. But, indeed, it was the failure of all these Spanish intrigues, and the backwater from them of turbulent and open plotting against Spanish authority on the Mississippi, which principally induced Spain to sign the treaty of San Ildefonso. The Americans were so strong and so unruly as neighbors that Spain feared them, and especially feared for the safety of her most valuable possession, Mexico and the cession of Louisiana and Missouri to France was hastened by the desire to have a strong power like Napoleon's France to guard the Mexican frontier from the Americans. Thus these intrigues may be said to have been one of the chief causes of the cession of Louisiana and Missouri to the United States for it would have been many years probably before we demanded those Territories from Spain, just as we have permitted that country to retain possession of Cuba and Porto Rico undisturbed, whereas these islands would have been ours thirty years ago if Spain had ceded them to Great Britain or France.

The policy of Spain was exceedingly adroit. It consisted in an alternation of annoying restrictions and generous concessions. The people of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi were made to feel the weight of Spain's barbarity and oppression to them as aliens, but the comforts and wealth attending allegiance to Spain; immigration and colonization were encouraged by every sort of liberal concession, but all who refused to become Spanish subjects were driven off and persecuted in every way. The object was to convince the Western people that their interests were bound up in the Mississippi River, which belonged to Spain, and therefore they must also attach themselves to Spain if they wanted to secure the advantages inuring to them from the free navigation of the river. Those advantages, however, it was made plain, were never to be opened to American citizens. Exorbitant duties and fees were levied upon all the products of American industry which went down the Mississippi River, and these were collected and increased peremptorily by the military power. There were imposts and export duties, port dues and taxes, revenue officers and custom-houses in every quarter, and scarce

and confiscation was the penalty of every infraction of a complicated and arbitrary revenue system. These things, while they did not teach the Western people to feel any greater love for Spain, and indeed they hated her heartily, made them see the benefits to them of securing the Spanish system, and made them despise the helplessness of the confederation under which they lived, but which gave them no protection and did not save them from every sort of imposition. It was then that the subtle Spanish agents promised them that they would get free navigation and all the advantages of an untrammeled commerce without becoming Spanish subjects simply by throwing off their allegiance to the government of the United States and erecting one of their own as a free and independent State.

The offer was a tempting one, and it chimed in with the natural instincts of the people. The burdens upon their commerce were so heavy that immunity from them seemed like a rich reward to receive for a simple act of secession. The Spanish exactions on American commerce in the Mississippi were similar to those now imposed on American commerce with Cuba. They took the shape of heavy transit and port duties on exports of produce and merchandise descending the river. "Every article thus introduced into Louisiana, of which Western Tennessee was claimed as a portion, and all kinds of trade descending the river were compelled to pay an excise duty to the government, varying at different times, according to the arbitrary will of the intendant or the orders of the king, from six to twenty-five per cent. *ad valorem*. For the collection of this duty a military force with revenue officers was stationed at New Madrid and other points below, by whom every boat was compelled to land and submit to have their cargoes overhauled, and sometimes when deception was suspected to have them unloaded, in order that the Spanish officers might be satisfied of the cargo upon which to assess the duties. When duties were thus paid and papers furnished the boat was required to land at each port below and exhibit the evidence of having paid duties; refusal to do so exposed them to be fired into from the batteries or to be pursued, and subjected to heavy fines, imprisonment, and confiscations. The latter penalty was a favorite measure with the Spanish officers; for in that case they generally managed to appropriate the spoils to their own use."[1] The Spanish officials were tyrannical, and they were corrupt and greedy, and were easily able to add severity to laws naturally offensive. The new policy was profitable to them, while it seemed to promote the far-reaching designs of their government.

Those designs at the start had the encouragement of prosperity and success. The Tallapoosa Indians, under their chief, the shrewd and accomplished half-breed, McGillivray, as early as 1784, proposed a scheme of alliance and commerce with Florida and Louisiana, one object of which was to promote the dismemberment of the United States. The chief showed with great acuteness what he thought should be Spanish policy under the circumstances of the times.

"Since the publication of the general treaty of peace," he wrote, "the American Congress has brought to light a situation of its affairs showing the debts and revenues of the Confederacy. . . . In order to raise the necessary funds to meet these claims, the Congress has imposed duties, taxes, and contributions, striking alike the thirteen United States. This expedient has produced so unfavorable an impression that a good many of their citizens, in order to escape from the burden of taxation, have abandoned their dwellings for the woods, and have marched towards the Mississippi, in order to unite with a certain number of disbanded soldiers who are anxious to possess themselves of a considerable portion of the territory watered by this river, and they propose establishing what they call *Western Independence*, and throwing aside the authority of the American Congress. The emigrants are so numerous that in a short time it is possible that they may find themselves strong enough to carry into execution their scheme of separation; and if they once form settlements on the Mississippi, it will require much time, trouble, and expense to dislodge them. I can assure you the Americans of the South employ every means in their power to enlist the feelings of the Tallapoosas in their behalf and to secure the support of their nation. Should they succeed the result of their influence will be that the Indians, instead of remaining the friends of Spain, will become very dangerous neighbors, and will assist the Americans in all the designs which they may form against Pensacola, Mobile, or any part of the adjacent Spanish dominions; and of all these things the Americans speak openly. I will now communicate my views as to the best course to be pursued to frustrate their designs."[2]

The plan advocated by McGillivray was to conciliate the Indians and secure their alliance by liberal commercial favors and advantages. The Spaniards accordingly called a grand council of the Southern Indian tribes at Pensacola and Mobile, at which were present Arthur O'Neil, commandant at Pensacola; the Spanish intendant of Louisiana, Navarro; and the deputy or *ad interim* Governor, Esteban Miró,—Galvez having been promoted. The Indian congress met May 30, 1784, with great pomp and many presents, and treaties of alliance and commerce were duly negotiated. McGillivray was pensioned by being placed on the Spanish pay-roll as commissary general to his tribe. The Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Ala-

[1] Monette's History of the Valley of the Mississippi, vol. i. p. 72.

[2] Gayarré, History of Louisiana, ii. 159.

bamas were duly conciliated in the same manner. It is to the lasting honor of Spain that her representatives, as it was expressed, "*en obsequio de la humanidad, y correspondiendo à los generosos sentimientos de la nacion Española,*" compelled the Indians to pledge themselves specifically in all these treaties to "renounce forever the custom of raising scalps and of making slaves of our white captives," and also to treat prisoners humanely and bring them promptly forward for exchange. The treaties confirmed the Indians in possession of their lands, and provided carefully for their trade on principles of equity.

McGillivray proved a useful and active ally to the Spaniards. He had a share in the profits of the trade of his tribe at Pensacola, and his pension paid him six hundred dollars a year. In return, as the Intendant Navarro put it, "so long as we have this chief on our side, we may rely on having established between the Floridas and Georgia a barrier which it will not be easy to break through. The Indians are now fully convinced of the ambition of the Americans; the recollection of past injuries still dwells in their minds, and, with it, the fear that these greedy neighbors may one day seize upon their lands, and strip them of a property to which they consider themselves as having a right derived from nature itself. *It ought to be one of the chief points in the policy of this government to keep this sentiment alive in their hearts.*" Navarro added that "if the province of Louisiana is intended to serve as a barrier against the Americans, it cannot answer this purpose without a considerable increase of its population, and it can acquire the numerous population of which it is susceptible only through agriculture and commerce. The one requires protection, the other assistance. The latter cannot prosper without freedom and unlimited expansion; the former cannot succeed without laborers." Navarro had a full appreciation of the difficulties of the situation of Louisiana in respect to the United States, and it seems probable that he was one of the first to urge Governor Mirò to act upon McGillivray's hints and suggestions. Georgia had sent its commissioners to New Orleans in 1785, claiming a great territory on the east bank of the Mississippi, from Loftus' Heights northward. This territory was settled by Spaniards and Frenchmen and already had a large population,—ten thousand souls, it is said. Mirò and Navarro temporized. They knew that there was a much deeper trouble up above, and that the people on the Ohio, if they could not be conciliated or diverted in some way, would soon be organizing expeditions to take New Orleans. They were already petitioning Congress on the subject. Navarro insisted on special privileges and exemptions to aid and promote immigration, and so successful were these measures that a large American population soon began to pour into West Florida. It was Navarro's idea to use Americans and foreign immigrants generally to keep out Americans. "The powerful enemies we have to fear in this province," he wrote to the home government, "are not the English, but the Americans, whom we must oppose by active and sufficient measures. . . . There is no time to be lost. Mexico is on the other side of the Mississippi, in the vicinity of the already formidable establishment of the Americans. The only way to check them is with a proportionate population, and is not by imposing commercial restrictions that this population is to be acquired, but by granting a prudent extension and freedom of trade."

And now the Spanish policy and Spanish intrigues began to tell in various parts of the country south of the Ohio. What is now the State of Tennessee was the first to succumb to the ingenious wiles of the enemy, supplemented, as these were, by the ambition and impatience of restraint of a self-governing people in a comparative wilderness, and by the adroit contrivances of popular leaders, many, if not the most of whom were subsidized by Spain, and regular or irregular pensioners of the unscrupulous government of that country. The Spanish pay-rolls of that day are not yet accessible, but when they do eventually come to the light the world will be surprised to see how many hirelings Spain had among men prominent in American councils and leaders of public opinion, particularly at the West. It is pretty conclusively established even now that the list of Spanish pensioners did not end with Innis, Brown, Sebastian, Wilkinson, O'Fallon, etc. Blount was not the only senator who deserved expulsion, nor Wilkinson the only prominent officer in the service of the United States who deserved to be hung. George Rogers Clark with his usual insight into affairs and his usual resolute promptitude for signal and decisive action, was in favor of breaking the thread of Spanish intrigue by force, and of profiting by British countenance and sympathy to provoke actual hostilities with Spain. He did not believe in a free Kentucky or in a Spanish alliance, but in the prompt expulsion of the Spanish flag from the Mississippi, which it was attempting to close to American commerce. He was willing to commit the overt act himself which should lead to war, for he knew that any such war must end in the conquest of Louisiana. Accordingly, being at Vincennes he seized the goods of Spanish traders there, and took care to publish the fact, at the same time sending notice of it to the Georgians who were seeking to plant themselves in the lower Mississippi. "The

will not let us trade down the Mississippi,—we will prevent them from trading up the Wabash. They seize and confiscate our goods,—let us confiscate theirs." But Virginia and Congress, while they did not expressly repudiate Clark's vigorous action, carefully refrained from following it up. Washington's watchful conservatism at this time offered an almost invincible barrier to vigorous action, for he saw instinctively that the passive, expectant policy was the only safe one. While Harry Innis was writing to the Governor of Virginia that he was "decidedly of the opinion that this Western country will in a few years act for itself and erect an independent government," and while John Sevier was actually erecting the free and independent "State of Frankland" (Stevens, "History of Georgia," says the proper name was Frank*lin*) in Western North Carolina, Washington was sedulously pursuing the means he thought fittest to knit the detached portions of the republic close together in one common indissoluble union. His plan was to develop as promptly as possible a comprehensive scheme of internal improvements, and secure to the people of the West what they desired and needed most,—cheap and adequate means of transportation for their products to Atlantic seaports. Canals and roads to unite the Ohio with the Potomac and the Susquehanna, he was fully persuaded, would so bind together the East and the West by the indissoluble bonds of interest, that no intrigues would avail of Spaniards in the South or British in the North to lure the West away to illicit commercial and political connections.

"Would it not be," he wrote to Richard Henry Lee, "worthy of the wisdom and attention of Congress to have the Western waters well explored, the navigation of them fully ascertained and accurately laid down, and a complete and perfect map made of the country, at least as far westerly as the Miamis, running into the Ohio and Lake Erie, and to see how the waters of these communicate with the River St. Joseph, which empties into . . . Michigan, and with the Wabash? . . .

. . "However singular the opinion may be," he writes to the same gentleman on another occasion, "I cannot divest myself of it, that the navigation of the Mississippi *at this time* . . to be no object with us. On the contrary, until we have . . time allowed to open and make easy the ways between Atlantic States and the Western territory, *the obstructions* . . . *ties remain*. There is nothing that binds one country or State to another but interest."

At the same time that this canal and national road policy was favored, the general government was fostering schemes for extensive immigration into the country north of the Ohio, three or four very large land companies being interested in it as a matter of speculation. It was characteristic of these Western land companies that while those of the North were usually large corporations, buying up enormous tracts, employing agents, and proposing to plant colonies in order to enhance the value of their lands, those of the South were (excepting the Yazoo jobbery) made up of bodies of settlers, who, having secured capital sufficient for their purposes, arranged to go upon their lands and improve them in person. The early land claims in Kentucky, Western Carolina, and Georgia were those of actual settlers and pioneers. Col. Morgan led his own party to New Madrid, and the O'Fallon party from South Carolina was also made up of intending settlers. It was this class which began to improve lands and take up homesteads in the western part of North Carolina as early as 1777. At that time the county of Washington was formed, comprising nearly the whole of the present State of Tennessee. Many of the settlers were fugitives, driven out by the Scotch Highlanders and Tories, who were so numerous on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge. These formed a settlement near the site of Nashville, and by the end of the Revolutionary war there was quite a population in East and Middle Tennessee. These people were cut off from the mother State, they were harassed by their neighbors the Cherokees, they had no military organization, and Congress was not prepared to give them a State or Territorial government, though North Carolina was quite willing to cede the entire territory for that purpose. The people thereupon called a convention, declared their independence of North Carolina, and erected the "State of Frankland," with a full corps of officials. A delegate was elected and sent to Congress to ask admission for the new State, but Congress refused to receive the delegate, while North Carolina determined to enforce its own jurisdiction and put down the State of Frankland as a rebel against its authority. Col. John Sevier was at the head of the new State organization, and for a time there was conflict of authority and many other troubles. Finally, however, North Carolina succeeded in overthrowing the squatter sovereignty party. Sevier was attainted of treason, amnestied, outlawed, arrested, but finally released. He had, however, undoubtedly been engaged in intrigues with the Indians friendly to Spain and Spanish interests, and now he began to intrigue directly with Spain itself. He opened a correspondence with Don Diego Gardoqui, while at the same time the people of West Tennessee, to show where their sympathies lay, changed the name of their district from Cumberland to Mirò District, in compliment to the Governor of Louisiana.

Sevier wrote to Gardoqui in 1788 that "the inhabitants of Frankland are unanimous in their vehement

desire to form an alliance and treaty of commerce with Spain, and to put themselves under her protection." He also asked for a supply of arms and ammunition to enable them to throw off the yoke of North Carolina. Gardoqui, who was acting under the same general orders as those which governed Mirò, but who seems to have preferred to plot unassisted, thought that Sevier's propositions deserved attention. He employed a delegate in Congress, Dr. James White, of Davidson County, a man very prominent in the early Legislatures of Tennessee, to go to Frankland and Mirò Districts and prepare the people for the Spanish protectorate. It is said that White's pay was only four hundred dollars. He went to Tennessee, and thence proceeded to Louisiana to consult with Governor Mirò. He bore letters from Gardoqui, assuring the leaders of Frankland that they would be protected in every way if they gave their allegiance to Spain. Governor Mirò received White very coldly. He thought that Gardoqui was invading his own province. "The inhabitants of Frankland," he wrote to the home government, "had already thrown off the mask when White came among them, and would certainly have had recourse to me, as is proved by John Sevier's letters, without the interference of the doctor." Still, he told White he would deal generously by Tennessee, granting special trade immunities to all persons who were in the interest of Spain. He would not join them in plotting against the United States, but if they secured their independence by their own act, then Spain would accord them protection and trade privileges. He also put White *en rapport* with Gen. Wilkinson, at that time the chief Spanish agent in Kentucky, and made arrangements to secure complete concert of action between them.[1]

While these intrigues were in progress their contrivers were reinforced from another quarter. A land company was formed in Charleston, S. C., in 1789, which, in conjunction with other companies in Georgia and the North, bought of the State of Georgia a tract of fifty-two thousand nine hundred square miles in the Yazoo country on the Mississippi. This sale was afterwards repudiated by Georgia, and protracted litigation grew out of it. The principal members of the Yazoo Land Company were Alexander Moultrie, Col. Washington (his real name Walsh,—hung afterwards for forgery), Isaac Huger, and William Snipes. Wilkinson applied to the company to be appointed their agent. He did this, so he wrote to Mirò, in order to induce them to sue for Spanish protection. The company, however, declined Wilkinson's overtures, and selected as their agent Dr. James O'Fallon. This gentleman was a resident of Charleston. He was of an old Irish family, had been highly educated in the land of his birth, and had served with distinction in the Revolutionary army of the land of his adoption. He was "as thoroughly a traitor as Wilkinson," says the edition of Albach's "Annals of the West." It is certain that he at once put himself in communication with Mirò, and expressed himself with what he styled "characteristic frankness" in regard to the importance of his mission to the Spanish empire in general, and Louisiana and West Florida in particular. He also refers, specifically, to "my natural disposition to contribute to the glory and prosperity of the crown which you serve (*which disposition is quite notorious at the Spanish Court, through the information afforded by its minister at New York and the Governor of St. Augustine, who, from abundant experience, can testify to it*"). O'Fallon said he had a great scheme, all of his own contriving, a long time ago, and the members of the land company he represented had fallen into it, being all of them dissatisfied with the present government. They had given him plenary powers to execute the plot. He had also, he said, completely hoodwinked the most influential members of the Legis-

[1] These people were all embarked very sedulously in treasonable plots, yet they did not consider themselves traitors, nor do their fellow-citizens appear to have so regarded them. Perhaps these latter were not aware of the fact that their leaders were all in Spanish pay, but certainly they lost no popularity. White was elected again and again to the Legislature. Sevier, who was a soldier in the Revolution, one of the leaders at King's Mountain, and a daring and successful partisan in repeated attacks upon the Indians, was one of the most popular men of his day. He was a standing toast in Georgia, for which he had fought against the Cherokees. He was twice elected Governor of Tennessee, and held many other important positions. Blount, first Governor of Tennessee Territory by Washington's appointment, and first United States senator from Tennessee, was expelled the Senate for bribery and treason. Gen. Daniel Smith and Col. James Robertson, also distinguished leaders, were foremost in trying to surrender Tennessee to Spanish influence. Wilkinson was always a favorite in Kentucky, and Judge Sebastian did not lose his popularity until, many years after the excitement of these times had died away, it was proved he was in receipt of a regular annual stipend from Spain. In fact, there was a general spirit of disunion at that time along the whole Southern border, and the Spanish agents had been so active as to disintegrate the instinct itself of loyalty and union. Discontent and pelf were at the bottom of it,—land greed and rude resentment of people and soldiers impoverished by a worthless currency. As has been said by a writer who has studied the subject closely, "In all the settlements and the districts of the Southwest, at the formation of the Federal Constitution, there was a general hostility to the Federal government, and the leading politicians of that country, acting as it were, by a common impulse, were plotting the dissolution of the Union and the surrender of their country to the dominion of Spain."

ture of Georgia, "and, without their having suspected in the beginning what I was aiming at, I insensibly prevailed upon them to acquiesce in my political views (after the obtaining of the concession), *and led them to consent to be the slaves of Spain*, under the appearance of a free and independent State, forming a rampart for the adjoining Spanish territories, and establishing with them an eternal reciprocal alliance, offensive and defensive."

This beginning, O'Fallon felt sure, would open the way to the severance from the Union of all the settlements west of the mountains. He had induced his colonists, people of great influence, power, and talent, to move to the colony in person with their families, and to repudiate the authority of Congress. There would soon be ten thousand men in the settlement, and all that they desired of Spain for their projected establishment was a secret co-operation, eventually to be ripened into a close friendship. "I assure you," wrote O'Fallon, "that Spain will obtain everything from them in return except the sacrifice of their liberty of conscience and of their civil government." He volunteers the information that he had been corresponding with Spanish officials for over two years, and acting as the secret agent and spy of the Spanish government, and that of Great Britain also, while aiding and promoting an immigration of ten thousand Irish, American, and German families to East Florida.

O'Fallon also informs Mirò that he intends to go to New Orleans and confer with him, and that in the mean time he will do nothing without that official's consent and approbation, "because I aim at nothing else than serving the interests of Spain, to which I am hereditarily attached." In short, he was that sort of traitor who loved the treason, who betrayed double trusts from an instinctive duplicity, which he tried to disguise under a decent cloak to his conscience. Mirò mistrusted him, did not want his colony so near to Natchez and New Orleans, did not put faith in his colonists, and quietly supplied the Chickasaw Indians with powder and ball and advice to expel by force any Americans who might undertake to trespass on their lands. He was quite willing to let O'Fallon's people come in and settle as Spanish subjects, but he arranged it so that the Indians could mount guard over them. Afterwards he showed his contempt for and mistrust of all this horde of traitors, big and small, by erecting a strong Spanish fort on the Chickasaw Bluff at Memphis. Likewise, he proposed to the home government the propriety of pensioning Gen. Wilkinson, as a useful spy upon the American people, and Judge Sebastian, as a spy upon Wilkinson.

It has been made evident, without coming to the case of Kentucky, which will presently be stated in full, that there was a pretty general conspiracy at this time for the dismemberment of the United States. The Union, under the old articles of confederation, was, in the words of Gayarré, "weak in the very bones and marrow of its organization." The Western people were utterly discontented and disheartened. Congress had not only failed to give them relief in response to their numerous petitions, but they had entirely lost faith in its capacity to relieve them, and they determined to look elsewhere. Judge Martin, in his "History of Louisiana," classifies the malcontents into five distinctive parties:

"The first was for being independent of the United States, and for the formation of a new republic, unconnected with the old one and resting on a basis of its own and a close alliance with Spain.

"Another party was willing that the country should become a part of the province of Louisiana, and submit to the admission of the laws of Spain.

"A third desired a war with Spain and the seizure of New Orleans.

"A fourth plan was to prevail on Congress, by a show of preparation for war, to extort from the cabinet of Madrid what it persisted in refusing.

"The last, as unnatural as the second, was to solicit France to procure a retrocession of Louisiana, and to extend her protection to Kentucky."

It was the policy of Gardoqui and Mirò, while fostering discontent in every quarter and promoting the tendency to secession, to secure as large an immigration as possible into Spanish territory, and to that end there were very liberal concessions of public lands. After 1795, when the Spanish intrigues were confessedly a failure as regards the acquisition of new territory, the inducements to individual settlers were made still stronger, and Spanish agents offered large tracts to influential pioneers who might be expected to become the foci of settlements and immigration. In this way, in 1795, the family of Daniel Boone, and the old pioneer himself, were induced to leave Kentucky and settle on lands given to them by the Governor of St. Louis.

Gardoqui and Mirò would probably have been much more successful in their plottings if they had co-operated with one another. But, as Gayarré has noted, "both these Spanish functionaries were partners in the same game, and yet they were unwilling to communicate to each other the cards they had in hand. Each one was bent upon his own plan, and taking care to conceal it from the other; each one had his own secret agents, unknown to the colleague whom he ought to have called to his assistance. There was a want of concert, arising perhaps from jealousy, from

the lack of confidence, from ambition, from the desire of engrossing all the praise and reward in case of success, or from some other cause. Be it what it may, the consequence was that the schemes of these two men frequently counteracted each other, and resulted in a series of measures which were at variance and contradictory, and which seemed inexplicable to him who had not the key to what was going on behind the curtain."

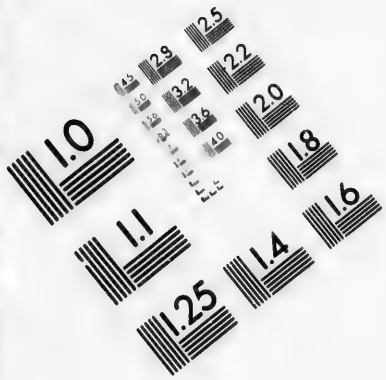
We have seen that the first mutterings of discontent arose in Kentucky, upon a Pittsburgh version reaching there of the proposition not to insist on the navigation of the Mississippi. At that date there was no printing-press in Kentucky, and the garbled Pittsburgh report is said to have been written out and stuck up upon trees in the court towns, like sheriff's notices. At that time there was but one store in Louisville, that of Daniel Brodhead, who had come from Philadelphia, whence his merchandise was hauled by teams over the mountains to Pittsburgh, thence carried in flat-boat, ark, and "broad-horn" to the place of his destination. In February, 1784, however, Brevet Brig.-Gen. James Wilkinson, late United States army, arrived in Lexington, shortly afterwards going to Louisville to represent sundry speculative enterprises, land, trading, and commerce, which originated in Philadelphia, and of which Wilkinson was agent or active partner. This active, enterprising, and ingenious person played so large a part in the affairs of the West from that time forth that it is proper to say a word or two concerning him. His store in Lexington was the first opened there, his ferry at Frankfort the first also. Wilkinson was a Marylander, born in Prince George's County. When the Revolution broke out he was in Georgetown, member of a local military company. He at once went on to Boston and attached himself to a Pennsylvania regiment. He finally became aide-de-camp to Gates, distinguished himself in the Saratoga campaign, and bore the dispatches to Congress announcing the surrender of Burgoyne. Congress rewarded him with the brevet of brigadier-general, but he was so pompous about it and so slow that caustic old Dr. Witherspoon proposed to "vote the young man a pair of spurs." Wilkinson contrived to get himself mixed up in the Gates-Conway imbroglio,—indeed, his indiscreet disclosures led to that trouble. After the war he went to Kentucky, and for several years engaged in business. He returned to the army and served as brigadier under Wayne; and when that officer died he received the vacant major-generalship. He commanded the Western Department, from Detroit to New Orleans, until the war of 1812, when he was assigned to service on the lakes, but showed such a general incompetency that he was forced to withdraw. He was three times tried by court-martial, but each time acquitted. He died in Mexico in 1825, just when he had succeeded in getting a large grant of land in Texas. He was a fussy, conceited, turbulent, unscrupulous, and untruthful person, given to intrigue, dishonest and malicious; but his abilities were really great, and his energy and activity most remarkable. He had a talent for command, organization, leadership, and few men have exercised greater influence or had a wider acquaintance. His knowledge of the West was close and intimate, and, on the whole, he was of service to the country. He established the first United States troops in the cantonments at Bellefontaine, near St. Louis, and he had a fine military eye, as the places he chose for camps and forts proved well enough. As soon as Wilkinson arrived in Kentucky he made himself the leader of a political party, and was for years the most conspicuous man in the West. He had great audacity in conceiving and initiating bold and broad enterprises; he was full of *finesse*, address, and had an eloquence, inflated and meretricious to be sure, but which served his ends. He was in all the early Kentucky conventions, and all the addresses and petitions of the day show marks of his pen. His manners were easy and winning; he was amiable, a *bon vivant*, with a head trained under Gates (it is said that in one of his drinking bouts, out of which he came unharmed, he killed the Spanish Governor, Don Gayoso de Lemos); his hospitality was liberal, he liked display and fuss and feathers, and under cover of these carried on intrigues of the deepest and most complicated sort. He plied up and down the Ohio and Mississippi in the gayest of ornamental barges, but never failed to do the work of his employers and carry out his own selfish adventures.[1]

[1] Was James Wilkinson a traitor? The question is ... asked; the answer must be, after examining the testimony ... that he certainly was. His treason may not have been ... injurious. He managed to turn about at the right time in ... Spanish intrigues, and to abandon and betray Burr at the ... moment for his own advantage. But that is not the ques... Did he betray his government for hire, and take pay for sel... ing the secrets of the United States while an officer in the ... pay? In his elaborate and copious defense Wilkinson den... this, and seeks to prove that the money he received from Ne... Orleans was the profit of legitimate business transactions. W... kinson, however, never told the truth, except when it was ... interest to do so, and since his court-martial evidence ... been obtained which makes it almost certain that he was ... regular pensioner of the Spanish government at New Orle... from 1787 down to 1804, in addition to the commercial adv... tages accorded him, and which were simply an indirect for... bribery. The reports of Mirò to the Spanish government ... that Wilkinson believed he had put both his life and hono...

As soon as Wilkinson arrived in Kentucky he began to take an active interest in political intrigue. He was well trained for this from his experience in the headquarters' department of camps. He became a delegate to the first regular Kentucky convention, which met at Danville on Dec. 27, 1784. His associates in this and subsequent conventions were the ablest men in the State,—Samuel McDowell, George Muter, Benjamin Logan, James Speed, Harry Innis, Christopher Irvine, James Rogers, John Craig, Benjamin Sebastian, James Meriwether, Isaac Shelby, Humphrey Marshall, Alex. Breckinridge, William Kennedy, etc.,—yet Wilkinson, a comparative stranger, was selected to draw up the address and resolutions in favor of separation from Virginia, and of "sovereignty and independence." Wilkinson had just that florid style, that tone of elevated ideality of buncombe which suited a young and ardent community of backwoodsmen, and his address made such an impression as gave him a firm and strong hold upon the affections of the people. In fact, the address carried the point with Virginia also, and in 1787–89, Kentucky secured its final divorce from the mother of States and statesmen. Meantime the commercial operations of Wilkinson became more extensive, and he was naturally led to take an interest in the Mississippi River question, that river being Kentucky's only outlet for trade. The report came down the Ohio from Pittsburgh that Minister Jay had "proposed to the Spanish minister to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty or thirty years." Wilkinson immediately took up the subject in a practical and business-like way, while Muter, Innis, John Brown (afterwards member of Congress), and Sebastian, in March, 1787, made it the revolving-point of a bitter political agitation by calling a public meeting on the subject at Danville. The circular calling the meeting impeached and reproached the action of Congress in neglecting the rights of the Western people to free navigation of the Mississippi. Congress and Virginia, however, explained that there had been no surrender and would be no waiver, and the Danville meeting took no action, though the feelings of the people were much worked up, and it was said that "to sell us and make us vassals to the merciless Spaniards was a grievance not to be borne." In June, 1787, however, Wilkinson descended the Mississippi River to New Orleans with a boat load of tobacco, broke the blockade, saw Miro, and came back triumphant. He had secured, he said, special trading privileges for himself, including annual shipments of tobacco for account of Spanish government, and made an arrangement for colonizing several thousand families in West Florida. This was the beginning of the secret cipher correspondence between Wilkinson and Mirò and his successor, Carondelet; and the tobacco arrangement gave him great influence, for all who wanted to sell the staple in New Orleans to any advantage must do so through him. Mann Butler, in his "History of Kentucky," believes that Wilkinson must be acquitted of treasonable practices in respect

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Mirò's hands. He declared to Mirò that his main object was to deliver Kentucky to Spain, and after Mirò had retired and Carondelet took his place, his first act was to put himself in communication with Wilkinson as a well-known Spanish agent. In one of his letters Wilkinson refers to numerous Federal appointments made in Kentucky in order to break up the secession party, adding, "But I know that Harry Innis is friendly to Spain and hostile to Congress, and I am authorized to say that he would much prefer receiving a pension from New Orleans than from New York." Could or would any but a pensioner himself write thus? The fact that Wilkinson refused the ten thousand dollars offered him by Power in 1795, when he knew the Spanish cause was hopeless, proves that Power was informed he had taken Spanish money before or else he would never have dared approach a man of such high military rank in any such way. But the most conclusive evidence of Wilkinson's treason is to be found in the secret *memoir*, a report on Louisiana, made to Napoleon when First Consul of the French republic, by M. de Pontalba, an old resident of New Orleans, and thoroughly versed in the history, statistics, and politics of Louisiana. In speaking of the efforts made by Spain to induce Kentucky and Tennessee to secede, Pontalba said, "The Spanish government was assisted in this policy by a powerful inhabitant of Kentucky, who possesses much influence with his countrymen, and enjoys great consideration for the services he rendered to the cause of liberty when occupying high grades in the army of the United States, who from that time has never ceased to serve Spain in all her views, and who will put the same zeal at the command of France, because he thinks with reason that an intimate union between her and Louisiana is more advantageous to his country (Kentucky) than its present relations with the United States. This individual, whose name I shall not mention in order not to expose him, but which I shall make known when his services shall be needed, came to New Orleans in 1787," etc. Here Pontalba goes on to enumerate Wilkinson's repeated services to Spain, adding, in a foot-note, "Four times, from 1786 to 1792, preparations were made in Kentucky and Cumberland to attack Louisiana, and every time this same individual caused them to fail through his influence over his countrymen. I make these facts known to show that France must not neglect to enlist this individual in her service." *Che Gan fu traditore primà che nato!* If this be not the portrait of a traitor and hireling, what is it then? Wilkinson detected and exposed Burr's conspiracy, but how did he do it? By partaking first so deep of Burr's treason himself as to divert suspicion from himself. This, indeed, Wilkinson admits, and treats it as a necessary circumstance, but if Wilkinson had seen an assured successful issue to Burr's plot, who imagines that he would have betrayed it? Burr always declared that the suggestion of the plot came from Wilkinson, while he matured it. That would have been like Wilkinson, who, after Burr's trial, had the impudence to send his aide-de-camp Burling to Mexico to demand two hundred thousand dollars from the viceroy as compensation for having betrayed that province.



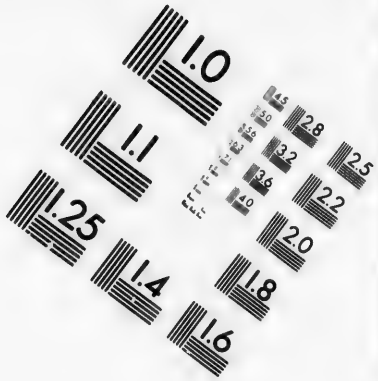
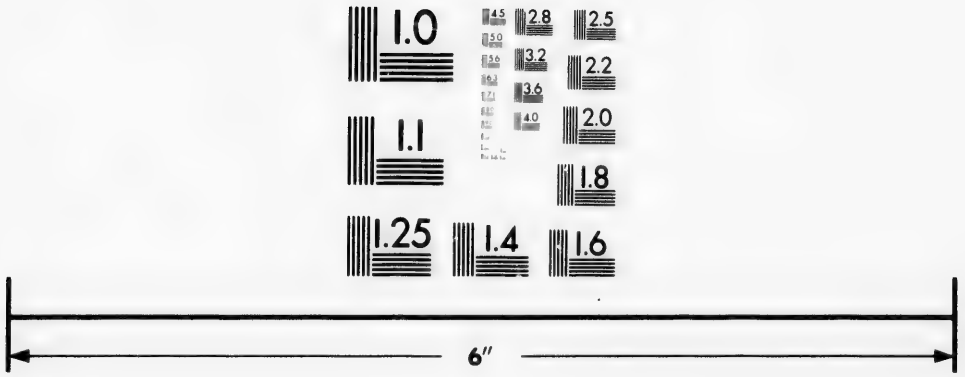
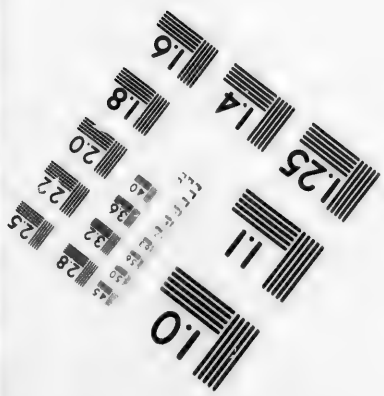
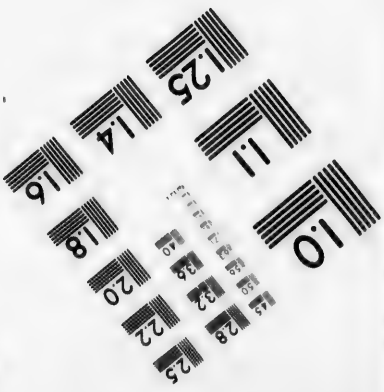


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to these transactions. But he had only the record of the military court to guide him. The official papers leave no room for doubt that, in the words of Marshall's "History of Kentucky," "the tobacco contract was a mere cover for a pension, and the clandestine and dishonorable part was carefully concealed from all but coadjutors."

Wilkinson sought but was not able to get himself received as a Spanish subject. He got a contract, however, to deliver two hundred thousand pounds of tobacco per annum at ten dollars a hundred, and he began to buy accordingly on his return to Kentucky, in February, 1788. He also had much to say about the indispensable privilege of free navigation, and the necessity of a close commercial connection with Louisiana and Spain in order to secure it. In the mean time he was reporting, in frequent dispatches to Mirò, all that transpired in Kentucky, and especially all the fine performances of Wilkinson in making ground for Spain. In July, 1788, immediately after Virginia had ratified the Constitution of the United States, Kentucky's Constitutional Convention met, and it was discovered that there was a deep feeling abroad already. In the words of Marshall, "there was now observed the most deep-felt vexation, a share of ill temper bordering on disaffection, and strong symptoms of assuming independent government. The navigation of the Mississippi and the trade to New Orleans, now just tasted for the first time, were strenuously pressed into the argument in favor of completing the Constitution and organizing government without delay." Wilkinson's hand may be seen in this; that of Gardoqui also, who had sent an agent of his own into Kentucky in the person of Pierre Wower d'Argès, now soliciting emigrants from Kentucky and Cumberland to West Florida, liberal grants of land being offered them by way of persuasion. Slaves, stock, utensils, provisions could be introduced by them for two years free of duty, religion was made free, and large bodies of land conceded. Col. George Morgan, of Princeton, N. J., as has already been said, on this incentive, got considerable concession at L'Anse de la Graisse, and founded New Madrid, to which much immigration, and trade also, was attracted in the next few years. Mirò was afraid the operations of d'Argès would embarrass or else provoke Wilkinson, and wrote to the home government about it. Besides, d'Argès offered the Kentuckians free trade, and that did not suit either Mirò or Wilkinson, who sought to exasperate the Kentuckians by obstructing trade as much as possible. "The Western people," he wrote, "would no longer have any inducement to emigrate if they were put in possession of a free trade with us. This is the reason why this privilege should only be granted to a few individuals having influence among them, as is suggested in Wilkinson's memorial, because on their seeing the advantages bestowed on those few they might be easily persuaded to acquire the like by becoming Spanish subjects."

Wilkinson, in fact, was now in his glory. He was going back and forth, gathering news, pulling wires, moving men, and making money also. The Spanish authorities deferred to him in every little matter, and received his long cipher dispaches as if they were oracles. He had been east, and north across the mountains, and found all his predictions were coming true. Kentucky had separated from Virginia: she would soon go to Spain. "I have collected much European and American news," he wrote; "not a measure is taken on both sides of the mountains which does not conspire to favor ours." Mirò wrote to the government to give Wilkinson a chance to increase his profits,—they must buy more tobacco of him. "There is no means more powerful to accomplish the principal object we have in view in the memorial which has been laid before his Majesty than the promise that the government will take as much as six million pounds of their tobacco, instead of the two millions which are now bought from them." Six hundred thousand dollars a year to distribute among Wilkinson and his little tobacco syndicate! No wonder he was anxious to serve Mirò. He wrote of the Kentucky convention to meet in July; says he will feel the pulse of the members, consult with two or three who are capable of assisting him, and then "disclose so much of our great scheme as may appear opportune, according to circumstances." He had no doubt of its favorable reception. He had not been communicative, but had sounded many and found that they were ready to act, and that all could be accomplished by next March. He did not fear Congress; all he feared was the disposition of the Spanish Court.

In fact, the Kentucky convention passed an ordinance for the election of another Assembly in November, to continue in office till January, 1790, and to delegate to the members full powers for securing the admission of the district into the Union and provide for the navigation trouble. There was a secret understanding that the only solution for the troubles of Kentucky now was to treat with Spain, and that was the construction put upon the indefinite proviso mentioned above by such men as Chief Justice Muter and John Brown, as well as Oliver Pollock, the best-informed and most influential American merchant in New Orleans, a man too honest and honorable to be made privy to the secret intrigues of Mirò and Wil-

kinson. The latter wrote, however, after studying the situation, that separation from the United States must preclude alliance with Spain, and the people were not quite ripe for either. "I had to work on a ground not yet prepared for the seed to be deposited in it, and I felt that to produce a favorable impression I had to proceed with reserve, and avoid with the utmost care any demonstration which might be calculated to cause surprise or alarm. . . . I can give you the solemn assurance that I found all the men belonging to the first class in the district, with the exception of Col. Marshall, our surveyor, and Col. Muter, one of our judges, decidedly in favor of separation from the United States and of an alliance with Spain." Wilkinson urges that Spain shall precipitate matters by prohibiting the navigation of the Mississippi to Kentuckians. That will bring ruin. The people will not be able to pay the taxes which the government must levy, and the result will be resistance and civil war. It will be seen from this that Wilkinson's devilish ingenuity anticipated exactly the result which came from the whiskey excise tax in Pennsylvania, and he was willing to expose Kentucky to such disasters in order to promote the objects of his employers. He repeatedly urged the denial of the right to navigate the Mississippi as sure to disrupt the Union and pin all the hopes of the Western section to "the liberality of Spain."

"While this affair is pending," he wrote, "Spain ought to consider the navigation of the Mississippi as one of the most precious jewels of her crown, for whatever power shall command that navigation will control all the country which is watered by that river and by those streams which fall into it. This control will be as effective and complete as that of the key upon the lock, or that of the citadel over the exterior works which it commands. The grant of this boon ought to be looked upon as the price of our attachment and gratitude. . . . I entreat you, sir, to believe that this question of navigation is the main one, on which depends the union of the West and East, and that if Congress can obtain the free use of the Mississippi, and if Spain should cede it without condition, it would strengthen the Union, and would deprive Spain of all its influence in this district."

Don Gardoqui, meantime, had seen John Brown, member of Congress in the old Congress from Kentucky, and informed him that if the people of Kentucky would erect themselves into an independent State and appoint a proper person to negotiate with him, "he had authority for that purpose, and would enter into an arrangement with them for the exportation of their produce to New Orleans on terms of mutual advantage." Congress delayed in admitting Kentucky. The old jealousy of North and South had begun, and the Union was imperiled by holding Kentucky back until Vermont was ready for admission along with it. Brown was in favor of treating with Gardoqui. Wilkinson was loudly repeating that the only safety for Kentucky was the free navigation of the river, which he was in secret urging Mirò to close peremptorily and seize the property of all who ventured on the Mississippi, as was then being done.[1]

Wilkinson's power and influence culminated in the Constitutional Convention. He was the leader to whom all looked up. He contemplated a revolution, and he had the audacity to put the machinery in operation to bring it about. His party was called the Court party, and he was easily their chief. He boldly sprung the Mississippi question in the convention, and frankly avowed himself in favor of separation. Spain, he said, would not grant the navigation of the Mississippi to the United States,—Congress could not obtain it for Kentucky. There was but one way, only one, for obviating these difficulties; that way was beset by constitutions and guarded by laws. He need not state it more explicitly; every gentleman present would connect it with a declaration of independence, the formation of a Constitution, and the organization of a new State. Wilkinson was followed by Brown, who had no specific communications to make from Don Gardoqui, but he would simply inform the convention that, "provided we are *unanimous*, everything we could wish for is within our reach."

But now the golden opportunity was suffered to slip by. The matter was referred to a committee, a report was postponed, and the convention took a long recess. When it met again, Washington was President, and the stable power of the new government began to be felt in Kentucky. Spain had procrastinated too much, as usual, and Washington and Marshall set to work to conciliate the Kentuckians by showing confidence in them. Political and military appointments were bestowed upon Brown, Innis, Scott, Sebastian, Shelby, and Logan, and even Wilkinson himself was recommended by Marshall for appointment as colonel in the regular army. The appointment was made and Wilkinson accepted it.

He did not on that account discontinue his treasonable practices nor cease his correspondence with Mirò, but he became much more circumspect, and, for that

[1] Letter of Daniel Clark, in Wilkinson's Memoirs, Appendix 11, vol. ii.

reason, probably, more dangerous. Gen. St. Clair, in taking command in the Northwest, had somehow heard of his complicity with Spanish intrigue, and wrote to Maj. Dunn, Wilkinson's intimate, to detach him from all such connections. Dunn showed Wilkinson the letter, and the latter wrote to Mirò about it, inclosing a copy of St. Clair's note, to show the dangers he was exposed to in the service of His Catholic Majesty. At the same time Wilkinson showed how cunningly he had balked and baffled a British agent. This was the notorious Dr. Conolly, who now bore a commission as colonel either in the English army or the militia of Canada. Conolly, in 1774, had been in Kentucky and on the upper waters of the Ohio with Lord Dunmore. He had bought land there, the site of Louisville, in fact. He met and had much intercourse with the Indians and Canadian French of the Northwest, and when the war of the Revolution broke out he attempted, by correspondence and liberal offers of arms and money, to organize a general conspiracy and Indian outbreak on the frontier. He was captured near Hagerstown, Md., in the midst of his intrigues, and with the evidences of his treasonable correspondence on his person, sent to Philadelphia, and detained as a prisoner of war until near the close of the war, when he was exchanged for Lieut.-Col. Nathaniel Ramsey of Maryland, the hero of the battle of Monmouth. At the time of Conolly's second visit to Kentucky, his old partner, Lord Dunmore, was Governor of the Bahamas, and had taken in his employment a renegade Marylander, by name William Augustus Bowles, an unprincipled adventurer of remarkable talents and most versatile in his accomplishments.[1]

Bowles made Dunmore acquainted with the Spanish intrigues in the Southwest, and the wide-spread discontent of the inhabitants of those sections, and it was probably this which led to the new adventure of Conolly in Kentucky, though he came in part to try to reclaim his lands, which had been confiscated in 1781. He came from Detroit, as the emissary of Lord Dorchester (formerly Sir Guy Carleton), who was then Governor-General of Canada, while William Eden, brother of the last British Governor of Maryland, was minister at Madrid.

At every point, therefore, the United States were environed by individuals who added special knowledge of their affairs to personal hostility to their cause. It is claimed by Matthew L. Davis and by Martin Van Buren that the war of the Revolution was pro-

[1] Bowles, who was probably a member of one of the Tory families of Southern Maryland, though a native of Frederick County, entered the British army as a foot-soldier in 1776, being then only fifteen years old, and being sent on foreign service, attained the rank of ensign in 1777. At Pensacola, shortly afterwards, he was deprived of his grade and reduced to the ranks for insubordination. He stripped off his British uniform, sunk it in the sea, and fled to the Creek Indians, acquired their language, was naturalized among them, married the daughter of a chief, and became himself a chief, head warrior, and one of the most influential men of the tribe. When Galvez laid siege to Pensacola in 1781, Bowles made his peace with Col. Campbell, and led a band of Creeks to the defense of that post. After the surrender of Pensacola he deserted his Indian friends, joined a troop of strolling actors, and made his appearance on the stage in New York, where also, it is said, he successfully practiced the art of portrait-painting. After the evacuation of New York, Bowles turned up in Nassau, New Providence, which Spain had just restored to the British crown. He won the confidence of Lord Dunmore, and was by him appointed commercial agent of the English in Florida, having a store on the Chattahoochie, where it was his object to break up the business of Panton, the great Spanish Indian agent of Pensacola. Bowles undertook to disturb the Indian tribes so as to promote British interest, and also to undermine McGillivray, the chief of the Tallapoosas, and, as has been already shown, a Spanish pensioner. His conduct gave such trouble and offense to the Georgia people that they notified him they would cut off his ears if he did not abandon his post in twenty-four hours. He fled to Nassau, and Lord Dunmore sent him to England, at the head of a deputation of Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees, to ask aid in repelling American aggression. Bowles returned to Florida, and organized a system of filibustering in the Gulf of Mexico, having taught his Creek warriors the arts of piracy, reinforcing them with select levies from the ruffian population of London prisons. Their cruelty, debaucheries, horrid oaths, and panther screams soon arrayed all the commercial world against Bowles' pirates, yet their leader is said to have been a person of most gentle address and winning mien,—a true Lara. "His was the sweetest of smiles," say the historians (Gayarré, "History of Louisiana," Pickett, "History of Alabama"), "femininely beautiful, and apparently indicative of the bubbling well of human kindness within, with the dark eyebrow that shaded at times the glance of fire,—'demon in act but god at least in face.'" Bowles conspired against McGillivray, and that astute half-Scotchman went to Carondelet, and procured his capture by the Spanish upon the charge of robbing Panton's trading-stores. Bowles was sent to Madrid, and offered his release if he would abandon the English service and use his influence among the Creeks for Spain. He refused, and was deportated to Manilla, in the Philippine Islands, where he was detained prisoner until 1797. Then he was ordered back to Spain, still a close prisoner, but escaped at Ascension Island, where the ship put in for water, made his way to Sierra Leone, and thence to London, where Pitt and the Duke of Portland made much of him. Again he returned to the Gulf, in charge of a privateer, warring upon Spanish commerce, and looking particularly after the boxes of Señor Panton, whom he seems to have hated as much as Robin Hood hated the Abbot of Nottingham. He was shipwrecked, but made his way to the Creeks, and enlisted them in a general war upon Americans and Spaniards alike. At last Panton and the American authorities combined in offering a large reward for his capture. He was betrayed by his own followers, delivered to the Spaniards, and after one or two wonderful escapes, was finally securely immured in the dungeons of the Moro Castle, Havana, where he ended a life of adventure remarkable even in that age of adventures.

longed two or three years by the personal exertions, hostilities, and misrepresentations of the Tory leaders, such as Galloway, De Lancey, and others, who eventually, through Alexander Hamilton, secured the direction of the Federalist party and provoked the Whiskey war in Pennsylvania and Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts, besides coming very near disrupting the Union by causing the secession of Kentucky and Tennessee. In this view of the case, the services of Gen. Wilkinson in frustrating the designs of Dr. Conolly must not be lightly esteemed. This adroit plotter arrived at Louisville in October, 1788, having descended the Miami in a canoe. He visited Col. Campbell, saw Marshall and Wilkinson, and sounded the leading men of Kentucky in regard to a scheme to conquer Louisiana from Spain. "Four thousand troops," he said, "were in Canada, ready to march and support the Kentuckians at a moment's warning, in furtherance of that design." By Marshall, Conolly was informed that the people of the West would not be disposed to make any terms or co-operate in any adventure with Great Britain as long as that power, in the teeth of the treaty of 1783, retained possession of the Western posts and forts inside the frontier of the United States. Wilkinson invited Conolly to visit him at Lexington, gained his confidence, found out all he knew (reporting the fact to his Spanish employers), and then coolly ran him out of the country by practicing upon his fears. He employed a hunter to pretend to assassinate the doctor in revenge for the death of his son, murdered by the Indians, and got up a mob in Louisville, who threatened to deal with Conolly by lynch law. Under these discouraging circumstances Conolly thought it no more than prudent in him to return whence he came, while Wilkinson gained a double credit for loyalty to the Union from the Marshall party, and for attention to the interests of Spain from Mirò. A man who could so ingeniously frustrate an attack upon Spain, the latter thought, must be able, when the time came, to lead a revolt in favor of Spain with success. Conolly, apparently much "demoralized," was secretly conveyed to Limestone (Maysville), whence he secured transportation to the frontier.[1]

The Federal government of the United States under the new Constitution managed the affairs of Kentucky with great skill and adroitness, both before and after the admission of the district into the Union. Virginia had withdrawn its scouts and soldiers because the Kentuckians refused to pay taxes; but Gen. St. Clair, Governor of the Northwestern Territory, at once took measures to protect the frontier, and to secure the confidence and quiet the susceptibilities of the Kentuckians it was agreed to appoint a board of war of leading Kentuckians, to act in every case where the people of that State were expected to operate as militia against the Indians. This board, which had ample powers, consisted of Gen. Charles Scott, Harry Innis (United States district attorney and afterwards judge), Isaac Shelby (afterwards Governor), Gen. Logan, and John Brown, member of Congress. The board was constituted, at Brown's suggestion, as a safeguard in case of hostile acts upon the part of St. Clair, whom the Kentuckians thought to be unfriendly to their interests, and Wilkinson was commissioned as colonel. He and Scott marched against the Miami and Wea and Piankeshaw Indians, destroyed their towns, slew their warriors, and did much to reduce their strength and that of the Kickapoos also. Wilkinson's expedition to Eel River was as successful an operation as those of the regulars under Harmar and St. Clair were unfortunate. Indeed, all those who know the versatility of his talents are convinced that Wilkinson might have made a good soldier if he had been less of a politician.

His commission made him lieutenant-colonel of the Second Regiment of the United States army, and his position gave him command of Fort Washington (now Cincinnati), then already one of the most important points upon the Ohio River. For several years now his chief services were of a military character, in connection with Indian affairs, and he managed to make himself conspicuous in various ways, and especially in producing the impression that he had been unjustly and invidiously ignored by Gen. Wayne in his report of the battle of Fallen Timbers, in which Wilkinson was brigadier and second in command. So industriously was this intrigue pushed that when Wayne died, after being most unjustly treated, Wilkinson secured the major-generalship made vacant by his death.

Kentucky, after many years of agitation and struggle, became a member of the Federal Union on June 1, 1792, with a Constitution elaborated by the thoughtful intelligence of George Nicholas, Samuel McDowell, Benjamin Sebastian, Alexander Bullitt, Robert Breckenridge, Benjamin Logan, Isaac Shelby, and others like them. The Constitution of the United States was

[1] Conolly contributed, against his will, to the first and one of the most important efforts made by Kentucky to promote the cause of education in that pioneer community. By an act of the Legislature of Virginia passed in 1780, the first eight thousand acres seized of lands of British subjects confiscated in Kentucky were set apart for educational purposes, and this constituted the original endowment of Transylvania University, now the University of Kentucky, at Lexington.

the general model, but many features were borrowed from the organic law of Maryland, adopted in 1776. Shelby became Governor, James Brown Secretary of State, John Brown and John Edwards United States senators, and George Nicholas attorney-general. The first judges were Benjamin Sebastian, Caleb Wallace, and George Muter, the latter being made chief justice in the place of Harry Innis, who declined the position, accepting instead that of United States district judge. Wilkinson and Posey, Scott and Hardin and Anderson were in the field, and it was at this moment that "Citizen Genet," the new minister of the new French republic, undertook to organize a revolution in Kentucky on his own particular account.

Wilkinson, who regarded France as "the most intriguing and craftiest of all nations," and was disposed to distrust its machinations and warn the Spanish authorities against them, would probably have prevented Genet from carrying forward his designs, but he was now in active service, and, besides that, there had been a change in the Spanish administration at New Orleans. Mirò had retired, and Baron de Carondelet was his successor. The young men who yielded themselves to French theories and French influence were too impulsive to be guided by such a veteran and *rusé* intriguant as Wilkinson. Besides, Mirò had latterly not always taken his advice, nor advanced all the money which he suggested it would be necessary to put up. He had repaid the five thousand dollars which Wilkinson claimed he had disbursed out of his own pocket, but had read without response the suggestion of a fund to corrupt Thomas Marshall and George Muter. Probably Mirò knew, from other sources, that Muter and Marshall were not to be bought with the same coin that had compensated Wilkinson for his treason. Wilkinson, besides, had been pretending too much in other respects, as, for instance, that he and his friends had sent John Brown to Congress as their hireling and to be their spy. He had attempted to frustrate Col. Morgan's project of a settlement at New Madrid, in favor of a land concession at Natchez to himself, Brown, Sebastian, and Maj. Dunn. He had also corresponded with Mirò's rival and enemy, Gardoqui, which probably made the Spanish government mistrust him. Mirò was also displeased with Wilkinson for leaving Kentucky at that particular crisis. He wanted him to remain there until the question of secession was settled in one way or the other, and thought it his duty to do so, "because, according to the answer received from the court, *you are now our agent*, and I am instructed to give you to hope that the king will reward your services, as I have already intimated to you." Still, he paid the agent a handsome contingent fee at the same time, buying from him two hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds of tobacco in one lot, "*tener contento al dicho brigadier*" (to keep the said brigadier in a good humor).[1]

Wilkinson had, moreover, discovered that Washington's administration, wise and firm, was a government in fact, and meant to be a government of the whole country. It had already converted many malcontents into loyalty, and it was paying Wilkinson himself a salary as one of its officers. He knew that Washington mistrusted him, and he was so afraid of the Federal authority that he sought to become a Spanish subject, in order to claim the protection of that crown in any emergency. With the end of the year 1791 Mirò's administration terminated, he returned to Spain, served actively in the army, and rose to the rank of field-marshal.

His successor, François Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, colonel in the royal army of Spain, Governor and intendant of the provinces of West Florida and Louisiana, had not fairly warmed himself in the chair of office and made himself acquainted with the Spanish intrigues and agents before he was called to combat the intrigue of Monsieur Genet. When Louis XVI. was executed, Jan. 21, 1793, the king of Spain declared war on the French republic. The people of Louisiana, the majority of them at least, sympathized with the new order of things. They did not, perhaps, go the length of approving the killing of "Citizen Capet," still they had learned to call for the singing of the *Marsellaise* at the theatre, and to chant the *Ça ira* among themselves at their billiard saloons and places of public resort. Carondelet had not much experience in dealing with what the French now politely call *incivisme*, but it must be confessed his methods show that those who have succeeded him have not learned much. He called on the people to take the oath and subscribe to an address of allegiance; he forbade any seditious airs to be played at the theatre, and he arrested six of the liberal leaders, sending them to Havana and detaining

[1] At ten cents per pound this would have yielded the brigadier $23,500, and in goods, according to the Spanish accounts with him, over $60,000. Wilkinson, when court-martialed, only produced accounts of tobacco transactions with the New Orleans government, during the ten years of his intercourse with Mirò and Carondelet, to the extent of $28,000. Mirò wrote to his government, in regard to another purchase besides that mentioned in the text, that he had received $7000 worth of tobacco from Wilkinson, and sent him in return $18,000 worth of goods. The suppression of figures of this sort is the strongest possible evidence of the illicit and disreputable character of Wilkinson's relations with the Spanish administration in New Orleans.

them there for a year, to give time for their opinions to crystallize. It was not a great while, however, before the baron was soliciting his government for the means with which to construct forts, not only to repel and keep out the foreign enemy, but likewise to keep in order the domesticated subject, already "contaminated" with "notions and maxims of equality," introduced by the "Frenchmen lately come among us."

In fact, Carondelet's trouble did not proceed from indigenous Frenchmen only. A society of Philadelphia Jacobins (there were such societies in all our chief cities at that time) had issued a stirring address to their compatriots in Louisiana at that period. In this address they were appealed to, in the name of *liberté et égalité*, to hasten the moment when despotism should disappear from the earth. France was so happy in its possession of the new interpretation of the rights of man that it would never cease from propagating them while a benighted people remained, and declared to all nations "that she is ready to give her powerful assistance to those that may be disposed to follow her virtuous example." In this address, which did not lack ingenuity, the people of Louisiana were urged to rise against their king and overthrow their other masters. They were pointed to the example of France, where "a perjured king, prevaricating ministers, vile and insolent courtiers, who fattened on the labors of the people whose blood they sucked, have suffered the punishment due to their crimes. . . . The Spanish despotism"—and here the address struck home—"has surpassed in atrocity and stupidity all the other despotisms that have ever been known. Has not barbarism always been the companion of that government, which has rendered the Spanish name execrable and horrible on the continent of America? . . . What have been the fruits of so many crimes? The annihilation, the disgrace, the impoverishment, and the besotting of the Spanish nation in Europe, and a fatal lethargy, servitude, or death for an infinite number of the inhabitants of America. . . . Therefore, inhabitants of Louisiana, show who you are; prove that you have not been stupefied by despotism, and that you have retained in your breasts French valor and intrepidity; demonstrate that you are worthy to be free and independent, because we do not solicit you to unite yourselves with us, but to seek your own freedom." The address ended with the familiar "away with pusillanimity" and the *Ça ira*,—"*audaces fortuna juvat.*"

This address, flowery though it was, really meant business. At that period the people of the United States were almost equally divided into two political parties, and both of them were parties of action. The Republicans believed in the cause of France and liberty, and believed to such an extent that they sincerely thought the sympathy of the government should take some active shape. Lafayette represented the average American sentiment of his day, and Lafayette was a leader of the insurrection. He had sent the keys of the Bastile to Washington, and the immediate struggles of France entitled her, if anything, to more rather than less of our hereditary sympathy. This was what Mr. Jefferson thought,—our minister in Paris at the time,—and all of Jefferson's political followers thought so likewise. Our devotion to the French monarchy must naturally grow to the proportions of paternal affection towards the French republic. Tom Paine and several other Americans were members of the French Assembly. Jefferson was counselor of the leaders of the revolt. What more natural than to expect the heartiest and most universal sympathy in Continental America for the brute idealogues of the Champs Elysées! Translated into the flat English of the period, and diluted by an ocean transit of thirty-five hundred miles, even the Carmagnoles did not seem to be very incendiary to native-born Republicans contending against Tories, who were unquestionably aristocrats, for those natural rights of man which the war of the Revolution had very largely hinged upon, and which the "alien and sedition laws," soon to be enforced, put in actual peril. The struggle between Hamilton and Jefferson, which we at this distance are inclined to regard as simply a contest of parties, was, perhaps, really much more of a social war. Even so late as the war of 1812 it is noticeable that persons of "family," the "well born," and those of estate, no matter what their Revolutionary antecedents, thought it their duty to themselves and to "society" to take a stand on one side, and the representatives of the *novi homines* felt it to be equally imperious on them to take a stand on the other side. John Adams, although the leader and the foremost agent of the old Federal party, was abandoned and deserted by them before the expiration of his first term of office, because, while this party knew they could depend on him for services, his family connections made him untrustworthy in case of a final issue such as Hamilton's friends contemplated between Federalists and Republicans.[1]

[1] John Adams was deliberately betrayed by Hamilton in particular, and by all whom Hamilton could influence, in the Presidential election of 1800. It would have been impossible for Jefferson to have thrown that election into the House of Representatives—neither he nor Burr dreamed of such a result pending the contest—had the Federalists been true to Adams.

Jefferson's fault lay in his indiscriminate suspicions and his general want of balance. To-day nobody can question his magnificent patriotism, any more than they will feel disposed to call into account that of John Adams. But many persons will still challenge Jefferson's methods, and they can do so justly. His conception of a national conspiracy against the republic was erroneous; the conspiracy may have been a fact, but it never attained any such proportions as entitled it to be suspected to be the programme of the Federalist party. Hamilton was too politic to have trusted an entire party with an issue so momentous, even if he had formulated to his own mind the project of an aristocracy as the successor of the old Confederacy. Still, there were causes for suspicion and mistrust, and Jefferson, through Philip Freneau and the *United States Gazette*, did not let sleeping dogs lie. The universal effervescence in Europe could not fail to froth over bodily into the United States. Jefferson's party had the memories and the sense of gratitude of the country on its side, and the furies, the vengeance, and the absurdities of the French Revolution lost much of their terrible and their grotesque aspects when presented to the people through the mediums of the weekly Republican press.

Minister Genet arrived in the country just at the moment when the people were most divided upon this issue of Federalism and Republicanism. The 10th of August, 1792, plunged France into anarchy and ruin according to the conception of some persons, but, in the opinion of others, a new and glorious *régime* was then inaugurated. M. E. C. Genet came out to the country as the exponent and interpreter of this new *régime*. On April 8, 1793, he arrived at Charleston, S. C., and his route to Philadelphia partook of the character of a triumphal march.[1] Genet landed from a French frigate, and it was at once sent to sea with a letter-of-marque to prey upon British commerce, soon bringing one of her prizes into Philadelphia. Genet also equipped other privateers, and then made his state entry into Philadelphia, amid the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells, citizens thronging to welcome him, and many deputations waiting upon him with addresses. He was invited to a public dinner before he had even presented his credentials to President Washington. When he did call upon the President he met with a chilling reception,—dignity that intrenched behind an impenetrable reserve. But the Republicans gave Genet warmth enough to compensate him even for the icy atmosphere of the President's house, and he proceeded forthwith to demonstrate that he did not believe in and did not mean to respect our principles of neutrality. In this he soon found out his error. The French privateer's prize was restored to her owners, and strict orders were given to the collectors of all ports to prevent the sailing of all privateers and the sale of any prizes. Genet protested, and the law was shown to him, and he was told that he must respect the sovereignty of the United States by dismissing his privateers from American waters. Genet flatly refused to do this, and threatened to appeal from the President to the people, clinching his performance by beginning to fit out a privateer in Philadelphia. Washington, as soon as he learned this, requested the French government to recall their minister. It was done, but with a bad grace.

Genet had already begun extensive filibustering

But the latter was keen to insure his own re-election, and—evidence enough—he thought he could do so by conciliating the real force of the Tory organization, by giving practical value to the alien and sedition laws, and publishing his edition of Davila. Hamilton and his friends literally sold John Adams out on this, and with the worst intentions in the world, Hamilton publishing an anonymous pamphlet which insured the defeat of Adams. Aaron Burr was a politician whose memory the country endures, and that is all; but the death of Hamilton was not his worst performance.

[1] Genet was a man of ability, although he is generally credited with being simply an absurd person by our annalists. The only mistake he made was that he did not comprehend our institutions and the already inveterate attachment of the American citizens to "law,"—something the citizen himself had made, and therefore to be obeyed religiously by him, even though it should plunge him into absurdity in the process of execution. Citizen Genet was not aware of this superstition; in other respects his course was not only judicious but very ingenious. He was, in fact, a clear and cool-headed man; he had no very intense sympathies with the party of which he was the spokesman, and when he failed to secure the objects for which he had been sent out he very wisely abstained from returning to France. He married a daughter of George Clinton, Governor of New York and representative of the anti-Hamilton party, and spent the rest of his life very peacefully and happily as an American farmer at Prospect Hill, Greenbush, near Albany, N. Y., where he died in 1834. Edmund Charles Genet was a trained diplomatist, an attaché, before the Revolution, to the embassies of Berlin, Vienna, London, and St. Petersburg. He was a man of tact and culture; passed himself over from the old French establishment to the new, and became the favorite of the Jacobins without losing the support of the reactionists. Robespierre's faction made him adjutant-general of France and minister plenipotentiary to Holland and Switzerland. He was successful in revolutionizing the Netherlands, and by means of his intrigues Geneva became republican and was annexed to France. Such a man might be expected to render France good service in America, and he came very near doing so. Washington and Hamilton profited by his ignorance of and disregard for the statutes, but it is doubtful if he did not succeed against them on the stump. In other words, it seems probable that Genet's mission to this country had much to do with securing the election of Jefferson, or, rather, the defeat of Adams, in 1800.

operations in the West. He played for high stakes,—no less than to involve the United States in war with Great Britain, and to capture Florida and Louisiana from Spain. The West was full of bitter feelings against both countries. British gold paid for the tomahawk and scalping-knife which desolated the borders of Kentucky. Spain closed the navigation of the Mississippi to them and harassed and beggared them with trade restrictions. There was also a strong sentiment of good feeling and gratitude towards the French among the Revolutionary soldiers who had moved to the West. Clark, Shelby, Scott, Hardin, Anderson, Croghan, and their followers had marched and fought shoulder to shoulder with the French in the struggle for American independence. The Democratic societies profited by this sort of feeling, that of Lexington, Ky., resolving "that the right of the people on the waters of the Mississippi to the navigation is undoubted, and it ought to be peremptorily demanded of Spain by the government of the United States."

In November, 1793, Genet sent four of his agents —La Chaise, Charles Delpeau, Mathurin, and Gignoux—to Kentucky and other parts of the West, to enlist men for expeditions against the Spanish possessions, and those also of other countries at war with France. These recruiting agents bore with them blank commissions for the use of American officers enlisted in the French service. One of these commissions, as major-general, was accepted by George Rogers Clark.[1] Another was conferred upon Gen. Elijah Clarke, of Georgia, who had already made trouble by leading an expedition into the country of the Creek Indians, and who soon raised a force and undertook to invade Florida. He did not, however, accomplish much, and the greater Gen. Clark was probably deterred from attempting an extensive movement by the news that followed Genet's agents to Kentucky, informing the Governor of the State that Genet's movements were extremely inopportune, as negotiations were now in progress which promised to secure to the United States the absolute right to the free navigation of the Mississippi. Genet's agents, in the teeth of the opposition and warnings of the President and Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, proceeded with their preparations, buying cannon and arms, and arranging to enlist two thousand men as French soldiers. George Rogers Clark's commission made him "commander-in-chief of the revolutionary legions on the Mississippi." As such, he called for volunteers for the reduction of the Spanish forts on the Mississippi, for opening the trade of that river and giving freedom to its inhabitants; each person serving on the expedition being promised a thousand acres of land, those serving a year two thousand acres, and those three years three thousand acres, as well as a share of the plunder. Those who preferred pay to lands would get one shilling a day.

Governor St. Clair, of the Northwestern Territory, and Gen. Wayne, wrote to apprise Governor Shelby of these movements, Wayne putting a corps of United States cavalry at his service, and offering him any more troops he should need. But Shelby, who was not a profound lawyer and desired his own popularity, now wrote to the Secretary of State that he had grave doubts about detaining Clark and his Frenchmen if they attempted to put their plan into execution. "If they manage their business with prudence, he doubted whether there is any legal authority to restrain or punish them, at least before they have actually accomplished it; for if it is lawful for any one citizen of the States to leave it, it is equally so for any number of them to do it. It is also lawful for them to carry any quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition." The President of the United States thought so differently from Governor Shelby that he at once issued his proclamation, notifying the people of the West of the unlawful project, and warning them to take no part in it. To make this more effectual, Gen. Wayne fortified and armed Fort Massac, at the mouth of the Ohio, so as to prevent any hostile armament from descending the Mississippi. These acts, the recall of Citizen Genet, and the general understanding that the Mississippi question would soon be settled, led to the abandonment of the expedition, and the Georgia attempt, as has been shown above, resulted in nothing.

That is to say, nothing directly. These movements and threatened movements undoubtedly hastened the settlement of the frontier disputes with Great Britain, and enabled Wayne to consummate his treaty with the Miamis, obstructed previously by British agencies. They also disposed Spain to yield her pretensions in regard to the Mississippi question, and settle that matter more speedily than it might otherwise have been done. It was in December, 1791, that Spain made her first verbal overtures for a settlement of the navigation question. In March, 1794, the Secretary of State was compelled to confess that the negotiations had not reached any definite conclusion. But the knowledge that these negotiations were in actual *bona fide* progress had a most quieting and beneficial effect on Kentucky. It snapped the last thread of Carondelet's schemes, and made Wil-

[1] Letter of Minister Genet to Jefferson, in Am. State Papers.

kinson send Power, the Spanish agent, at a double-quick pace through his line.[1]

In May of that year Kentucky was greatly excited by a proclamation from La Chaise, announcing the failure of the expedition under Clark, and by a public meeting in Lexington, at which John Jay was censured for procrastination and weakness, and denounced as the enemy of the Western country. But even at this moment Jay was concluding a treaty with Great Britain, which insured the enforcement of that of 1783, and the consequent protection of the West from the Indians, and on Oct. 27, 1795, Thomas Pinckney secured from Spain the treaty which insured the navigation of the Mississippi to the West. This treaty acknowledged our southern limits to be the thirty-first parallel of latitude; our western limits to be the middle of the channel of the Mississippi, the navigation of which was made free to the United States, with the concession, furthermore, of a right of deposit at New Orleans for three years of American produce descending the river. It was at this crisis that Carondelet attempted to play his last card. He had sent Power to Wilkinson, but that astute warrior knew that the Mississippi question would soon be settled, when his usefulness to Spain would cease; so he dismissed Power forthwith under custody of a guard.

Power now went to Judge Sebastian to make an important communication to him in regard to Kentucky. This was from Carondelet, and to the effect that "the king of Spain was willing to open the navigation of the Mississippi to the Western country, and desirous to establish certain regulations reciprocally beneficial to the commerce of both countries." Judge Sebastian was expected to procure delegates for a conference at New Madrid with Col. Gayoso, the duly accredited agent of Spain. There was a conference at the house of Col. Nicholas, of this gentleman, Sebastian, Harry Innis, and Wm. Murray, and it was agreed that Sebastian should go to meet Gayoso. He did so, and reported that he had nearly concluded a commercial agreement, the only difference being about a small duty on imports. They went to New Orleans, where Carondelet readily yielded to Sebastian's demands, when the news came, by a courier from Havana, of the signing of the treaty in Madrid. Sebastian still urged Carondelet to sign his little private Kentucky treaty, on the ground that the United States treaty would never be ratified. Carondelet, however, said that his business with Sebastian was now at an end.

Why was Sebastian anxious to have these papers signed? This negotiation was kept a dead secret until 1806 (time of Burr's conspiracy), when Judge Harry Innis voluntarily disclosed the matter before a committee of the Kentucky Legislature. In 1797, just when the right of deposit was coming into use and the Florida boundary line, under the treaty of 1795, was being run off, Power again came to Kentucky and gave him a letter from Carondelet, to be laid before Murray, Innis, and Nicholas, as before. Carondelet proposed, bluntly, that Kentucky should secede forthwith, and "form a government wholly unconnected with that of the Atlantic States." Spain was to have her northern boundary in Louisiana extended to the Yazoo, in return for which she would furnish the conspirators all the artillery, arms, etc., needed for their object, which included the forcible seizure of Fort Massac; and to supply, also, one or two hundred thousand dollars, to be sent quietly to any person's address.

Sebastian laid this conspiracy scheme before his co-workers, who rejected it, but so quietly and gently that, when Innis told his story before the Legislature nine years afterwards, there was a prompt investigation, and proof obtained that Judge Sebastian had for years been in receipt of a $2000 pension from Spain. He resigned to save himself from impeachment. Innis and Nicholas escaped conviction, but not obloquy and censure. At the time of this last intrigue, Spain had just made an alliance with France which guaranteed to both their territorial integrity, and for that reason the treaty of 1795 was very obnoxious. In fact, as soon as the three years' term of deposit was out, Spain, which now had given up Louisiana to France (or rather to Napoleon) by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, gave notice of her intention not to renew the right of commercial deposit to Americans. The flame thus kindled led to the purchase and cession of Louisiana.

In 1806, when Sebastian was being investigated and condemned by the Kentucky Legislature, the judge's co-conspirator, Wilkinson, had his headquarters in St. Louis. Here he was visited by Aaron Burr, who also visited him at Fort Massac and at Natchez, and always said that Wilkinson was the original author of his conspiracy. Burr's movements had begun already; Jo Daviess was bringing him to the notice of courts and grand juries, and Spain was so uneasy and anxious on account of his connection with the Bastrop and other land claims near the Texas lines, that the Spanish army crossed the Sabine, invading United States

[1] It was charged, however, at Wilkinson's court-martial, that he did not so curtly dismiss Power until he had first possessed himself of all the envoy's papers, including some which he would not choose to be seen at the State Department.

territory, whereupon Wilkinson marched down the river and promptly drove them back. Burr claimed great tracts of land; he proposed colonies; but he was an unscrupulous "opportunist," and he was raising an army big enough to rob the United States of territory, as well as Spain. Jefferson evidently feared him and his power to do evil, which, with the West as it had been and then was, was considerable. That condition of affairs in the West was brought about by the Spanish intrigues and the American traitors who sustained and fomented them, and Burr was there to profit by their work and seek his opportunity in those disorders. He could be Jacobin or Bonaparte with equal facility, and he at least owed his power for danger to the seed sown by Wilkinson, who finally betrayed and captured him, but not before he had found out that President Jefferson was in dead earnest. Indeed, Jefferson, the strictest of strict constructionists as a rule, violated his principles boldly in order to seal the West to the Union. He urged, almost compelled, the Louisiana purchase; he subscribed earnestly to the great national road to the West; he pursued Burr until it was in fact a persecution, and he made all haste to send Lewis and Clark on their exploring expedition that the whole country might learn the extent and value of the West. Burr's is the last of the early intrigues which in any way bear upon the Mississippi River and its navigation. And it may be added that Jefferson, in connecting the Atlantic with the Ohio, in securing the Mississippi to the great West, and in exploring the wilderness beyond the Missouri, did more to open up a fortune for St. Louis than any other man ever did for a city that was yet to begin growing.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LOUISIANA CESSION.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, as was shown in the last chapter, consummated the fortunes of the West, and secured the prosperity and growth of St. Louis, by completing the arrangements for the cession of Louisiana and all the indefinite extension of territory to the westward comprehended under that title. But the merit of securing and promoting this transfer of an empire, so far as it redounds to the credit of Jefferson's foresight and patriotism, does not lie in the fact that it was a conquest over the French and Spanish so much as the fact that it was a victory over the old Federal party and the commercial and agricultural prejudices, prepossessions, and jealousies of the communities on the Atlantic slope of the Alleghanies, who were opposed to the growth and aggrandizement of the West and Southwest.[1]

[1] This amounted to an actual hostility, and it was a ruling policy of the administrations preceding Jefferson's, with the one exception that John Adams, at the time of the suspension of intercourse and the maritime war with France, seems to have contemplated the seizure of the Spanish posts from St. Louis to the Belize, so as to insure the free navigation of the Mississippi. But John Adams' policy was not that of either Washington or Hamilton, nor of any of the States north of the Susquehanna. Washington's feelings on this subject, as has been shown, were carefully considered, and he did not disguise them nor the reasons which influenced them. He did not think the free navigation of the Mississippi, nor the rapid opening of Western lands to settlers desirable, because he thought it would tend to prevent the proper colonization of Western New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. He was hostile to the wholesale openings of the Yazoo and other lands in Georgia, Tennessee, and Carolina; and he looked for resistance to government similar to that encountered by him in Western Pennsylvania if he should do anything to encourage squatter sovereignty in Kentucky and the Northwest and Southwest Territories. It is noteworthy that all three of the generals—Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne—sent by him to command against the Indians and regulate the affairs of the Northwest were Pennsylvanians, and it was their instructions, in making treaties, to draw a north and south line, east of which Indians should not come, but, equally, west of which the whites should not be allowed to trespass. The prejudice of Hamilton and other Federalists, however, was only partly political. In some respects it was social, as has been shown in another place; in many particulars it was geographical. The completion of schemes of internal improvement, the collection of revenue, and the fostering of manufactures were difficult in new and poor communities unless the population could be kept compact and solid. The fisheries and an extended commerce promised more certain results to revenue than trapping and hunting. A compact State, with large cities and a strong government, was the idea of the Federalists; but men like Jefferson and Patrick Henry were filled already with the conception of "manifest destiny," of continental proportions, and the Gulf and the lakes united one way, as the two great oceans should be in the other direction. Jefferson appears to have prepared to bring this about while Minister to France, at which time he engaged John Ledyard, the traveler, to find and explore the Columbia River and trace the connection between its headwaters and those of the Missouri. "His mind was early impressed with the belief that where the deep snows that clad the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, and shed its collected waters into and formed such a river as the Missouri, 'there must be a corresponding shedding and collection of waters on the other, and thus he was perfectly assured of the existence of a river where the Columbia River has since been found to be, although no navigator had seen its mouth and no explorer trod its banks.' Impressed with this important truth, and desirous of accomplishing that grand design of opening a commercial communication with Asia through the heart of our own continent, he made the acquaintance of Ledyard, who was then about to explore the Nile. He proposed to him to change his theatre from the Old to the New World, and to proceed to St. Petersburg upon a passport which he would obtain for him. He should there obtain permission from the Empress Catherine to traverse her domains

In respect to France and Spain, the battle had been already substantially fought out before the final cession of Louisiana. The intrigues and manœuvres detailed in the preceding chapter indicate simply the expiring efforts of Spain to prevent a strong country from being planted immediately on the frontiers of Cuba and Mexico, which Louisiana and Florida were. But the attempts to retain possession of the Missis-

in a high northern latitude to their eastern extremity, cross the sea from Kamschatka or at Behring's Strait, and, descending the northwest coast of America, come down upon the river which must head opposite the head of the Missouri, and ascend it to its source in the Rocky Mountains. Ledyard undertook this daring and grand project of discovery. He received permission from the empress and proceeded as far as Siberia, where he was overtaken by a revocation of the permission, and he returned to France. Mr. Jefferson was thus defeated in his first great effort to find the existence of the Columbia River, but continued true to his great purpose of opening our inland commercial communication with Asia; so that when he became President of the United States, he projected the expedition of Lewis and Clark, and sent them forth to discover the head and source of that river which he was convinced existed, though it had not yet been discovered. The existence of the river was discovered and established by Lewis and Clark, as well as by the explorer, Capt. Gray; and by the purchase of Louisiana we have become the *bona fide* and absolute owners of the river and some three hundred miles of the Pacific coast farther north, until we reach Vancouver's Island at parallel of 49°."

When Jefferson returned from Europe he found the Northern Federalists arrayed in bitter and uncompromising hostility to the settlement and development of the Northwest. When Mr. Ross' proposition to compel Spain to open the Mississippi was laid before the Senate, it was bitterly opposed by this party. In the secret session to which the treaty for ceding Louisiana was sent, the Northern Federalists resisted its ratification in vehement language, dreading the preponderance the West and Southwest might acquire by it. Harrison Gray Otis, of Massachusetts, rose in his place in the Senate and said, "I would rather the Mississippi was a running stream of burning lava, over which no human being could pass, than that the treaty should be ratified."

After they failed in defeating the purchase of Louisiana, we find them in 1818 giving away a large portion of that territory by ceding Texas to Spain. We find the combined opposition of the North marshaled in strong array against the Southwest in 1820, upon the Missouri Compromise, threatening a dismemberment and dissolution of the Union rather than the interests of the Southwest should be promoted. One of the most gorgeous displays of American eloquence (except, perhaps, the mighty struggle between the giant mind of Mr. Webster and the argumentative and majestic brilliancy of Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, in the United States Senate, in the session of 1830, upon the resolution of Mr. Foote, of Connecticut, to suspend the sales of public lands in the West, in which discussion was introduced the great constitutional question of nullification and the effort to cripple and retard the settlement of the West) was exhibited in that memorable debate in the United States Senate between Mr. Rufus King, of the North, and Mr. William Pinkney, of Maryland, for the Southwest.

If the reader will examine the votes on that important question, he will see that all votes cast against that measure were from the North, and it was ultimately carried by the friends of the Southwest. We find, also, their opposition exhibited in the war of 1812, when a foreign enemy penetrated into the Northwestern Territory, and some of the Southern States had been drained of almost all of her noble young men for the defense of their country and to prosecute the war to an honorable close. They even met in secret council and projected the dissolution of the Union.

It will be remembered that in the year 1818, under the administration of Mr. Monroe, a proposition was made to exchange for Florida that portion of this territory embraced in what was called Texas. John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State, one of Mr. Monroe's cabinet, and was the author and negotiator of this treaty. When the treaty was made known through the papers of Washington City, a citizen of the "Territory of Missouri," a young lawyer and a member of the St. Louis bar, wrote a series of articles over the signature of "Americanus," denouncing the treaty and attacking its authors, "imprecating a woe upon the heads of those who should favor it, asserting that the magnificent valley of the Mississippi is ours, with all its fountains, springs, and floods, and woe to the statesman who should undertake to surrender one drop of its waters, one inch of its soil to any foreign power." The treaty was sent to the Senate on the 4th day of July, 1819, and by the Senate ratified. Mr. Monroe, in attempting to justify himself and cabinet for this, holds the following language in a letter to Gen. Jackson, dated at Washington, May 22, 1820, some twelve months after the date of the treaty. He says, "Having long known the repugnance with which the eastern portion of our Union, or rather some of those who have enjoyed its confidence (for I do not think that the people themselves have any interest or wish of that kind), have seen its aggrandizement to the West and South, I have been decidedly of opinion that we ought to be content with Florida for the present, and until public opinion in that quarter shall be reconciled to any further change. I mention these circumstances to show that our difficulties are not with Spain alone, but are likewise internal, proceeding from various causes, which certain men are prompt to seize and turn to the account of their own ambitious views." All this shows the constant efforts to injure the efforts and cripple the advance of the Southwest. Gen. Jackson reluctantly yielded to it as a temporary measure. Mr. Jefferson, to whom a similar letter had been written, would yield to nothing that would tend to dismember or mutilate that grand valley for which he had bestowed so much labor and pains. "Not one inch of the waters of the Mississippi to any foreign nation," was his language. As before stated, the treaty was promptly ratified by the American Senate; but Spain, upon her part, hesitated and delayed, and finally permitted the time limited for the exchange of ratifications to expire. Negotiations, however, were soon renewed, and in October, 1820, Spain ratified the treaty. It is worthy of remark here that this amputated part of Louisiana—the whole of Texas was to be attached to Mexico—ceased to be a part of Spain, for the revolution of Mexico had resulted in her independence, which superseded the Spanish treaty in regard to the boundaries. So we had to re-treat with Mexico, which was done, and all will remember that in a few years after a political tempest swept over the land, overturning everything that came in its way, to get back this country which had been given away, which brought on our government a war with Mexico, and cost millions of dollars more than the original cost of all the Louisiana territory.

In the same way, at the treaty of Ghent, Great Britain's lapsed right to navigate the Mississippi, secured under the tripartite treaty of 1783, but not mentioned in that of Paris of

sippi were as irrational as the struggles of a prostrate and defeated opponent to avoid conceding the fruits of victory. The original contests for the possession of the Mississippi valley were had between France and Spain. Until the British colonies in America waxed strong and aggressive, these countries took no notice of the British pretensions to own to the Mississippi and the South Sea by the discoverer's prior right, acquired through John Cabot. Later, when England grew strong and pressed vigorously upon their flanks, Spain and France settled their own disputes and united against Great Britain. In 1760–63, however, both powers were defeated and forced to make the best terms they could. France gave up Canada, and Illinois and Louisiana east of the Mississippi; Spain gave up Florida. To protect Mexico, and to spare France the humiliation of surrendering all her American empire to Great Britain, Louisiana west of the Mississippi was secretly conveyed to Spain. The boundary line of Great Britain thus fell along the channel of the Mississippi River from the forty-ninth parallel of latitude,—from the Lake of the Woods to a point below Natchez. When Great Britain signed with the United States, in 1783, she conceded to them exactly this same line, and in any international court of arbitration this concession could have been maintained.

These matters have been closely investigated, for they were under earnest discussion in State and Federal courts in connection with the Yazoo land claims, and in cabinet and ambassadorial council, in connection with the Ashburton treaty and the San Juan del Fuca claims. England, France, and Spain have all three claimed portions of the Mississippi valley upon the ground of original discovery. In 1604 the attempt was made to settle the various pretensions by a treaty. The parties could not agree. Nothing further was done until 1670, when, by Article VII. of the so-called "American treaty" between England and Spain, it was stipulated that the possessions of the English crown, as they then existed in America, were to be confirmed to "the most serene king of Great Britain," with "plenary right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and propriety." The southern boundary of this tract happened to be definitely determined by the first and second charters of King Charles II. to the Earl of Clarendon and others (1663 and 1665), granting them the province of Carolina between 36° and 29° north latitude. The crown fell heir to this in 1729, under George II., and in 1732 the grant was made to Oglethorpe, with bounds of Savannah River north, Altamaha south, and "South Seas" west. Under the treaty of 1763 the Mississippi was conceded to be the boundary, and in 1787 Georgia, to prove the claim, created a new county, "Bourbon," in the Yazoo country.

Again, in the peace negotiations at Utrecht in 1704, the boundaries of Canada were left to be determined by commissioners, who fixed the parallel of 49° as the common boundary from the Lake of the Woods indefinitely to the west. By this treaty and the fixing of this boundary France came into possession of all of Louisiana south of latitude 49°. In this the British government acquiesced for nearly a century. Previous to the celebrated treaty of Paris of Feb. 10, 1763, disputed boundaries had led to calamitous Indian wars, and hence, as has been said already, there was a very careful defining of lines in that treaty.

In the fourth article it is stipulated that "His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guarantees the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain; moreover, His Most Christian Majesty cedes and guarantees to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the Island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, and, in general, everything that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, prosperity, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King and Crown of France have had till now over the said countries, lands, islands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants; so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form without restriction and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee under any pretense, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned." Upon the part of his Britannic Majesty, the king of Great Britain agrees in Article 7th as follows:

"In order to establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subjects of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the Continent of America, it is agreed that for the future the confines between the dominions of His Britannic Majesty and those of His Most Christian Majesty in that part of the world shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the River Mississippi, from its source to the River Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river and the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea, and for this purpose the Most Christian King cedes, in full right, and guarantees to His Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and everything which he possesses or ought to possess on the east side of the River Mississippi, with the exception of the town of New Orleans, and of the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France, it being well understood that the navi-

1803, was restored to her upon condition of extending fishing privileges upon the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia to the fishermen of Gloucester and Cape Cod. It was over hostility and jealousy and intrigue, over sectional party influence of this sort that Jefferson's chief victory was gained.

gation of the River Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nations shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatever."

By the above extracts from the treaty of Paris, it will be seen that the two governments fixed definitely and irrevocably the boundaries of their respective dominions in North America, the boundary being the middle of the Mississippi from its source, the Lake of the Woods, latitude 49°, to the river Iberville. By this treaty France became possessed in fee-simple of all the territory west of the Mississippi River as Louisiana, including the town of New Orleans. It will be remembered that a secret treaty was entered into on the 3d of November, 1762, between the French and Spanish governments, by which the former ceded to the latter the province of Louisiana, which lay on the western side of the Mississippi River, but it was not until the 21st of April, 1764, that Louis XV. proclaimed this change to the colony.

Spain succeeded, then, to all the rights and duties of France towards Great Britain under the treaty of 1763; but by the treaty of 1783 the United States succeeded to all the rights and duties of Great Britain under that treaty of 1763, *quoad* American territory, and Spain could not deny us the navigation of the Mississippi or refuse to recognize our boundaries, without an infraction of the treaty. But Spain did deny these things, and was backed up in it by France. The specious pretext was that the king of Great Britain, by proclamation in 1769, had excluded his subjects from settling west of certain lines. This was done, to be sure, but to prevent trouble with the Indians, and by no means to vacate his own sovereignty over the territories reserved. Still, it became evident that in Spain we would have a neighbor ever harassing. When Spain ceded Louisiana to France, at the same moment that her intendant Morales refused the right of deposit at New Orleans, the situation became intolerable, and the various measures and negotiations were at once instituted which presently resulted in the cession of Louisiana.

The volume of M. Barbé Marbois and the various reports and dispatches of Livingston and Monroe leave us full of information on this subject. Our plenipotentiaries were fortunate in having to deal with Napoleon, who could and did despise the remonstrances of Spain, who wanted money in order to go to war with England, and who knew that the first step in that war on England's part would be to take Louisiana and hold it. He knew that this would occur from his false step in sending Le Clerc and Victor with an army to San Domingo, with instructions to go to Louisiana after they had recovered the island. The only way to repair the effects of this false step would be to take a prompt one in the right direction. Spain ceded Louisiana to him to prevent the United States from getting it. He would cede it to the United States to prevent Great Britain from getting it. Thus he would prevent his chief enemy from acquiring new territory, and he would make $15,000,000 on a piece of real estate which had never cost him a penny and of which he had not even taken possession.

Jefferson thought at first that it would not be possible to secure more than a place of deposit, and when Robert R. Livingston was sent out as minister to the Court of St. Cloud on Jan. 11, 1803, his instructions were restricted to a vigorous insistance upon an immediate possession of "the island of Orleans" or some equivalent place of deposit. But things were more ripe on both sides of the ocean than Jefferson had conceived. The progress of excitement in Congress and the country required Mr. Monroe to be sent out with fuller powers and more extensive demands, and before Monroe arrived out, Livingston was only waiting to see him to conclude terms with Barbé Marbois and Napoleon for the purchase of the whole of Lower and Upper Louisiana at a cash price so low as to be quite within the reach of our treasury and not extravagant even in the eyes of parsimonious Republicans.

Mr. Jefferson wrote a manly letter to Mr. Monroe, in which he made occasion to pay that estimable statesman a rare and noteworthy compliment. The agitation in the public mind, he said, was extreme, and remonstrances, memorials, etc., were everywhere being signed by the whole body of the people.

"The measures which we have been pursuing, being invisible, do not satisfy their minds; something sensible, therefore, has become necessary, and indeed our object of purchasing New Orleans and the Floridas is a measure likely to assume so many shapes that no instructions could be squared to fit them. It was essential, then, to send a minister extraordinary, to be joined with the ordinary one, with discretionary power,—first, however, well impressed with all our views, and therefore qualified to meet and modify to these every form of proposition which could come from the opposite party. This could only be done in frequent and full oral communication. Having determined on this, there could not be two opinions as to the person. You possessed the unlimited confidence of the administration and of the Western people, and were you to refuse to go no other man can be found who does this. All eyes are now fixed on you, and were you to decline the chagrin would be great, and would shake under your feet the high ground on which you stand with the public. Indeed, I know nothing which would produce such a shock, for on the event of this mission depend the future destinies of this republic. If we cannot, by a purchase of the country, insure to ourselves a course of peo-

petual peace and friendship with all nations, then, as war cannot be distant, it behooves us immediately to be preparing for that course, without, however, hastening it, and it may be necessary to cross the channel. We shall get entangled in European politics, and, figuring more, be much less happy and prosperous. This can only be prevented by a successful issue to your present mission. I am sensible, after the measure you have taken for getting into a different line of business, that it will be a great sacrifice on your part, and presents, from the season and other circumstances, serious difficulties. But some men are born for the public. Nature, by fitting them for the service of the human race on a broad scale, has stamped them with the evidences of her destination and their duty."

Jefferson was supposed to be a fanatical friend of France, but he was very decided at this time, and quite ready to have war with Napoleon, which indeed he looked upon as probable. He wrote to R. R. Livingston that

"The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attention to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high ground, and, having formed and connected together a power which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the united British and American nations. This is not a state of things we seek or desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France, forces on us necessarily, as any other cause, by the laws of nature, brings on its necessary effect."

These two letters embrace the sum and substance of the instructions given by the President and by Secretary of State Madison to the Ministers Livingston and Monroe. The latter sailed from New York on March 8, 1803, arriving in Paris on April 12th. The very next day he began his conferences with Marbois, who was selected to conduct the negotiation instead of Talleyrand as soon as Napoleon heard that Congress had voted a large secret-service fund for use in promoting the settlement of the Louisiana imbroglio.

Meantime Napoleon's situation disposed him to settle promptly. The Fox ministry was out of power, and the First Consul was preparing to resume war with Great Britain. He wanted a navy. He hated to leave England mistress of the ocean. "Without the liberty of the seas," he said, "there is no happiness for the world." Gen. Leclerc was dead, and the conquest of the slave insurrection in Hayti still not achieved. Malta had not been evacuated by the British, and Napoleon could get no redress for atrocious libels published concerning him in the English papers. Both countries were already busily arming, and Napoleon had gone the length of attempting to bully Lord Whitworth, English ambassador, as he had often bullied his officers and courtiers. On Easter Sunday, April 10th, he told Talleyrand that he expected to sell Louisiana. He knew its full value, but he could not retain it, and the English should not get it. "I think of ceding it to the United States," he said. "I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to those republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana, but I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France than if I should attempt to keep it." Marbois strongly advised the adoption of this policy.

On the other hand, Mr. Livingston had learned through Mr. Rufus King, United States minister to London, that it would be entirely agreeable to the British government if the United States could procure the cession of Louisiana. This government had first proposed to Mr. King a joint conquest of the colony, to be retroceded to the United States after peace; but this was not admissible, and it was then made known that England wished the United States to secure control of Louisiana by any means found desirable. Spain was repugnant and hostile, but Napoleon had means to compel her assent.

When Monroe arrived, Marbois straightway asked of him and his colleague to name a sum they would pay for Louisiana. Napoleon said he wanted fifty million francs, and would not treat for a less sum. Livingston named thirty million francs. Marbois asked for one hundred and twenty-five million. The sum agreed upon was eighty million francs, of which a part was to be employed in paying the French spoliation claims of American citizens. Napoleon urged an instant closing of negotiations. Marbois demanded that some consideration should be had for the people of Louisiana, whom they were thus about to trade off. The First Consul replied, in his brutal way,—

"You are giving me in all its perfection the ideology of the law of nature and nations. But I require money to make war on the richest nation of the world. Send your maxims to London; I am sure that they will be greatly admired there, and yet no great attention is paid to them when the question is the occupation of the finest regions of Asia. Perhaps it will also be objected to me that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations that are called perpetual only last till one of the con-

tracting parties finds it to its interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger to which the colossal power of England exposes us that I would provide a remedy."

The conferences proceeded rapidly as soon as it was understood that business was meant. The sum once agreed on, terms and boundaries and conditions were speedily adjusted. The treaty and the two definitive conventions accompanying it were engrossed in French, and signed, the date being April 30, 1803, the actual signing being done four days later. Mr. Monroe was not two months out from New York. "The authors of these solemn instruments that regulate the lot of nations," says M. de Marbois in his history, with a touch of sentiment which is graceful and appropriate, "cannot be insensible to the honor of having done acts useful to their country. A sentiment superior even to glory seemed to animate the three ministers, and never, perhaps, did negotiations taste a purer joy. As soon as they had signed the treaties they rose and shook hands, and Livingston, expressing the general satisfaction," made forthwith, *more Americano*, a neat and clever speech.[1]

Napoleon, when he heard of the signing of the treaty, said, "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will

[1] The following is the text—English official version—of the treaty and conventions concluded and ratified April 30, 1803, by the United States of America and the French republic relative to the cession of Louisiana:

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"The President of the United States of America and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, always animated with the desire to remove all misunderstandings in relation to the subjects of discussion mentioned in the second and fifteenth articles of the convention of the 8th Vendémiaire, year nine (Sept. 30, 1800), in relation to the claims of the United States, in virtue of the treaty concluded at Madrid the 27th of October, 1795, between His Catholic Majesty and the said United States, wishing to maintain the union and friendship which at the period of the aforesaid convention was happily re-established between the two nations, have named respectively their plenipotentiaries as follows:

"The President of the United States of America, with the advice and consent of the Senate of said States, names as his Minister Plenipotentiary Robert R. Livingston, and James Monroe Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the United States to the government of the French Republic; and the First Consul, in the name of the French people, names the citizen Francis Barbé Marbois, minister of the public treasury, who after having exchanged their respective powers have agreed upon the following articles:

"ARTICLE 1st. In virtue of Article 3d of the treaty concluded at San Ildefonso the 9th Vendémiaire, year nine (Oct. 1, 1800), between the First Consul of the French Republic and His Catholic Majesty, it was stipulated as follows: His Catholic Majesty promises and binds himself on his part to cede to the French Republic, six months after the full and complete execution of the conditions and agreements of the said article in relation to His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma the colony and province of Louisiana, in all its extent as now actually possessed by Spain, and as formerly possessed by France, and as also stipulated in all treaties that might have been made between Spain and other States. In consequence of said treaty, and particularly of the third article, the French Republic, enjoying the incontestable rights of domain and possession of the said territory, and the First Consul desirous of giving to the United States incontestable proofs of his friendship, cedes to them by these presents, in the name of the French Republic, forever and in full sovereignty the said territory, with all its rights and dependencies, as fully and in the same manner as she acquired it in virtue of the above cited treaty concluded with His Catholic Majesty.

"ARTICLE 2d. In the cession made by the preceding article there is included all the islands adjacent and belonging to Louisiana, all the lots and public places, the vacant levees, the buildings, fortifications, barracks, and other buildings that have no owners; the archives, papers, and instructions relating to the domains and sovereignty of Louisiana will be placed into the possession of the commissioners of the United States, and copies of the same in good and due form will be furnished to the magistrates and municipal officers that may be necessary to them.

"ARTICLE 3d. The inhabitants of the ceded territory will be incorporated into the Union of the States, and admitted as soon as possible, conformably to the requirements of the Federal Constitution, to enjoy all the rights, advantages, and immunities of the citizens of the United States, and during this time they will be upheld and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion they profess.

"ARTICLE 4th. The French government will send a commissioner to Louisiana, who will prepare all that is necessary, as much to receive from the officers of His Catholic Majesty the said territory with its dependencies in behalf of the French Republic, if that has not already been done, as to transmit it in the name of the French Republic to the commissioner or agent of the United States.

"ARTICLE 5th. Immediately after the ratification of the present treaty on the part of the President of the United States, and of that of the First Consul, if it has been done, the commissioner of the French Republic will deliver up all the military posts of New Orleans, as of other parts of the said territory, to the commissioner appointed by the President to receive possession; all the French and Spanish troops that may be there will cease to occupy the said posts from the moment of the delivery of possession, and will be embarked, if possible, in the course of three months after the ratification of this treaty.

"ARTICLE 6th. The United States engages and promises to execute all the treaties and articles that might have been agreed on between the Indian tribes and Spain until such time as by mutual consent between the United States and said tribes or people other suitable articles are agreed on.

"ARTICLE 7th. As it is equally advantageous to the commerce of France and the United States to foster the intercourse of the two nations for a limited period in the country ceded by the present treaty, until arrangements are made relative to the commerce of the two nations, the contracting parties have agreed that all the French vessels coming directly from France or her colonies, loaded exclusively with her productions, and, also, that those coming directly from Spain or her colonies, and loaded in like manner with her productions, will be admitted for the period of twelve years into the ports of New Orleans, as

sooner or later humble her pride." Jefferson, on the other hand, was startled at the complete success of the mission. He wrote to Senator Breckenridge, of Kentucky, that "the Executive, in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of his country, *has done an act beyond the Constitution.*" It was his wish to incorporate a new article in the Federal Constitution ratifying the act, but the people

well as in all those of the ceded territory, in the same manner as the vessels of the United States coming directly from France or Spain, or their colonies, without being subject to other duties on their cargoes or other imposts than those paid by the citizens of the United States during the period of time above specified; no other nation shall partake of this privilege in the said territory, the twelve years to commence three months after the exchange of ratifications, whether at Paris or in the United States, well understood that this article has for its object to favor the manufactures, commerce, charges, and navigation of France and Spain alone, as to the importations which these two nations may make in the above said ports of the United States, without detriment to the regulations which the said United States may adopt for the exportation of the products or merchandise of their States, nor to their right to establish others.

"ARTICLE 8th. After the expiration of the twelve years all French vessels will be treated on the same footing as the most favored nations in the above-mentioned ports.

"ARTICLE 9th. The especial convention signed this day by the respective ministers, having for its object the payment of the debts due to citizens of the United States by the French Republic prior to the 30th of September, 1800 (8th Vendémiaire, year nine) is approved; and to be put in full execution, as stipulated in the present treaty, it will be ratified at that same time, and in the same manner, so that the one will not be without the other.

"Another special convention, signed the same date as the present treaty, relative to the definitive law between the contracting parties, and which has been in like manner approved, will also be confirmed at the same time.

"ARTICLE 10th. The present treaty will be ratified in good and proper form, and the ratifications exchanged within six months after the date of signatures of the ministers plenipotentiary, or sooner if possible, in faith of which the ministers plenipotentiary have signed these articles in French and in English, remarking, however, that the present treaty is primitively in the French idiom, and have thereto affixed their seals.

"Executed at Paris the 10th Floreal, eleventh year of the French Republic (the 30th April, 1803).

(Signed) "ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.
"JAMES MONROE.
"F. BARBÉ MARBOIS."

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"The President of the United States of America and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, in consequence of the treaty of cession of Louisiana, which has been signed this day, desiring to settle definitely all matters pertaining to the said cession, have for that purpose authorized the plenipotentiaries, to wit., the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the said States, has appointed for their plenipotentiary Robert R. Livingston, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the said States to the government of the French Republic, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, has appointed for plenipotentiary of the said republic the citizen Francis Barbé Marbois, who, in virtue of their full powers, this day exchanged, have agreed upon the following articles:

"ARTICLE 1st. The government of the United States obligates itself to pay to the French government, in the manner specified in the next article, the sum of sixty millions of livres, independent of that which will be fixed upon by another convention to pay the debts which France has contracted towards the citizens of the United States.

"ARTICLE 2d. For the payment of the sixty millions of livres stipulated in the preceding article the United States will create a stock of eleven millions two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, bearing interest at six per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly at London, Amsterdam, or at Paris, being the sum of three hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred dollars for six months, in the proportions that the French government will determine on for these places. The principal of this fund reimbursed at the treasury of the United States in annual payments of not less than three millions each, the first of which will commence fifteen years after the date of the exchange of ratifications. This fund will be remitted to the French government, or to any other person who will be empowered to receive it, in three months, at the furthest, after the exchange or ratifications of the treaty and of the possession of Louisiana on the part of the United States. It is also agreed that if the French government desires to earlier realize the capital of this stock by disposing of it in Europe, they will take the proper steps, as well to augment the credit of the United States as to give greater value to said stock.

"ARTICLE 3d. It is also agreed that the dollar of the United States specified in the present convention shall be fixed at five livres and eight sous tournois; the present convention shall be ratified in good and due form, and the ratifications exchanged in the period of six months from this day's date, or sooner if possible.

"In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the said articles in both French and English, declaring also that the present treaty was made and primitively written in the French idiom, to which they have attached their seals.

"Done at Paris the 10th Floreal, the eleventh year of the French republic, April 30, 1800 (1803?).

(Signed) "ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.
"JAMES MONROE.
"FRAN'S BARBÉ MARBOIS."

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"The President of the United States of America and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, after having, by a treaty of this date, terminated all difficulties relating to Louisiana, always desiring to establish on a solid basis the friendship which unites the two nations, more and more animated with the desire to accomplish the second and fifteenth articles of the convention of the 8th Vendémiaire, year nine of the French Republic (30th September, 1800), and to assure the payment of the amount due by France to citizens of the United States, have respectively appointed for their plenipotentiaries, namely, the President of the United States of America, with the advice and consent of their Senate, has appointed Robert R. Livingston Minister Plenipotentiary, and James Monroe also Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the said United States near the government of the French Republic; and the First Consul, in t

of the United States of all parties and in all sections indorsed the act, and passed *sub silentio* over his constitutional objections.

Lord Hawkesbury, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on being notified of the completion of the treaty of session, replied to Mr. King, "I have received His Majesty's commands to express to you the pleasure with which His Majesty has received this intelligence." Thus everybody was pleased, except the Spanish king and ministers. The treaties, forwarded at once to Washington, were received there July 14th, and M. Pichon, the French *chargé*, was communicated with, to enable him to transmit the necessary documents to Louisiana, to M. Laussat, the French intendant and *locum tenens* there, who had been in New Orleans since the ratification of the treaty of San Ildefonso, observing events but not assuming any official position, though his powers were well known to and recognized by the Spanish authorities. The interdict had been taken off from the New Orleans

name of the French people, has appointed the citizen Francis Barbé Marbois, minister of the public treasury, who, after exchanging their full powers, agreed upon the following articles:

"ARTICLE 1st. The debts due by France to citizens of the United States, contracted prior to the 8th Vendémiaire, year nine of the French Republic (Sept. 30, 1800), will be paid in the following manner, with interest at six per cent. from the date of the presentation of their claims by the parties interested to the French government.

"ARTICLE 2d. The claims to be paid by the preceding article are those designated in the note annexed to the present convention, which with interest must not exceed the sum of twenty millions of livres; the claims included in said note which will be found rejected in the articles following cannot be admitted to the benefits of this provision.

"ARTICLE 3d. The principal and interest of said debts will be paid by the United States, through orders drawn by their Ministers Plenipotentiary on their treasury; these orders will be payable sixty days after the exchange of the ratification of the treaty and conventions this day signed, and after the French commissioners shall place those of the United States in possession of Louisiana.

"ARTICLE 4th. It is especially agreed that the foregoing articles are confined exclusively to the debts contracted to the citizens collectively who have been, or may yet be, creditors of France for provisions embargoed and taken on the high seas and for which the claim was duly made within the time specified in said convention on 8th Vendémiaire, year nine (Sept. 30, 1800).

"ARTICLE 5th. The preceding articles will be only applicable 1st to prizes which the Prize Court have ordered to be restored, well understood that the claimant can have no relief from the United States otherwise than he could have had from the French government.

"2d. The claims specified in the above-mentioned second article of the convention, contracted prior to the 8th Vendémiaire, year nine (Sept. 30, 1800), the payment of which has heretofore been demanded from the actual government of France, and for which the creditors have the right to demand the protection of the United States.

"ARTICLE 6th. For the purpose of amicably clearing up the various questions that may arise from the preceding article, the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States will appoint three persons, who will act provisionally at this time, having full power to examine without delay all the statements of the various claims already liquidated by the offices established for that purpose by the French Republic, and to satisfy themselves if they are admissible into the classes of claims designated in the present convention, and based upon the regulations there found, or if they are included in some one of the exceptions; and declaring by their certificates that the debt is due to American citizens or their representatives, and existing before the 8th Vendémiaire, year nine (Sept. 30, 1800), the debtor (creditor?) will receive an order on the treasury of the United States in the manner prescribed in the third article.

"ARTICLE 7th. The same agents will also possess the authority to examine the claims presented for examination, and to certify those that should be allowed,—in marking them to show that they are not to be shut out with those excluded by the present convention.

"ARTICLE 8th. The same agents will also examine the claims which may not have been presented for liquidation, and will certify that they decide them admissible for liquidation.

"ARTICLE 9th. According as the debts designated in these articles will be admitted, they will be paid with interest at six per cent. by the treasury of the United States.

"ARTICLE 10th. To remove all doubt on the above-mentioned conditions, and to reject all unjust and exorbitant demands, the commercial agent of the United States at Paris, in his capacity as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, will appoint, if he thinks proper, an agent to assist in the operations of the offices and examine the claims preferred. If he thinks the debt is not sufficiently proven, or that it is perhaps comprised in the rules of the fifteenth article above mentioned, and if, notwithstanding his opinion, the offices established by the French government should decide that the debt should be settled, he will pass his observations thereon to the judicial courts of the United States, which will at once examine into it, and give the result to the minister of the United States, who will transmit his observations in like manner to the minister of the treasury of the French Republic, and the French government will then decide definitely on the case.

"ARTICLE 11th. All decisions must be made within the period of one year from the exchange of the ratifications, after which period no claim will be considered.

"ARTICLE 12th. In cases where the claims for debts contracted by the French government with citizens of the United States since the 8th Vendémiaire, year nine (Sept. 30, 1800), are not included in this convention, the payment of the same can be claimed and prosecuted as if no convention had been agreed on.

"ARTICLE 13th. This convention will be ratified in good and due form, and the ratifications exchanged within six months from the date of the signatures of the Ministers Plenipotentiaries, or sooner if possible. In faith of which the Ministers Plenipotentiaries respective have signed the foregoing articles in French and in English, declaring that the present treaty was first made and written in the French idiom, to which they have affixed their seals.

"Done at Paris, the 10th Floreal, year eleventh of the French Republic (April 30, 1803).

(Signed) "ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.
"JAMES MONROE.
"F. BARBÉ MARBOIS"

entrepôt and the right of deposit restored forthwith. Jefferson called a special session of Congress for October 17th, and the treaty was finally ratified, but not until after serious opposition. M. Landais, an officer of the French embassy, was forthwith sent overland to New Orleans to communicate with M. Laussat. He arrived on November 23d, and on the 30th of the month the ceremony was performed by France of taking formal possession, while on December 20th, Laussat transferred Upper and Lower Louisiana to the United States, represented by its commissioners, Governor William Claiborne and Maj.-Gen. James Wilkinson, U.S.A. Casa Calvo and Juan Manuel Salcedo were at that time Governors of Louisiana. Laussat was acting intendant and provisional representative of France in the ceded province.

The news of the cession had been at once transmitted to St. Louis, and on Friday, March 9, 1804, the formal transfer of Upper Louisiana was made, in St. Louis.

"The little village," says Frederick L. Billon, "was then just forty years old, and so slowly had it grown in that period that it then contained, including all descriptions, dwellings, stores, etc., but one hundred and eighty houses of stone and log, and a population numbering not exceeding one thousand souls. On that day the inhabitants witnessed a scene which, to much the largest portion of them, was fraught with sadness and apprehension. These people had been so long contented and happy under the mild sway of all their Spanish commandants, with one exception alone (De Leyba), that it was not surprising that they should have entertained those feelings at being transferred, themselves and homes, to a nation whose people were mainly descended from the English, a nation that for generations back they had looked upon as the natural and hereditary enemy of the land from whence they sprung. For it must be borne in mind that they were nearly all of French origin, and although under Spanish domination, there were but few Spaniards in the country, outside of the officials and soldiery."

Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, the last of the Spanish Governors of the place, had been in power since 1799, a wise, mild, and gentle administrator, who had done many things to benefit the province and none to hurt it. His official papers relating to the transfer are now before us, and they possess a fine local interest. Just before the news of the transfer to France became known, Delassus had a spasm of activity rather unusual in a man of his pacific counsels. Perhaps the agitation beyond the border in consequence of Intendant Morales' precipitate action in withholding the right of deposit had convinced the Governor that it would be best for him to furbish up his arms a little and drill his troops for any emergency that might suddenly arise. At any rate, he equipped and went forth at the head of a military expedition to New Madrid. The occasion of this he explained afterwards, at the time of the cession, in a letter to Maj. Amos Stoddard, his successor, who received the surrender and commanded the post in the name of the United States. It is written from St. Louis of the Illinois, under date of March 30, 1804, and is as follows:

"Mr. Amos Stoddard, *Captain of Artillery, and First Civil Commandant of Upper Louisiana:*

"Sir,—I think it essential for the measures you may probably take for the safety and tranquillity of these inhabitants to inform you that there exists in these parts since nearly ten years a party of vagabond robbers of the Mascoux nation, or self-styled Talapousa Creeks, expelled from their tribe and not daring to return on account of the crimes they there committed, and who since that time have been wandering about on both the east and west banks of the river, scattered along this side from New Madrid to the upper waters of the Maramec, and constantly committing barbarities, in stealing, killing, violating, or burning houses.

"In the year 1802 they carried their audacity to the extent of killing an inhabitant of New Madrid named David Trotter, and afterwards burnt his house; some time thereafter this same party, to the number of five, were captured through the watchfulness and vigilance of Mr. Louis Lorimier, commandant of Cape Girardeau, who went with a detachment of the militia of his post and took them in custody, since which time I had them taken to New Madrid, where they were detained as prisoners, guarded by the militia of that post, until the decision of the Governor-General, who subsequently sent me his orders to execute by shooting the principal culprit, named Tewanayé, with all the necessary care and preparation, as an example, usual in similar cases, and which orders I executed in January of the past year, 1803, in presence of the four other culprits and one of their chiefs named Ayputetchy, and one of consideration called Kaskaloua; this sentence, after some representations of these two chiefs, without bitterness, was finally put in execution with their own consent, and after they had again admitted in full council that it was but an act of well-merited justice, and that their principal chief would be satisfied with it, as it is stated in the copy of the sentence of execution which I transmit you herewith, and which is verified by a party of their nation who came to accompany the chiefs of said nation to collect the balance of this gang of vagabonds, as you will see by the official statement appended hereto of the council held by the commandant of New Madrid, Mr. John Lavallé, in which the chief very clearly says, to '*run after and chastise them and cut off their ears, and if they cannot be caught to fire on them as on deer.*'

"But the above-cited execution and arrangement with their nation has not put an end to their barbarities; for last autumn I received notice that one Gabriel Bolon and his two nephews were beaten and killed by a party of Osages on the Grand Glaise River. It was a Delaware woman who was with them, and who escaped, that came and reported this to me. But a few days afterwards, I learned that a party of seven or eight Mascoux came into the village of Ste. Genevieve, singing the war-song and danced the scalp-dance, and when questioned as to whose scalp they had, they denied it, and said that they had met with the Osages, that they had fired on them, but they had one man wounded, '*who was of the band.*' Shortly after their falsehood was discovered, in that they were in possession of the spoils of the unfortunate persons they had murdered, that is, the blanket-coat of one of the nephews of Hyppolite Bolon, his rifle and his horse; they also had the insolence some days afterwards to come to the post of St. Louis with the said rifle. I

was about to have them arrested to ascertain the fact, but in the interval some imprudent persons who went to see wanted to take this rifle from them; they resisted and made their escape. Since then Hyppolite Bolon came and brought me these two gun-barrels, which I send you, with this war tomahawk, and which he told me were found near the corpses of his brother and his two children, and which, he says, were arms of these Mascoux, and the tomahawk left as a signal of war, and added that the man who found them would come here this spring. I awaited this period to proceed and demand reparation from the chiefs of that nation, in the event of not being enabled to take the guilty parties, and on the 2d of January I was informed that these same barbarians were in this village, that they went drunk from house to house. I found it impossible to discover them by a very heavy rain and one of the darkest of nights. I could only warn the various houses for the inmates to remain quiet and to keep their doors fastened, and in case of insult or attack from them to defend themselves if they had not the time to apprise me. The next day, January 3d, I was informed early that there was a dead Indian in the street opposite the house of one Thibault, and that he was supposed to be a Mascoux, because two or three of that nation had passed the body, which they had looked at, one weeping, another singing the war-song, and that they had started off immediately.

"After a proper examination of the body, it was taken up and interred, as is verified and stated in a document now on file in the archives, which I have delivered over to you. I immediately notified the commandants and syndics of the lower posts, including New Madrid, to be on the alert, and to bear with nothing from those brigands, and to be ready to protect themselves if insulted by them. Five Indians of that nation came to talk with me, and brought to me the subjoined letter. I held a talk with them; they said they had no head-man, and they would go and seek him. They left, and I did not see them again. The nineteenth day of the month of February, the syndic of Maramec came to bring me his report that there were five of that band that were killed by the inhabitants of the two banks of the river, who gave chase to them to recover a canoe or pirogue that they had stolen from the salt-works on the Maramec, and which was afterwards confirmed by a paragraph, subjoined from a letter of the deceased Don Francis Vallé, commandant of Ste. Genevieve.

"I also made known this affair to all the commandants and syndics, including New Madrid, in reiterating to them to be on the lookout.

"All this I communicate for your information, so that it may be of use to you in the steps you may judge proper to take.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration,

"Sir, yours, etc.,

"CHAS. DEHAULT DELASSUS."[1]

[1] The other letter, embodying trivial details, it is not necessary to give. Delassus went about his military work with the grave importance of a general of forty battalions, and his order-book is an exemplar of how little things may be made to seem great by environing them with noise and enveloping them in words. First comes a sheaf of notes from Francisco Vallé, of Ste. Genevieve, and other local commanders, asking or answering questions about quotas, savages, etc. Each is stiff as a ramrod, punctilious as a hidalgo's beard, and each is subscribed, "God have you in his holy keeping." Then follows the series of military orders from Delassus. "The assembled inhabitants" are directed to recognize Capt. Don Francis Vallé as second in command of the expedition, while other companies and detachments are assigned to Lieuts. Don Joseph Pratte, Don Francis Vallé, Jr., and Don Camille Delassus, the latter being also aide-de-camp and adjutant. Each company must furnish a mounted orderly as a body-guard for the Lieutenant-Governor and commander-in-chief, and first corporals are to replace sergeants when the latter are otherwise engaged. The following are some of the

"ORDERS FOR THE MARCH OF THE EXPEDITION.

"1. Seven men will be taken from each company to form the advance-guard, which will be commanded by each sergeant alternatively.

"2. This guard will have twelve axes, and will start every morning two hours before the main body of the militia; when towards noon they will have reached a suitable place for the noonday halt, they will stop there and kindle two fires at a distance of an arpent apart.

"3. On the arrival of the main body at the halting-place, the vanguard will remount and proceed on to select the camping-ground for the night, where they will kindle five fires, at the distance of half an arpent apart, taking care to select the said camp-ground early enough to enable the main body to reach it a half-hour before sunset.

"4. The vanguard will be relieved every morning, and will then form the rear-guard for the day.

"5. The sergeant commanding the vanguard will proceed at a slow trot in good roads and at a walk in bad places.

"6. Should there be met in the route which will be indicated to him any serious impediment, such as rivers, creeks, bad crossings, etc., he will await the arrival of the main body of the militia.

"7. Should he meet with any gathering of Indians, or other armed men, he will at once communicate the same to the chief commandant by mounted messenger.

"8. In such bad places as may not require his waiting for the main body, as per article 6, he will expedite the passage of the said body as much as possible by cutting the ice if not strong enough to bear the horses, or bridging it with branches of trees or saplings to make the crossing practicable.

"9. The main body of the detachment will start two hours after the vanguard, going on a trot in good places and at a walk in bad, and will maintain, as far as possible, the order of march which will be given them at starting.

"10. In all cases where Messrs. the officers may command silence, or other orders, we doubt not that all who compose our detachment will be eager to obey.

"11. Immediately on arriving at a camping-ground, a guard will be formed of seven men from each company, commanded by an officer, a sergeant, and a corporal, who will place the sentinels that the location may require, to guard against surprises and prevent the escape of any of the horses. The officer commanding the guard will report every morning, and his sergeant will immediately take the command of the advance-guard.

"12. The officers will carefully watch over their respective companies, and have the roll called every morning; they will see that no arms are loaded without orders, and make their report on each day before resuming the march.

"13. If, while marching, the officer or sergeant at the rear perceives that they go too fast, he will immediately notify the commandant at the front by passing the word to halt.

from Salcedo and Casa Calvo. The letters are as follows (it will be observed that the intendant exercises the Frenchman's usual privilege of spelling wrongly the name of his correspondent):

"14. All the horses, packed or loose, with their drivers, will be placed between the detachment and the rear-guard, allowing none to pass the front by the flanks nor remain in rear of the said guard.

"15. The rear-guard will keep at about two arpens in rear of the detachment, and will take care to pick up anything that may have been dropped. Should any one, from sickness or fault of his horse, be compelled to drop behind, the guard will at once notify the commander by a messenger.

"16. They will see that no horse-driver remain behind, their place on the march being between the detachment and the guard. Should anything fall or become disarranged, they will call a halt and lend assistance to remedy it, and then resume their march at the proper distance from the detachment. This order will be read to each company under arms by its respective commanding officer, at the hour to be named by the second in command, Don Francis Vallé.

"New Bourbon, Dec. 11, 1802."

"ORDER OF THE 17th DECEMBER, 1802, AT CAPE GIRARDEAU.

"Don Louis Lorimier, commandant at Cape Girardeau, will be recognized as captain of the militia of said post, and Don William Lorimier as lieutenant of said militia, and they will be obeyed in all their orders, either verbal or written, in this expedition for the service of his Catholic Majesty.

"Afterwards Don Louis Lorimier, at the head of his militia, will designate the sergeants and corporals of his company.

"From to-day an officer, a sergeant, and a corporal of the company of the Cape, with twenty of her men, will set out as an advance-guard before the detachment; on arriving at the camping-place they will kindle ten fires, at the distance of half an arpent from each other; they will clear the snow from around the fires so that the militiamen may encamp there comfortably. The colors of the Cape Girardeau company will remain attached to its company, but it will be placed in the centre of the detachment, with a guard of two men from each company, who will surround it in the order in which we post them.

"On arriving at each camping-place or settlement, the officer Don Camille Delassus will repair to the fire of the vanguard of the detachment, and, if in a settlement, to the quarters of the commander-in-chief, where the guard will repair.

"The eight axe-men of the company of the Cape will always march at the head of the main body of the detachment, a half-arpent in advance, and, when in line, they will repair to the centre of the detachment, where they will form themselves in the manner there indicated.

"The companies will be formed as follows: the Ste. Genevieve company on the right, next in line that of New Bourbon, then that of Cape Girardeau, and then the Platin camp,—all according to the seniority of the settlements."

"GENERAL ORDER, DECEMBER 20th.

"The advance-guard is to march at 8 A.M., weather permitting; Messrs. the officers of the various posts, in addition to the zeal and promptitude they have displayed from the moment of our departure, will watch over with diligent care to see that all the worthy and reputable inhabitants of our detachment be made as comfortable as possible in their quarters, and that the provisions for themselves and forage for their horses be fairly distributed, requiring also the sergeants and corporals to have an eye to the same. They will inform me of the least innovation, etc.

"5. Commandant Peyroux, of the detachment from above, aide-de-camp and adjutant, will receive the word of order each day, which he will give in writing to each commandant of the guard of their companies; for which purpose the said officers will send an armed corporal at five o'clock P.M. to the said principal, who will carry it sealed to his officer.

"6. The signal of alarm is to be beating a drum, a red flag and a blue flame at the fort, assured by three cannon-shots in the daytime and five cannon-shots at night."

"DECEMBER 22d, ORDER.

"As it is absolutely necessary to observe the greatest order for the tranquillity of the public, Messrs. the officers will see to it this evening, at the roll-call of their respective companies, that all the fire-arms are discharged, and that firing in the village is prohibited without orders, under any pretext whatever.

"Those persons at whose houses the recently-arrived militia are quartered will take good care of the horses of those on duty with the forage which will be distributed to them for this purpose."

"ORDER FROM THE 2d TO 3d JANUARY, 1803.

"The officers of the companies of cavalry will assemble their respective companies to-morrow at nine o'clock A.M. near their quarters. They will order arms to be loaded, and take the necessary precautions to strictly charge every man to exercise the greatest possible care that his piece is not discharged involuntarily without orders; and as soon as the companies are formed, each will advise me of it by an orderly he will dispatch to me.

"Each commandant of said companies will await the cannon-shot which will be fired from the fort as the signal of assembling, and will march his company, according to orders previously given him, to form the line, and the officers, sergeants, and corporals will take their positions as previously ordered.

"The adjutant, Don Camille Delassus, will detail a guard of a sergeant, a corporal, and one man from each company to go for the standard with drums beating, which having brought they will place it opposite the cavalry in the centre. When he will be commanded to carry the order to the officer of the prisoners' guard to deliver up the criminal Tewannyé to the commandant of the detachment of the Louisiana regiment, he will repair there and cause his shackles to be taken off by the blacksmith he will find there for the purpose, and will give the order to the officer of the guard to immediately place the four other prisoners on the gallery, to enable them to witness the execution of Tewannyé.

"He will place himself at the head of the regiment of Louisiana, which he will march to opposite the standard, where the sentence of Tewannyé will be read by Don Antoine Pierre Laforge, of the militia of this post, public writer, and appointed in that capacity for the instruction of the said prisoners, which sentence will be interpreted to them by the interpreter.

"Immediately after, the criminal will be conducted in the same manner to the place appointed, and there shot to death, according to the orders to the detail of the garrison. Imme-

I.—LAUSSAT TO DELASSUS.

"New Orleans, 21 Nivose, year 12 (Jan. 12, 1804.)

"*The Colonial Prefect, com. of the French Government, to Mr. Dehault de Lasuze, Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois at St. Louis:*

"I have this day forwarded to Mr. Stoddard, captain of artillery in the United States army, and who is authorized to take possession of the territory and the establishments where

you command for His Catholic Majesty, the following documents, viz.:

"*First.*—A letter, unsealed, from M. de Salcedo and Marquis of Casa Calvo, commissioners of his C. M., dated the 31st of December last, which authorizes you to give possession of the post where you now command to the officer or agent that may be sent by me to receive it, in virtue of the treaty of San. Ildefonso, by which Louisiana was retroceded to the French republic.

"*Second.*—A letter written by me to Mr. Stoddard, which was approved by the commissioners of the United States who were sent here for the execution of the treaty of Paris, by which France has ceded Louisiana to the United States. By said letter, bearing date this day, I transferred to said officer my power to receive from you, in the name of the French republic, the military and civil possession of that part of Louisiana over which you command, and I authorize him at the same time to keep possession for the United States.

"*Third.*—Also another letter written by me this day to Mr. Pierre Chouteau, by which I give him all the necessary power to make, in concert with you, and for the republic of France, an inventory and appraisement of the buildings and houses (except, however, the fortifications and works of defense) which belong to his C. M. in the country under your command, and possession of which must also be given to us.

"*Fourth.*—Letters from the commissioners of his C. M., dated 21st December, also unsealed, and addressed to

"Don Pedro Dehault Delassus, commandant at New Bourbon.

"Don Francisco Vallé, commandant at Ste. Genevieve.

"Don Louis Lorimier, commandant at Cape Girardeau.

"Don Juan Lavallée, commandant at New Madrid.

"These letters are nearly similar to the letter that was sent to you by the same commissioner.

"I am ignorant whether your authority over these commandants is such that it would have been sufficient if I had transmitted you alone my dispositions, and that they would have conformed to these, but the distances are so great, and misdiately after, the corpse will be placed in the coffin and carried by the soldiers of the garrison to the place of interment. The detachment of cavalry will then form by fours on the right, at the command of the adjutant, and will then pass opposite the grave, drums beating, and will then form in its first position. The standard will then be returned in the manner it was brought to its place of keeping. The senior officer, having brought back the detachment, will give an order for each company to return to its place of meeting near their quarters, where they may dismount for a brief period, leaving their horses saddled ready to remount at the first order, under the command of the sergeants and corporals of the respective companies, the officers having to assemble at my quarters to be present and witness the release of the other four prisoners, to which end the senior officer will carry the order to the officer of the guard to take off their shackles and send them, with one-half of his guard, to my quarters, to be restored to the chief Aypousetchy, of the Mashkou nation.

"The guard and the orderlies will be relieved after the close of the council, according to orders which circumstances may suggest.

"CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS."

The above is the sole result of the "expedition,"—the execution of one Indian who had been a prisoner for six months. The expedition returned home, after the commandant had taken severe measures for the reform of the New Madrid militia, who were found to be "without the slightest order or organization, for want of *despotism*." One thing more, however, Commander-in-chief Delassus accomplished, which should cover his memory with honor. He took severe and effective measures (exercised his despotism, in other words) "to entirely eradicate the prime cause of all the disorders, occasioned by liquor sold by tavern-keepers, dramshop-keepers, traders, and other inhabitants to the Indians, in spite of the reiterated prohibitions of our predecessors and ourselves, and without the fines which have been paid by the delinquents serving as an example to prevent it, being generally proven that the said Indians commit no excesses but when drunk. This is proven by the assassination of Mr. Trotter by the Indians to whom he had traded liquor. All this compels us to use the most rigorous measures for the public tranquillity.

"1. At each post there shall be but a certain number of tavern and dramshop-keepers that we will appoint, and who shall be persons of good conduct and devoted to the government; these, under no pretext, can either sell or give liquor to Indians or to slaves. They will give immediate notice of the least disturbance at their house which may lead to disorder, to the commandant or nearest syndic of its occurrence, to the end that he may apply the most prompt remedy. And all other persons than those who shall be authorized to keep tavern or dram-shop who shall be found to have sold liquor will undergo for the first offense three days' imprisonment and two dollars fine, the second offense fifty dollars fine and fifteen days' imprisonment, and for a third relapse they shall be sent to New Orleans, under safe conduct, at their own cost and expense.

"2. Every person whomsoever, either keeper of tavern or dram-shop, or any other who shall be found to have given or sold liquor to Indians, will be at once arrested, put in irons, and sent under escort of a detachment of militia, at his cost and expense, to New Orleans, and his effects will be seized and sequestered until the decision of His Lordship the Governor-General.

"3. All commanders of every post will be held responsible to the government for the least neglect of the articles above, and of the least negligence in listening to the complaints which may be made him on the subject, and to make the strictest inquiry and investigation to ascertain the truth.

"4. For this post of New Madrid, one single tavern being sufficient, Mr. Jno. B. Olive will be the only one who will have the privilege of selling and putting off liquors in conforming to present regulations; and for the convenience of travelers on the road to Illinois in this district, Mr. Ed. Robertson will have the right to sell and put off liquor in conforming strictly to present regulations, and at the Little Prairie, Mr. Charles Guibault, etc.

"5. The two tavern-keepers above named will pay per annum such sum as a tax that the Governor-General may deem just, to be applied to the construction of a prison at this post.

"This order will be translated into English by the interpreter of the king, Mr. J. Charpentier, published and posted up in the public places of this post, and at the doors of the tavern keepers above named, and a copy will be sent to each district dependent on this post."

This law is plain and practical, and Lieutenant-Governor Delassus is entitled to the credit of having promulgated the first effective regulation for the restriction and control of indiscriminate dram-selling in St. Louis and Missouri.

We have thought it necessary to present pretty fully the particulars of this expedition, the most important and the last military operation conducted during the Spanish *régime* in Upper Louisiana.

takes would be too vexatious, that I concluded to write to them also.

"*Fifth.*—I sent then, also, to Capt. Stoddard a separate circular for each of these commandants.

"I pray you, sir, in all these changes of governments, to accept the different powers which I have announced to you, so far as they concern the French republic, and I hope that you will graciously receive the persons who will present them to you.

"I have the honor to salute you.

"LAUSSAT."

II.—SALCEDO AND CASA CALVO TO DELASSUS.

"The king, our sovereign, having determined to retrocede this province of Louisiana to the French republic, according to the announcement in the royal order issued at Barcelona on the 15th of October, 1802, to that effect, and having also commissioned us to carry the same into effect by his subsequent royal order dated at Madrid on the 18th of January, 1803, we have put in execution the intentions of the sovereign by delivering up the Governorship of this place and the command of the province to the Colonial Prefect Pedro Clement Laussat, commissioner of the French republic, on the 30th day of November of the present year, and you are hereby requested to deliver up to the agent or officer of the said prefect who may be authorized by him to receive from you the command of the post and its dependencies, now under the orders of Your Excellency, as soon as he shall present himself before you, under the formalities of an inventory and valuation to be made by skillful persons in that post, upon oath to act with due impartiality, of the buildings which belong to the king, not including the artillery and other munitions of war, which must be remitted entire to this place.

"Under the same formalities of an inventory the archives, with the papers and documents which concern only the inhabitants of the district and their property, shall be delivered, taking for the whole a receipt, in order that there always may be evidence of what has been delivered upon our part to the French republic, and cause the same to appear on the general inventory.

"We particularly enjoin upon Your Excellency the punctual execution of the foregoing, for which you are authorized to avail yourself of all the means that may be found in the district under your charge.

"NEW ORLEANS, 30th December, 1803.

"MANUEL DE SALCEDO.'

"THE MARQUIS OF CASA CALVO.

"For Don CARLOS DE LASSUS, *Commander of Illinois.*"

III.—FROM CAPT. STODDARD TO GOVERNOR DELASSUS, ST. LOUIS.

"KASKASKIA, 18th Feb., 1804.

"SIR,—I have just received by express from New Orleans a variety of dispatches relative to the late retrocession of Louisiana.

"Those addressed to you and intrusted to my care by the French and Spanish commissioners I do myself the honor to forward by a sergeant of our army, who is bound on business to Capt. Lewis.

"In a few days the troops under my command will ascend the Mississippi in public boats. I shall proceed before them by land and concert with you the necessary arrangements before their arrival at St. Louis. The inclosed letter to Mr. Chouteau I would thank you to deliver him.

"Please accept the assurances of my respectful consideration.

"AMOS STODDARD,

"*Captain U. S. Artillerists, Agent and Commissioner for the French Republic.*

"CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS,

"*Lieutenant-Governor Upper Louisiana.*"

IV.—GOVERNOR DELASSUS' REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

"ST. LOUIS, 20th February, 1804.

"SIR,—I received yesterday your letter of the 18th of this month, with those intrusted to your care, and which you had the kindness to send to me, and which contained the orders of the brigadiers and commissioners of his C. M. for the retrocession of this colony to the French republic, and the disposition of the French prefect, which authorize you to receive possession of this part of Louisiana.

"I hasten to reply to you by the same sergeant of the U. S. army by whom you had forwarded to me your dispatches, and notify you that Mr. Louis Lorimier, Jr., is bearer of the necessary orders for each one of the commandants of the posts of this province, and which, joined with those delivered to them by the said commissioners, will sufficiently authorize them to receive the commissioners that you may deem proper to send to receive from them possession of the said posts, and as Mr. Lausat, prefect, advises me that he has written to them also upon the same subject, and if those letters are addressed to you, and if you wish to avail yourself of the opportunity of Mr. Louis Lorimier to send said letters to them, you can hand them over to him with confidence, and he is hereby directed to present himself to you for that object.

"I am also informed by your letter that troops under your orders are about to march for this post, and that you come ahead of them so that we may understand ourselves before their arrival. I shall have the honor to receive you, offering to you in advance the most gracious reception which will be possible to bestow upon you in the name of the king, my sovereign.

"I have handed to Mr. Pierre Chouteau the letter that you had recommended to me. I shall be obliged to you if you make known to me in advance the day of your arrival, and if you are coming by land or water.

"I write you in French, being informed that the Spanish language is not understood by you.

"I have the honor, etc., CHAS. DEHAULT DELASSUS.

"AMOS STODDARD, *Captain, U.S.A., and Agent and Commissioner for the French Republic.*"

V.—ORDER FOR THE TROOPS AT THE POST TO BE IN READINESS FOR THE TRANSFER REGIMENT OF INFANTRY OF LOUISIANA.

"REGIMENT OF INFANTRY OF LOUISIANA,

"STATION OF ST. LOUIS,

"ORDER OF THE 23d FEBRUARY, 1808.

"From this day forth all of this detachment, including the guard, will keep themselves in full uniform, and with strict regard to cleanliness, etc., so that all the garrison will be in readiness to take arms at the first verbal order, through Sergeant Juan Robayna, to evacuate the fort, with arms at a shoulder and knapsacks on the back.

"Pursuant to this order, no one will absent himself from quarters, either by day or night, except those necessarily so, such as water-carriers, hostlers, etc., until the day of the delivery of these fortifications to the United States.

"As all this detachment is composed of individuals, the major part of whom have been long in the service and know how to comport themselves in a praiseworthy manner, the commandant expects that from the day of the transfer, and afterwards until we take up the line of march to embody ourselves with our countrymen, each man will so conduct himself as to uphold the reputation of the Spanish troops, so justly acquired, and extolled for ages past, and I flatter myself that during the time they remain at this post their conduct will be such as to earn for themselves the respect and esteem of the American troops.

"At the moment when the United States commandant will enter this Government House to receive possession, he will be

saluted from the fort by a salvo from all the cannon that are mounted and in battery. This will be carried into execution by a signal from a soldier stationed for the purpose at the corner of the gallery of the house, by waving his hat to the sentinel at the fort, when the firing will commence, taking good care that there will be a regular interval of time between each successive discharge.

"CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS."

Upon the arrival of the boats from Kaskaskia with Capt. Stoddard's troops, they landed at Cahokia, on the American side, where they were cantoned for some days awaiting the final arrangements for the transfer.

Meantime Capt. Stoddard arrived in St. Louis, and the following correspondence ensued:

VI.—STODDARD TO DELASSUS.

"ST. LOUIS, 25th February, 1804.

"SIR,—The colonial prefect, Mr. Laussat, agent and commissioner on the part of the French Republic, by an instrument under his hand, directed to me, bearing date at New Orleans, the 12th day of January, 1804, has been pleased, in consequence of the authority with which he is invested, to appoint me sole agent and commissioner on the part of the said republic, with plenary powers to demand and receive in the name of his nation the quiet and peaceable possession of Upper Louisiana, together with all the military posts at St. Louis and its dependencies, from his Catholic Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor and commandants, agreeably to the late treaty of retrocession; and I do by these presents demand the quiet and peaceable delivery, in due form, of the said territory, posts, and dependencies accordingly.

"Accept the assurances of respectful consideration.

"AMOS STODDARD,

"*Captain Corps of United States Artillerists, and Agent and Commissioner of the French Republic.*

"COL. CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS,

"*Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana.*"

VII.—DELASSUS TO STODDARD.

"ST. LOUIS OF ILLINOIS Feb. 25, 1804.

"SIR,—As the terms of the letter which I have the honor to receive from you accord entirely with those of the brigadiers of his C. M. dated New Orleans, Dec. 31, 1803, and are also in accordance with the requisition of Mr. Pierre Clement Laussat, dated New Orleans, Jan. 12, 1804, and which contained the documents that had been sent to you, and which you had the kindness to forward to me from Kaskaskia on the 18th, and which I received on the 19th of the present month.

"In virtue of their contents, I have made the necessary arrangements to give you possessions of Upper Louisiana.

"I am ready to give you possession of this province on the day and hour you may name, in the most authentic form, as the circumstances and nature of the country will permit.

"I have the honor to be, etc,

"CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS.

"MR. AMOS STODDARD, *St. Louis.*"

When the eventful day at length arrived,—to wit, Friday, March 9, 1804,—the American troops were brought over to this side under the command of Lieut. Worrall, of the United States army, acting as adjutant to Capt. Stoddard, who, accompanied by Capt. M. Lewis, of the United States infantry (then in St. Louis on his expedition to the Pacific), and others, repaired to the Government House, at the southeast corner of our present Main and Walnut Streets, where he was formally received by Governor Delassus, in presence of his officials and some of the most prominent citizens of the place, the largest portion of the inhabitants of the village being assembled in the street in front.

Governor Delassus then addressed to the people the following brief

"PROCLAMATION.

"MARCH 9, 1804.

"INHABITANTS OF UPPER LOUISIANA:

"By the king's command, I am about to deliver up this post and its dependencies!

"The flag under which you have been protected for a period of nearly thirty-six years is to be withdrawn. From this moment you are released from the oath of fidelity you took to support it.

"The fidelity and courage with which you have guarded and defended it will never be forgotten; and in my character of representative I entertain the most sincere wishes for your perfect prosperity."

Governor Delassus then in a brief address to Capt. Stoddard placed him in possession of the governmental residence, to which Capt. Stoddard made an appropriate reply, at the conclusion of which, the prearranged signal being given by the soldier placed at the northwest corner of the gallery for that purpose, the Spanish troops at the fort on the hill commenced to fire the salute ordered by Governor Delassus, and which was continued at intervals until completed.

Pending these proceedings the official document testifying to the transfer, which had been previously prepared for the purpose, was duly executed in triplicate by the representatives of the two governments in the following terms:

"In consequence of a letter sent from New Orleans of 31st December of last year (1803) by the Marquis de Casa Calvo and Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, brigadier-general of the royal armies and commissaries for his Catholic Majesty, for the transfer of the colony and province of Louisiana to the French republic, addressed to Don Chas. D. Delassus, colonel in the same armies, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, and commissioner, appointed by the said Casa Calvo and Salcedo, for its transfer, according to the contents of said letter, requiring him to give full and entire possession of said Upper Louisiana, including the military posts of St. Louis and its dependencies, to wit: Clement Laussat, appointed by the said French republic to take possession of the said colony and province of Louisiana, or any other person which may have been named to that effect, according to the treaty of cession, and as by letter also sent from New Orleans, dated 12th of January of the current year, the said commissary of the French republic appoints, constitutes, and nominates as sole agent and commissary in behalf of his nation Amos Stoddard, captain of artillery of the United States of America, for the purpose of demanding and receiving the said Upper Louisiana, comprehending the aforesaid military posts of St.

Louis and its dependencies, in virtue of the respective powers which are explained above.

"Now, be it known by these presents, that I, the above Don Carlos D. Delassus, in quality of Lieutenant-Governor of the same, at the requirement duly made to me by the said Amos Stoddard, agent and commissary of the French republic, have delivered the full possession, sovereignty, and government of the said Upper Louisiana, with all the military posts, quarters, and fortifications thereto belonging or dependent thereof, and I, Amos Stoddard, commissary as such, do acknowledge to have received the said possession on the same terms already mentioned, of which I acknowledge myself satisfied and possessed of on this day. In testimony whereof the aforesaid Lieutenant-Governor and myself have respectively signed these presents, sealed with the seal of our *arms*, being assisted with the witnesses signed below, of which proceedings six copies have been made out, to wit, three in the Spanish and the other three in the English languages.

"Given in the town of St. Louis of Illinois, 9th March, 1804.

"Amos Stoddard. [Seal.]

"Carlos Dehault Delassus. [Seal.]

"In presence of

"Meriwether Lewis, *Capt. First United States Regiment Infantry.*

"Antoine Soulard, *Surveyor-General*, etc.

"Charles Gratiot."

Upon the conclusion of the proceedings at the Government House the American troops were marched up to the fort on the hill, where they were received by the Spanish troops under arms, and placed in possession and quartered therein, the Stars and Stripes being displayed on the staff in lieu of that of Spain.

The Spanish troops after the evacuation of the fort were marched down to the large old French house of posts, built by Montardy in 1765, at the southwest corner of our present Third and Elm Streets, then the property of Manuel Lisa, from whom it had been rented by Governor Delassus for the temporary quarters of the Spanish troops until their departure for New Orleans.

The late Madame Aspasia Desilate, of Florissant, was an eye-witness of these ceremonies. "Some of the older inhabitants," she said, "took it sadly to heart."

On the following Monday, March 12, 1804, Col. Delassus, at the request of Capt. Stoddard, delivered to certain Indian tribes then in and about St. Louis, in the presence of Capts. Stoddard and Lewis, Lieut. Worrall and others, the following speech, announcing to them the change of government:

"Delawares, Abenakis, Saquis, and Others:

"Your old fathers, the Spaniard and the Frenchman, who grasp by the hand your new father, the head chief of the United States, by an act of their good will, and in virtue of their last treaty, I have delivered up to them all these lands. They will keep and defend them, and protect all the white and redskins who live thereon. You will live as happily as if the Spaniard was still here.

"I have informed your new father, who here takes my place, that since I have been here the Delawares, Shawnees, and Sakis have always conducted themselves well; that I have always received them kindly; that the chiefs have always restrained their young men as much as it was possible. I have recommended thee, Takinonsa, as chief of the nation, that thou hast always labored much and well to maintain a sincere friendship with the whites, and that in consequence of thy good services I recently presented thee a medal with the portrait of thy great father, the Spaniard, and letters patent reciting thy good and loyal services.

"For several days past we have fired off cannon-shots to announce to all the nations that your father, the Spaniard, is going, his heart happy to know that you will be protected and sustained by your new father, and that the smoke of the powder may ascend to the Master of life, praying him to shower on you all a happy destiny and prosperity in always living in good union with the whites."

Col. Delassus also on the same day addressed the following official circular to the several commandants in his jurisdiction, apprising them of the change:

"To M. Baptiste Vallé, Ste. Genevieve.
"To M. Deluzière, New Bourbon.
"To M. Louis Lorimier, Cape Girardeau.
"To M. Jean Lavallée, New Madrid.
"To M. Pierre de Treget, Carondelet.
"To M. James Mackay, St. Andrew.
"To M. Francis Dunegant, St. Ferdinand.
"To M. Charles Tayon, St. Charles.
"To M. Francis Saucier, Portage des Sioux.
"To M. Pierre Lajoie, Syndic at Maramec, and
"To M. —— Hodges, at the Post of the Missouri:

"On the 9th day of the present month I relinquished the command of this place and of all Upper Louisiana to Mr. Amos Stoddard, captain of artillery of the United States and commissioner for the French republic, who since has retained it in the name of the said States.

"I apprise you of this for your guidance, according to orders I issued to you of date February 20th last past, notifying you to communicate the same to the syndics of your dependency.

"God have you in His holy keeping.

"Charles Dehault Delassus.

"St. Louis of Illinois, March 12, 1804."

After the transfer Col. Delassus remained in St. Louis until the month of October of the same year, closing up the affairs of the Spanish government, and awaiting further orders, and finally left with his soldiers and the munitions of war, which were not included in the sale, for New Orleans, and on his arrival there was ordered to Pensacola, Fla., the headquarters of his regiment.

While he continued in St. Louis, Delassus, like the good officer that he was, did all that he could to aid and instruct the United States officers in the easy discharge of their duties, and to prevent irritation and promote good and kindly feelings. An assistant surveyor had got into difficulties with the inhabitants of Mine à Burton, and Delassus, looking into the matter, presented the facts to Capt. Stoddard, who at once ordered a temporary suspension of all surveys on

Spanish grants. He was also careful to see that all public property was inventoried and conveyed over to the United States, his high sense of responsibility constraining him to give personal attention to the matter. Thus, as late as August 10th, we find him reproving J. B. Vallé, at Ste. Genevieve, for remissness, and requiring the delivery to him of the archives, and the surrender of four or five cannon in the fort.

When Delassus entered upon his administration of the government of this upper country in 1799, in his appointments to office he retained in their positions all those he found competent and acceptable to the people of their respective localities.

Spanish, being the official language of the country, was used in all matters and documents pertaining to the government of a public nature, but inasmuch as far the largest portion of the inhabitants were of French origin this was the almost universal language of the people. As a sudden change from the Spanish to the English language, and the introduction of American customs and usages would have occasioned the people no little embarrassment, and to give them some little time to accustom themselves to the new order of things, Stoddard had been instructed to make but little, if any, change in the *modus operandi* of administering the government under the old *régime* until Congress at its then next session might provide therefor. With this purpose, at the request of Stoddard, Delassus furnished a list of all those who had office under him, with such observations in regard to their *personnel* as he supposed might be useful to the new commandant.[1]

[1] As a matter of record and something which concerns some of the leading inhabitants of St. Louis at this period, we give the report of

"DELASSUS TO STODDARD ON THE PERSONNEL OF THE OFFICERS, Etc.

"1. Antoine Soulard, St. Louis, is a former officer of the French navy, emigrated since the Revolution. Since his arrival in the country he has been in the employ of the government, and has discharged his duty with zeal and accuracy. He would have received a salary as assistant to the Lieutenant-Governor, who designed to raise his rank, had it not been for the change of government, so that for over two years he has done nothing of this kind for the Spanish service. He was recommended to the king to be appointed a captain with the pay of lieutenant, and lately withdrew his application, which I have favored anew. In his character of surveyor of this Upper Louisiana, he can furnish you the most reliable information in regard to all the titles of grants, including those in New Madrid, the last post in Upper Louisiana where grants of land have been made. In my opinion he is an officer of much merit.

"2. Don Benito Basquez, a former officer, father of a numerous family, poor, who does not succeed in business, and whose age makes him at present of but little force for the service.

"3. Jacques de St. Vrain, officer of the French navy, emigrated to the country with his family since 1797. He commands His Majesty's galliot the 'Phebé;' he serves with zeal and exactness; he has made several voyages or campaigns with his galliot, in which he always carried out his instructions with sagacity and prudence. In his last campaign to Prairie du Chien he obtained a little paraclete (comfort or consolation) of forty dollars pay, forty-five dollars of bounty, and one and one-half reals a day rations, together ninety dollars the month. He is my brother, and I confine myself to expressing his desire to be useful to the new government under which he is to live.

"4. Mr. Antoine Dubreuil, a young officer, very zealous in all he is commanded to execute; he was employed in the expeditions of the galliot under De St. Vrain, who was satisfied with his conduct.

"5. Mr. Joseph Robidoux, an infirm old man, almost blind.

"6. Mr. Pierre Chouteau, a very zealous officer; he was commandant of Fort Carondelet at the Osage nation, whose trade it pleased His Majesty's Governor Laclede to grant exclusively to Messrs. Manuel Lisa, Sanguinet, Greg. Sarpy, and Benoit. So long as this officer had the trade of this nation he so managed them and his authority was such as to induce them whenever they killed any one to bring in the ringleaders. He is respected and feared and, I believe, loved by this nation. On one occasion I saw him here with a party of two hundred Indians make himself respected and obeyed, and managed them with firmness and mildness. I think he is the most suitable officer of this post to be employed in that nation and others of the Missouri.

"7. Mr. Vincent Bouy. I am unacquainted with his services. He is an honest man in business affairs, but entirely given to drink since I have been here.

"8. Mr. Pascal Cerré, S. L., a very zealous officer, speaks and writes English.

"9. Mr. Benito Vasquez, Jr. I believe him very zealous, although I have not had occasion to employ him.

"10. M. Francis Dunegant, commandant at St. Ferdinand. A perfectly honest man, brave officer, who has filled posts, and who was made commandant at the commencement of the settlement, but his capacity is such that he is now often embarrassed in view of the growth of his district, and that he can neither read nor write.

"11. M. Francis Delorier, of the same genus as Dunegant, preceding.

"12. M. Charles Tayon, commandant at St. Charles, a brave officer, and zealous in obeying orders he receives when he can comprehend them; he received a brevet from the king of second lieutenant and pay of eleven or twelve dollars a month for having distinguished himself in an action, I think, with the English; for some time past he gives himself to drink; he recently committed an injustice towards the inhabitants of his post, which is already too important for his capacity to enable him to regulate as it should be; he neither reads nor writes.

"13. M. Antoine Gauthier, a good man, without knowledge, but zealous in the service.

"14. M. Pierre Troyé, about the same stamp as the preceding one.

"15. M. James Mackay, an officer of knowledge, zealous and punctual; he formed the settlement of St. Andrew; he caused roads and bridges to be constructed by the inhabitants to communicate with this chief place; he is not quarrelsome, and has

Carlos Dehault Delassus earned the respect and esteem of the American officers with whom he was thrown in association, as the following letters amply testify. The slight touch of punctilio is a genuine

Spanish trait that adds to rather than detracts from the general amiability of character of this veteran soldier of his Most Catholic Majesty:

adjusted dissensions between the inhabitants as much as lay in his power, and he keeps them in good order with judgment. I think him a recommendable officer with many good qualities; he reads and writes French.

"16. M. Edmon Hodges, syndic Columbia Bottom. Since I appointed him I have always found him very correct and devoted to the public service.

"17. Mr. Amos Richerson. I think him a proper man for public business, and since his appointment he has always borne himself earnestly in the matters which required his attention.

"18. Mr. Boone, a respectable old man, just and impartial. He has already, since I appointed him, offered his resignation, owing to his infirmities; believing I know his probity, I have induced him to remain, in view of my confidence in him for the public good. (This is Daniel Boone, of Kentucky.)

"19. Mr. Mat. McKinot I have not had the opportunity of knowing personally, but since I have appointed him the reports I hear of his conduct, if so, are not advantageous for the public.

"20. Mr. Francis Saucier, commandant at Portage des Sioux, a former French officer in the colony, father of a numerous family, an honest man, zealous, and a friend of good order.

"21. Mr. Pierre de Treget, syndic of Carondelet, a good man with no capacity; he neither reads nor writes; he was appointed captain-commandant for want of others; the post is so near here that the least affair of that post is done here, nevertheless it should have its archives, which are not important.

"22. Pierre Lapie, a bad fellow, but the best I could find there, and a syndic (trustee) at Maramec was absolutely necessary when I appointed him; he speaks English; a determined man.

"23. M. François Vallé, Ste. Genevieve. The fidelity of the family of these officers under all the administrations where they found themselves, the much good services of this one since his employment, the universal esteem of all the inhabitants, that he so justly merited, cannot but cause to be regretted so useful a man at the moment when perhaps he is about to depart this life; and recommend his family, which has always been zealous in the public service, and have given proofs of it under all circumstances.

"24. M. John B. Vallé, brother of Don Francis, a very zealous officer. He has been employed under several circumstances. He always conducted himself well, and commands at present temporarily the post of Ste. Genevieve, since the illness of his brother.

"25. M. John Pratte, a zealous officer when employed; speaks English.

"26. M. Francis Vallé, Jr., son of the dying commandant. He resembles his father in disposition; in an expedition I commanded last year, composed of a detachment of militia I conducted to New Madrid, I noticed his zeal, alacrity, and correctness in the service.

"27. M. John B. Janis, a zealous officer. Ste. Genevieve.

"28. M. Camille Delassus. This officer is at present on duty at New Bourbon, where he acts as interpreter, without pay, for the English language. He has been employed several times in the service. He commanded the post of New Bourbon in the absence of his father. He discharged the duty of adjutant of the detachment I conducted last year to New Madrid.

"He is my brother. The desire I entertain to see him obtain promotion under the new government, where he is to remain, forbids my saying anything further of him, but I think I may

"My dear Sir,—I had the honor this moment to receive your note of the present day, together with your very acceptable present for Mrs. Harrison and myself.

"Believe me, my dear sir, that I esteem my visit to St. Louis as an event the most fortunate,—it has produced an intimacy

..ld without compromising myself that he will always be highly flattered at being employed.

"29. Pierre Delassus Deluziere, New Bourbon. Entirely devoted to public affairs, gained him the approbation of the Governor-General of Louisiana. He is my father; I can only recommend him as a zealous servant.

"30. M. Louis Lorimier, commandant at Cape Girardeau. This officer can neither read nor write, but he has natural genius; since he has had the command at the Cape he has always had the judgment to have some one near him able to assist him. In regard to his correspondence, he signs nothing without having it read to him two or three times until he comprehends it, or it must be read again. He has maintained order in his post with incredible firmness against some inhabitants who designed to mutiny against him without cause. He is extremely zealous when employed. Although supposed to be interested, I have known him to neglect all his business to execute a commission which would produce him instead of profit but expense. He is much experienced in regard to Indians, particularly the Shawnees and Loups. It was through his influence with this latter tribe that the Delaware Indian who had killed a citizen of the United States on the road to Post Vincennes was taken by his nation to Kaskaskia. I had an incontestable proof of his talent with the Indians last year at New Madrid, where, without his mediation, I would have been obliged to employ force to execute the Masceux Indian. It was he who eventually persuaded them to attend the council. The letter of the Governor-General is a testimonial of his services. He is brave and extremely well posted in the Indian method of war, feared and respected by the savages. I think I should recommend him especially for these matters, which he knows thoroughly.

"31. Mr. John Lavallée, a zealous and skillful officer, recommended for a long time for captain. I appointed him commandant *ad interim* of New Madrid. He was recognized by the government, and I think would have been retained but for the change; every time I employed him he gave me great satisfaction in the manner he acquitted himself of his commissions of service. He speaks and writes Spanish, French, and English, and is a firm, brave, and prudent man. I recommend him as an officer to be employed.

"32. M. Richard J. Waters, zealous officer of extensive knowledge, but of a somewhat extravagant disposition, and very quarrelsome.

"33. M. Francis Riché Dupin, a zealous officer.

"34. M. Robert McKay, a brave officer, extremely zealous. He was a long time in command of a galley of His Majesty stationed at New Madrid. He always served well. He was wounded by the Masceux brigand while bringing him up from New Orleans to Natchez. He is crippled for life.

"35. M. Peter Anthony Laforge, New Madrid, a very zealous officer, performing the duties of adjutant of the militia. He is also justice of the peace and notary public. He performs these various duties with correctness and precision. He records all that is done, either for unusual services, orders, depositions, etc. I can do no less than recommend him as a man very active, correct, and useful for the public service; but he does not write English.

"36. M. Francis Lesceur, a zealous officer, settled at the Little Prairie, where, although without appointment of syndic, it is him in his official character to whom they apply concerning the

with a family which I shall continue to love and honor as long as I have life.

"Inclosed you have a copy of my notification respecting the wood. I have taken care to have it made as public as possible.

"Be pleased to present me in terms of the warmest respect to Mr. and Mrs. De Louissière.

"I have the honor to be, with sincere respect and attachment,

"My dear sir,

"Your most humble serv't,

"WM. HENRY HARRISON.

"CAHOKIA, 6th Nov., 1802.

"THE HON'BLE CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS," etc.

"ST. LOUIS, 26th September, 1804.

"DEAR SIR,—In consequence of your letter of this date, I am led to suspect that I have been guilty of a breach of *etiquette*, if not of duty. It never before occurred to me that it was necessary and proper on my part to acquaint you of the arrival of Maj. Bruff, and of the consequent military command of Upper Louisiana, which has devolved on him.

"I now do myself the honor to inclose you an extract of a letter from the Secretary of War to me on the subject, and permit me to add that Maj. Bruff quarters in the same house with me, and that he assumed the military command of Upper Louisiana on the first day of July last.

"With sentiments of respect,

"I am, sir, your hum'e serv't,

"AMOS STODDARD, *Capt. Art'y Corps.*[1]

"COL. CHAS. DEHAULT DELASSUS."

necessary affairs of this new settlement. He does not read nor write.

"37. There is also at New Madrid M. Charpentier, interpreter of the English language, appointed by the government, who receives at present twenty dollars a month.

"38. Samuel Dorsey, surgeon of the post, receives thirty dollars a month.

"There are in the districts of Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid syndics, of whom each commandant of those posts may obtain information.

"All the syndics I mention were appointed by me the year we were threatened with an attack by the Indians from the English side, for the purpose of placing themselves at the head of the inhabitants of their district, to be in readiness to lead them to the place where they would have been ordered. Since then I have retained them, with the approval of the government, to settle small misunderstandings between the inhabitants with a view to do justice.

"All the commandants named and appointed by the government, and who receive no pay proceeding from their military capacity, receive a gratuity of one hundred dollars per annum, and receive their post expenses according to the time.

"ST. LOUIS OF ILLINOIS, March 9, 1804. C. H. D.

"TO CAPT. AMOS STODDARD, etc.

"39. Hippolite Bolon speaks several languages of the Mississippi tribe. I have always been satisfied with him, and know no other here to interpret for those nations. In that capacity he receives two hundred dollars a year and his firewood.

"40. Le Conte, St. Louis, gunsmith for the Indians, receives one hundred and forty dollars a year. This office is indispensable for the nations accustomed to have their fire-arms repaired. When they come to the place they make the trip expressly to bring them.

"41. Mr. ——, curate of this parish, receives a salary of ——.

"42. Mr. ——, curate of St. Charles and St. Ferdinand, receives ——.

"43. Dr. Saugrain, surgeon of the hospital, receives thirty dollars per month."

Note of the presents made to the Indians.—These presents cost the Spanish government for Upper Louisiana, including provisions, liquors, etc., for St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, and New Madrid, about from twelve to thirteen thousand dollars, more or less.

Nothing can do more credit to the character of Delassus than this report. The care and discrimination of his judgment, and the modesty and reticence of his reference to his own relations and connections, must earn him the applause of every one. The last Spanish Governor of St. Louis certainly had every quality of a gentleman.

[1] Gen. Harrison, from his post at Cahokia, organized the civil government of St. Louis and established the first United States court there. Capt. (afterwards Maj.) Stoddard accompanied him to other fields of duty and service. His "Sketches of Louisiana" was published in 1810. In May, 1813, during the attack upon Fort Meigs by the British Gen. Proctor, Stoddard, who had been acting commander of the fort until Harrison arrived, was struck by a piece of shell and so badly wounded that he died of lockjaw ten days afterwards. Stoddard was a native of Massachusetts, an old soldier, and had served in the Revolution. His commission as captain of artillery is dated 1798, and he became major in 1807. Charles Gratiot, of St. Louis, who was captain of engineers, and chief engineer on Harrison's staff, was also in the fort at this time, and, though very ill, took charge of the heaviest battery, and served the fort in two very critical emergencies.

CHAPTER XII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

JAMES HALL, who has achieved a reputation well deserved by his pleasing and accurate studies of Western life and manners, relates in one of his volumes an anecdote illustrating in a striking way one of the differences in race which give variety, contrast, and picturesqueness to the early manners of St. Louis:

"When Gen. George Rogers Clark," he says, "the Hannibal of the West, captured Kaskaskia, he made his headquarters at the house of a Mr. Michael A——, one of the wealthiest inhabitants. Michael lived in a capital French house, enveloped with piazzas and surrounded by gardens, all in the most approved style. He was a merry, contented, happy man, abounding in good living and good stories, and as hospitable as any gentleman whatever. The general remained his guest some time, treated with the greatest kindness and attention, and took leave of Mr. A. with a high respect for his character and a grateful sense of his warm-hearted hospitality. Years rolled away; Gen. Clark had retired from public life and was dwelling in an humble log house in Indiana, a disappointed man. His brilliant services had not been appreciated by his country; his political prospects had been blighted; he was unemployed and unhappy,—a proud man, conscious of merit, pining away his life in obscurity. One day as he strolled along the banks of the Ohio he espied a circle of French boatmen, the crew of a barge, who were seated round a fire on the beach smoking their pipes and singing their merry French songs. One voice arrested

his car, it was that of his old friend Michael; he could not mistake the blithe tones and ever buoyant humor of his former host. He approached, and there sat Michael in the garb of a boatman, with a red cap on his head, the merriest of the circle. They recognized each other instantly. Michael was as glad to see the general, and invited him to take a seat on the log beside him with as much unembarrassed hospitality as if he had still been in his spacious house surrounded by his train of servants. He had suddenly been reduced from affluence to poverty, from a prosperous gentleman who lived comfortably on his estate to a boatman,—the cook, if we mistake not, of a barge. Although a man of vivacity and strong mind, he was illiterate and unsuspecting. The change of government had brought in new laws, new customs, and keener speculators than the honest French had been accustomed to deal with, and Michael was ruined. But he was as happy as ever, while his friend, the general, whose change of circumstances had not been so sudden or complete, was a moody, discontented man. Such is the diversity of national character."

No better text than the above could be selected for the present chapter, for any full exposition of and commentary upon it must include a complete and accurate account of the manners and customs of that Western life of which St. Louis, in its primitive periods, was the focus and centre. To present such a picture the canvas must be large, the handling liberal and free, and the palette must contain many and rich colors, carefully blended. After all, the task is a very difficult one, not from the poverty of the subject, but, on the contrary, from its exceeding richness, variety of movement, and rapidity and vividness of contrast. There was not simply variety and contrast of individual life and character, but variety and contrast of national types. In this frontier town, between 1780 and 1820, you might meet more of life—viewed from the point of contrast—than you will encounter at the great festival of Benares, or in Rome during the Carnival, or at the Oaks on a Derby Day. The American Indian comes to Washington sometimes in all his picturesque bravery and paint, and commands attention. But in St. Louis, in the period spoken of, delegates from all the scattered tribes, some of them now no longer in existence, were regular visitors and guests. The wild, naked, low-browed Sioux, the tall, lordly Osage, the Knisteneau from the Great Slave Lake, the fair and ornate Mandan from the Upper Missouri, the Shoshone and the Nez Percé habitually encountered the descendants of Uncas and Taminch from the Delaware and Long Island Sound; the fierce Iroquois and brave Wyandot, that panther of the canebrakes, the wandering Shawanese, and the sensual and volatile Illinois meeting, in turn, the gayly-clad, dark-skinned, handsome Seminole and Creek, the Cherokee, the Tallapoosa, the Yazoo, the Chickasaw, and the last remnants of those Southern, sun-worshiping tribes who are supposed to be descendants of the semi-civilized Mound-builders. This is but one, the savage type, yet it is more diversified than all the portraits in Catlin's gallery. If we turn now to the whites,—leaving out the negroes entirely, some of them just swept from every kraal upon the Guinea and Congo coast, some long enough in the French or Spanish Antilles to chatter a French or Spanish *patois*,—we encounter the Louisiana Creole, the Creole of Mexico, Cuba, Pensacola, the Creole of Illinois and Canada, alongside of the blue-blooded Spaniard of every province from Biscay and Asturia to Catalonia, Frenchmen of Normandy, and of Picardy, and of Provence, as well as Paris, French half-breeds, *coureurs* and *voyageurs*, wild as Pawnees, gaunt Saxon hunters from Kentucky, or from the Wind River Mountains, pioneers "bound west" from every State in the Union, singing and dancing boatmen of *La Belle Rivière* and their counterparts, the swaggering, unkempt, red-necked "American" boatmen from Pittsburgh and Redstone, whose fathers may have fought in the Revolution, and whose grandsires were probably "redemptioners" in Maryland and Virginia; with these, the Puritan, the Quaker, the blackleg, the cavalier, the high-bred gentleman and lady from Europe, the cultivated army officer, the pliant and pushing politician,—a throng endlessly various to study, but almost impossible to group. Who tries to group the figures in one of Hans Makart's nightmare canvases?

As to contrasts of individual character, take one instance only, the people Henry Brackenridge remembers meeting in and around St. Louis, in his lively study called "Recollections of the West." There is M. Beauvais, of Ste. Genevieve, the "tall, dry old Canadian, dressed in the costume of the place," courtly, precise, with snuff-box in one hand and pipe in the other; Madame Beauvais, fat, pious, warm-hearted, effusive, best of motherly French dames; Dr. Saugrain, weazened *émigré* and man of science, chemist, philosopher, and Sangrado; good Father St. Pierre, teaching the boy his catechism, and *soignant* madame and her daughters with alternate penances and benedictions; Vanbibber, the retired Indian-fighter, with his blind eyes and long, venerable white beard; Capt. Smith and Gen. Wilkinson, in their blue-and-gilt uniforms, with the gay, thirty-oared barge, the general's pleasant Christian wife, band of music, and imposing, smooth presence; Graves, the sedate and proper Quaker youth, going West to enter business, whom the mosquitoes turned into the simulacrum of a smallpox patient; the brutal captain of the keel-boat, in leathern doublet, blue trousers, and Suwarrow boots, who first bullied his passengers with

pistols, and then challenged them to fight him with butchers' knives; Ralph Higginbotham, the "squire's" son from up the Monongahela, making his first trip from home in a misfitting suit of homemade homespun, with fourteen dollars and a silver watch in his pocket; Bill Hulings, "neither the first nor the last of the boatmen," in tow shirt and trousers, with handkerchief on his head; the Connecticut "squatter," with his pleasant wife and baker's dozen of flaxen-haired children; Col. Smith, the Southern duelist and planter, who, like "Nestor" Macon, of North Carolina, "never wished to live so near another as to be within hearing of his dog," and who felt hipped and out of sorts unless he shot a man every month or two; the dapper ferryman of the Maramec, who dwelt in a cabin alone with dog and cat, and only came across to travelers shrewd enough to find and blow the horn hung up in a tree; the religious procession of all the good people in town, like a scene out of the Middle Ages, which Brackenridge encountered in riding into St. Louis; Herr Shewe, licentiate of half the learned institutions of Europe, with his penny shop, his paint-brushes, and his madness; Graham, the refined young lawyer, graduate of an Eastern college, murdered in a duel as he was upon the threshold of prominence in his profession; the solitary Indian in the fort-prison, beguiling his weariness by inviting passers-by to play draughts with him; Mullanphy, the mulberry-faced millionaire, eccentric, besotted, yet original and comprehensive in his business views and grasp,—these are but the chance recollections of a sketcher, put down after forty years' absence from the scene.

In view of this multifariousness, therefore, there does not seem any way to do full justice to the subject, and treat it accurately and comprehensively, except by working in upon a clean canvas what constitutes the real and substantial groundwork of St. Louis society, adding the accessories afterwards. Undoubtedly the substratum of the society is French and Creole; and when we have differentiated further and eliminated every unessential, we are entitled to conclude that the foundations of St. Louis society are best to be ascertained by analyzing the society of that group of French towns around it in a circle, of which it was by no means the oldest, yet was early the centre, and has long been the chief. These towns and settlements comprised, among others, Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, and Cahokia, on the east side, and Cape Girardeau, Little Prairie, Ste. Genevieve, Maramec, Carondelet, St. Louis, Florissant (St. Fernando), St. Charles, Portage des Sioux, St. André, Village à Robert, Marie des Liards, Nouvelle Bourbon, and Femme Osage, on the west side of the Mississippi River. Originally these towns and the intermediate and circumjacent lands composed as distinctively a French settlement as the Chinese quarter in San Francisco is a Chinese settlement.

We have already, in writing of the beginnings and early history of Lower and Upper Louisiana, said a good deal in regard to these old French towns, how they originated and how their people lived, and there is no occasion to repeat any of that. Nor is there any occasion to go further into the history or fortunes of any of these places than will serve to supply us with materials for elucidating the manners and customs of old St. Louis. So far as Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia, Ste. Genevieve, and Cahokia are concerned, in which these old manners were most firmly rooted and were best preserved, it is to be observed that they originated and grew up under somewhat different auspices from those which presided at the birth and directed the destinies of St. Louis, and, for that matter, of all the French towns in Louisiana and most of those of Canada. In Louisiana the towns were founded by French planters and peopled by them and the factors, merchants, tradesmen, etc., who supplied their wants and carried their products to market. In Illinois and Missouri and Canada the towns were settled by trappers, hunters, and boatmen, and their traders and factors. But in Canada, except perhaps Detroit, Michilimackinac, and one or two other places, the towns began with a fort or trading-post or station, to which the Indians and other nomads came afterwards, drawn by the attractions of exchange and the desire for barter. In Illinois, on the other hand, whether we consider Vincennes, Peoria, Kaskaskia, or Cahokia, there was first an Indian town of some importance and as much stability as a nomadic population can give to such a place, to which the white nomads—the missionaries, traders, trappers, hunters, and boatmen—were attracted, and where they afterwards settled down, slowly and gradually expelling the Indians. The distinction is more important to observe than would at first blush seem to be the case, since it resulted in essential differences in the character of the population. Now St. Louis was settled as the Canadian towns were, by an original plantation of whites, but then, on the other hand, these whites were in the first instance principally drafted from the populations of the distinctive Illinois towns, afterwards reinforced by traders and planters from the Louisiana populations, and deriving *all* of its government and legal institutions from those of the later Louisiana. It is evident, therefore, that St. Louis represents a compromise series of manners and customs. It partakes of those of Canada, Illinois, and

Louisiana, but without absolutely representing any of the three.

St. Louis, for example, had no early existence previous to the Spanish *régime*, as Cahokia and Kaskaskia had, and this affected it in many ways. It is sufficient, however, to note one,—the difference in the land system. It was highly repugnant to the very aristocratic French frame of government, as it was imported into Canada and Louisiana, to give or lease land to any but the gentry and nobility. The *town* itself might hold and own land enough for its own purposes, but it must do so as a *commune*,—it must own and hold it in common, and not part with an arpent of it, in fee, to the burghers, trades-people, and other "base mechanicals" who helped to make up its population. The Spanish system was more democratic, however. The commandant was not constrained by his regulations and instructions to adhere to the communal system;[1] and hence, while the Cahokians and Kaskaskians were never dreaming of their ability, while townspeople, to get more land than they had the use of in the common fields and commons, the early settlers of St. Louis, who did not come from these towns, like the Chouteaus, were seeking great "concessions" of land in every direction, and obtaining them from the Spanish Governors upon very easy terms, chiefly an oath of allegiance and acknowledgment of sovereignty in the king of Spain, a small fee, and a survey and indefinite record.[2] So it is evident that, if St. Louis had a good deal of the sleepy element of the old French towns in its composition at the start, it had still something also of the go-ahead element which leads to enterprise and to combination. This was the effect of original differences in the fundamental political constitution. Another instance of this difference, to be traced up to the same cause,—defects in the old French system, as compared with that of Spain,—may be found in the fact that, while St. Louis, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia all three sent out hunters, trappers, and boatmen in numbers, only St. Louis had fur companies and transportation and mining companies.[3]

Having shown something of what these early French towns of the Illinois (including both banks of the Mississippi in the term) were not, let us now attempt to show what they were:

Names.	When Founded.
Kaskaskia ("Kas.")	between 1690 and 1700
Cahokia (Caos)	" " "
Fort Chartres (St. Philippe)	1718
Ste. Genevieve (Le Vieux Village)	1735
La Prairie du Rocher	1735
Nouvelle Bourbon	1763
St. Louis	1764
St. Charles	1769
Portage des Sioux	1770
L'Anse de la Graisse (New Madrid)	1769

Carondelet, Florissant, Marius des Liard, Maramec, La Petite Prairie, St. André, and many more small towns, chiefly on the west bank, and of various dates of founding, are embraced within this area. The settlers of all of them were Frenchmen or their descendants, coming there either by the way of Louisiana or of Canada, chiefly the latter. After 1718, when Ribault took up many men and began mining in this section, the government of Louisiana gave considerable attention to it, while the hierarchy of Canada provided for the spiritual wants of the inhabitants. Fort Chartres was built in 1718–20, and the fort at Kaskaskia was apparently constructed about the same time. In 1756 Fort Chartres was rebuilt, strongly and elaborately. At this time the fort at Kaskaskia appears to have been rebuilt; another fort was built on the Ohio River (Fort Massac), and, as a matter of defense, a strong and solid military road was constructed from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia, this city being already connected by a road with Fort Chartres, and one also to Cahokia.[4]

[1] Indeed, as we have incidentally showed in a preceding chapter, one of the Spanish Lieutenant-Governors of St. Louis had to have explained to him, in a town-meeting, what a commune was, what were the principles and rules by which it was regulated, what were the functions of its officers, and how they were chosen.

[2] A striking instance of this is to be found in the fact that while Auguste Chouteau, on one side of the river, was demanding a fourteen hundred arpens tract as a reward for his enterprise in erecting a distillery which would be profitable to him only, on the other side of the river, at Cahokia, Father Gibault was humbly petitioning Governor Harrison, of the Northwest Territory, and Congress through him, for a small block on which to build his house and keep his cow, in compensation for all his little fortune spent and his two slaves sold to enable him to advance money to Gen. Clark at the time of the memorable expedition against Vincennes.

[3] This is obviously the effect of French law, or rather regulation. Frontenac and his predecessors in Canada, in order to keep the fur trade a monopoly, drew a rigid line of circumvallation around it, forbade any one to trap or hunt without a license, or to sell furs except to designated persons at designated places. The traders, *voyageurs*, and *coureurs des bois* easily and naturally broke through these absurd rules, but in so doing they made themselves outlaws, and were forced to become denizens of the wilderness. Combination and co-operation, except for self-defense, became impossible under such circumstances. The free trapper and trader must become rich before he can dream of seeking—in order to make better use of his capital—to make peace with the law and get leave to form a company. So the pressure of the law intensified the propensity to individual action in these outlaws, and these outlaws formed a great part of the original population of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, as they did also of Peoria, Michilimackinac, Vincennes, and Detroit.

[4] G. Collins' Hist. Kentucky, ii. 595, where he says, "Old Fort Massac . . . was established by the French about 1711.

These facts are important, since no government makes roads through the wilderness, or in a country which is of no value to it. The country was, in fact, valuable. Though not populous—it contained less than a thousand souls in 1763—it was very productive, and all its surplus went to New Orleans. This included not only peltries and lead, but much grain, beef, pork, butter, honey, tobacco, etc. Stoddard says that one hundred hogsheads of wine per annum were produced in the Illinois country at the period when the English took possession of it. After that the population rapidly fell off by the return of people to Louisiana, or their removal to the west side of the river. There is reason to believe, however, that the extent of this depopulation has been exaggerated. Cahokia is said to have suffered much more than Kaskaskia, of which it never had more than one-fifth the numbers. We have before us, however, a certified copy of a list of heads of families residing in Cahokia and its environs in the year 1783, taken from the files of the county clerk's office at Belleville, Ill. The list was made in 1797, upon the sworn statement of Jean Baptiste Dubuque, Jean Baptiste Saucier, and Charles Ducharme, taken by order of the Governor. It contains the names of ninety-five persons, twelve of whom are widows, and very few of these persons have any but French names.[1] These figures should give a population of 500 to Cahokia alone, and for the district 3500 to 4000. The ordinance of 1787 drove all the slave-holding French out of the country, but in 1809, when Illinois Territory was organized, the population, almost entirely in the American Bottom, and thence to Alton on the north, and Fort Massac on the south, was 9000. In 1799, by a census taken by Delassus, the population of the west side, including New Madrid and Cape Girardeau, was 6028, of whom 883 were slaves.

The transfer to England was the greatest and worst shock these people had to encounter. It alarmed their fears and offended their sensibilities and their pride, and they recovered from it slowly. In 1778, Gen. George Rogers Clark, acting under the orders of the Governor of Virginia, descended upon Kaskaskia and Cahokia like a thunderbolt from they knew not where, and for a few days the peaceful *habitans* were in the utmost panic, for he came among them as the buccaneer Morgan came upon Panama, and they had been taught to look upon the American rebels as little better than pirates and outlaws. But Clark speedily allayed their fears, established the best possible understanding with them, and secured their cordial and active services in the cause for which he fought. It is not believed that any of the population fled on account of this invasion, and it is probable that some of the enterprising youth of St. Louis and vicinity came across the river to do service in Clark's militia. But it is nevertheless the fact that the *habitans* never caught the spirit of enterprise and the instinct of movement that possessed their restless neighbors and fellow-citizens. Their peace became a calm; their calm was stagnation. The French settlements of the Illinois had run their little race, and have been content to stand still ever since.

What has transformed the *voyageur* and the tameless *coureur des bois* of Canada into this pacific and home-haunting *habitant* of the Illinois? It has been accomplished by a process of evolution much more curious and more roundabout than that which made those nomads of the wilderness out of quiet Norman and Breton *paysans*. The Creole of Mexico and South America, degenerate though he be, retains some traits of the fierce, fiery, and magnificent Conquistador, his ancestor, who during two centuries of daring enterprise ransacked a continent in pursuit of gold. He may loll all day in his hammock, wooing his *dolce far niente* between the puffs of his cigarette and the draughts of his chocolate, but you still know that he carries a dirk in his stocking or his sleeve for every foe; that he is a master of the horse, the lasso, and the *bolo*, and never shirks from the call to arms. The descendants of Raleigh and Frobisher are not prevented from enterprise on sea and shore, from feats of daring and endurance, by becoming the *jeunesse dorée* of the clubs, the *enfans gatés* of a civilization by steam. But the descendants of the men who came over with Cartier and Champlain, with D'Iberville and St. Denys, how can we recognize them in the snuff *paysans* of the American Bottom, wearing cotto

It was a missionary station until 1756, when it was greatly enlarged and strengthened. . . . Probably before 1720 [this is conjecture] a military road was opened by the French, when they had dominion over the country from Massac to Kaskaskia. The numbers of the miles were cut in ciphers on trees with an iron and painted red, and were still plainly visible in 1800. The road made a great curve to the north to avoid the swamps and rough country on the sources of Cash River, and also to attain the prairie country as soon as possible. Another road extended from Fort Massac to Cape Girardeau." Collins gives the "Life and Times of Governor John Reynolds" as his authority for this. Among the papers of the Louisiana Historical Society are several memoirs, between 1733 and 1741, by M. Duverge, civil engineer, relating to a road discovered, surveyed, and mapped out by him "through the Chickasaw country to the Illinois."

[1] The only exceptions are Thomas, Brady, Philip Engel, William Biggs, Mary Graw, Mary Moony, and Joseph Andrews. The rest are all of them intensely French, while Engel is German, and Moony, Graw, and Brady are unmistakably Irish.

night-caps and singing *chansons* in a hundred-year-old *patois*?

A smooth-faced youth, with light hair, round shoulders, wooden *sabots*, and simple air, lands at Quebec in Frontenac's time, to earn his living in the *Nouvelle France* he has heard the sailors talk so much about, while loitering by the wharves of Caen or Fécamp, or behind the tavern-doors (as Father Hennepin describes himself doing) of Havre and Dieppe. He has a trade and can ply it prosperously, or get good wages as a soldier going to fight the Iroquois. But a party of trappers or *voyageurs* or traders just in from the wilderness, all their feathers ruffling, and every pocket bursting with crown-pieces, decides his destiny at once. He, too, will become a *voyageur* and trapper, and he goes off to Montreal or to La Chine to enlist among the adventurers in the fur trade. He has no capital to go out as a trader or *voyageur*, no influence to procure a license, so he must take service under a licensed trader, and accept that trader's terms. Hard enough those terms are, to be sure, but he does not know that, and probably would not care if he did. His concern is chiefly now to see and learn something for himself about those adventures of which he has heard so much. The trader or factor under whom he hires has bought a license to fit out several parties of two canoes each. These canoes, forty feet long, four feet wide at the middle and widest part, accommodate a cargo of two or three tons of arms, supplies, provisions, Indian goods, ammunition, traps, etc., for the uses of the party,—all the goods done up in eighty-pound packages for convenience in making the portage. The young man's share in the venture is only six per cent., from which his own expenses must be deducted, the merchant's share being fifty-two per cent., besides insurance from all risks, and goods charged at an advance of fifteen per cent. above ready money rates in the colony. Having joined the party and put himself under the charge of an experienced *voyageur* and trapper for instruction, the neophyte is ready to start. But not so the veterans of the party. There must be a final carouse and debauch first, of which the harpies of the town reap the chief profit after the patriarchal trader fitting out the party, who is willing to advance any reasonable sum for such extravagances, since he is sure to get his money back again, with a liberal interest added.[1]

When the debauch was over, the *voyageurs* under a commander or foreman, who, if the party was large enough, was called either "brigadier" or "partisan," set out upon their long and tiresome and perilous voyage, partly to trade for the peltries of others, especially the Indians, partly to hunt and trap themselves. The *voyageurs* have been compared to the carriers, muleteers (*arrieros*) of Spain; they were a faithful, toiling confraternity, half-civilized only in manners and in dress; timid in their ways, yet daring the most arduous and perilous adventures, and never afraid of labor. It came natural to them, from their French descent, to be fond of song and dance, to be gay and light-hearted, cheerful always, though sometimes bewildered when without leadership or brought to the encounter of unexpected difficulties. They were docile and respectful to their superiors, helpful and kindly to their equals, civil and complaisant to all. They liked to call one another "brother" or "cousin," and to be mutually obliging, accommodating, and giving good office for good office. Community of suffering and danger in an uncertain life in the wilderness, far from hardening and brutalizing them, inspired them with feelings of genuine good will towards each other, and made them good-humored under all sorts of privations. Their philosophy was the embodiment of "Tapleyism," and they got a real zest out of the wild and savage life they led, enjoying the gossip of the bivouac and lightening the heavy burden of the portage or the pull against the rapids and the chute with quip and *chanson*. They had great skill with oar and paddle, and unflagging power of bending down to the task. In truth they needed it, for their expeditions were inconceivably rough and fatiguing. Their bateaux and canoes were paddled, rowed, and carried from Montreal up the Ottawa, and thence by river, lake, and portage to Lake Nipissing, Lakes Huron, Superior, and Michigan, and the Lake of the Woods, and through all the Western waters until they came to the headwaters of the Red, the Arkansas, the St. Francis, and the Missouri Rivers in one direction, and to the Athabasca and Great Slave Lake in the other. At night they slept in their boats or in a bark bivouac under the drooping firs. They endured hunger, cold, rain, and deep snows; they set their traps by beaver dams and lake and stream, hunted and traded and toiled, until, in one, two, or

[1] "The French merchant at his trading post, in those primitive days of Canada, was a kind of commercial patriarch. With the lax habits and easy familiarity of his race, he had a little world of self-indulgence and misrule around him. He had his clerks, canoe-men, and retainers of all kinds, who lived with him on terms of perfect sociability, always calling him by his Christian name; he had his harem of Indian beauties, and his troop of half-breed children: nor was there ever wanting a louting train of Indians, hanging about the establishment, eating and drinking at his expense in the intervals of their hunting expeditions."—*Irving: Astoria.* With such establishments the traders' profits needed to be large.

three years, they were ready to come home, with full cargoes for their employers and very scant wages for themselves.

But, no matter whether rich or poor, that coming home with laden canoes was bound to be made a season of revelry and frolic, of riot, self-indulgence, and extravagant debauchery. "You would be amazed," wrote La Hontan, "if you saw how lewd these peddlers are when they return, how they feast and game, and how prodigal they are, not only in their clothes, but upon their sweethearts. Such of them as are married have the wisdom to retire to their own houses, but the bachelors act just as our East Indiamen and pirates are wont to do, for they lavish, eat, drink, and play all away as long as the goods hold out, and when these are gone they even sell their embroidery, their lace, and their clothes. This done, they are forced upon a new voyage for subsistence."

It is this which turns into a *coureur des bois* our fine Norman lad, a youth of spirit, who has come home from his first expedition, bronzed and weather-beaten, an experienced *voyageur*. For he finds there is no independence for him under the strict rules of the government and the excessive exactions of the licensed traders. He has learned the business now, and he knows where—in the wilderness, beyond the reach of the intendant, out of the range of the forts and patrols—he can trade his peltries off for a good price in spite of the Governor's veto. He knows some lads who think as he does about this, and so, the frolic over, he and they take to the woods once more, and turn their backs upon the rigid *régime* of civilization. Any of them can make a birch-bark canoe, a trapper's outfit does not cost much, and, once in the woods and among the Indians, plenty of illicit traders can be found who will advance them goods and supplies for the refusal of their peltries.[1] Once in the woods the *coureur* made himself a smaller canoe and trapped along the small streams. He and his comrades built themselves a hut, where they used to dress their peltries. Often the Indian hunters joined them, or, when they wanted a change of diet, they would go to some neighboring Indian camp and arrange to hunt the deer or the bison.

The trader with whom they were dealing and working would appoint them a time or place to meet him, usually late in the spring, when the peltry season was past, and this rendezvous would usually be at some large Indian village, to which the trader would bring his stores, and thither the trappers and hunters would congregate with their pelts and furs.[2]

Our French youth, once *voyageur*, now *coureur*, finds his trader at some town of the Illinois Indians, Peoria, or Tamaroa, or Kaskaskia the elder, or some one of the large cantonments of this tribe upon the Illinois River. He has been in the woods long. He enjoys the perfect freedom of the wild life he has been leading; he has lost his relish for civilization; church bells and the pale faces of the Montreal maidens have no longer any charms for him. But these dark beauties of the Illinois have,—and the girls of the tribe are said to have been remarkably handsome,—he is young, he has unlimited credit with the trader, he can make his favorite girl the envied of all the females of the tribe, as far as toilet goes, and it is no wonder that he finds his wooing easy. He takes an Indian wife, buys her with appropriate presents, and thus erects another barrier between himself and civilization.

Then, after an indolent and prolonged honeymoon, the *coureur* goes into the woods again, either taking his wife with him or leaving her behind. When he returns he finds that the Iroquois have been there since he left; the village is burned, the tribe fled, and it is only from wandering hunters that he learns of the new home on the banks of the Mississippi, the camping-grounds of old time, to which the tribes and bands have fled for defense and refuge. When the *coureur* has made up his mind to follow his Indian wife and her kinsman to the new plantations and new villages of the Illinois, he has determined likewise to cast the world of civilization behind him once and for all. With more voyages, further excursions into the woods, trapping and hunting, middle age is reached,

[1] A trapper's outfit includes a gun,—the American trapper and hunter restricted himself to the rifle, but the Frenchman always carried the fusil,—ammunition (not much, since the traps are expected to supply food as well as furs, and the beaver was esteemed good eating), six or seven traps, hatchet, knife and awl, blankets, camp-kettle, and tobacco. All the rest could be found in the woods, except flour, and that the trapper could dispense with. If snow-shoes were needed or clothes gave out, the woods and the gun provided the means to supply these things. The trapper wanted no better food than the beaver, when it was plenty, and if it was not plenty in one spot, the rule was to up traps and go elsewhere. The beaver's tail was a tidbit.

[2] This independent trading business was always very large, especially in the teeth of attempted monopolies. Thus the late Col. George Davenport, founder of Rock Island and Davenport, Iowa, would sometimes twice a year send as much as one hundred thousand dollars' worth of goods up Fever River, half of which was sold to the Indians *on credit*, to be repaid in furs after the next annual hunt. The earlier traders, by going to the woods to meet the *coureurs des bois*, were always able to get the pick of furs and pelts; besides, in this case they could pay for them in spirits; and Indians and *coureurs* both, after their necessary wants were supplied, were content to take the rest of the products of their hunts in drink.

infirmities from exposure begin to be felt, conservatism and household cares temper the wild heedlessness of youth. A family of half-breeds is growing up about the lowly cabin; the oldest boys are able to take the father's place at the paddle and oar and with the traps. The wood ranger finds himself anchored, and he must make all he can of his own home. He is not a savage, though he has spent so many years among savages. He knows that by the recollections which swell within him as he hears the bell of the little chapel, planted near his lot, since he went into the woods, by the devoted Jesuits, who have followed the Indians down from Green Bay and Mackinac and Peoria, intent only on converting the rude savages to the knowledge of the one true God. He knows it by his pleasure at finding a white man a neighbor to him, a *coureur* like himself, but who has brought a white wife somehow down from Detroit or Montreal, or up from New Orleans. His children must be baptized, they must learn enough of the catechism to take the first communion, for that is what the church requires of all her children, and, with all his wanderings, he has never strayed far away from the fold. Now, he must make his peace with the church; but in order to do that the good father requires him to be formally united to his wife, with all rites and ceremonies. This is done, and now again the *coureur* settles down and back into the *paysan* or the *bourgeois*, not materially changed from the state of his father and grandfather in Normandy and Picardy. He and his French neighbors have houses, a village of their own; they do not dwell in the Indian wigwam, nor in the Indian village.[1] They have their little patches of common land under tillage, their little communal laws and regulations, imitated, as far as can be remembered, from similar things in the old country; and thus the village begins to build itself up.

Meantime, the retired *coureur* and *voyageur's* son pursues his father's avocation in the wilderness, but with a difference which tends to make him a still freer and wilder personage. The trader now comes to the home village for his peltries, or else the elders pack and take them with other produce down the river to New Orleans. As the beaver is pursued farther away from the interlacing streams and lakes which could be joined together in long links by short portages, the portage becomes more difficult if not impossible, and the canoe is less serviceable. It ceases to be used except on the immediate field of action; the bateau and the birch canoe are laid aside for the horse, and the voyageur-trapper becomes the hunter-trapper, the *coureur* is transformed into the free trapper, a change which is almost revolutionary in its character. The rifle supplants the fusil, and the wild half-breed imitates the Pawnee of the plains, instead of taking the Ottawa trapper or the stealthy Delaware hunter, stepping with noiseless foot from tree to tree, as his model. "Wanderers of the wilderness," says Washington Irving, describing Regis Brugière, one of this class, "according to the vicissitudes of the seasons, the migration of animals, and the plenty or scarcity of game, they lead a precarious and unsettled existence, exposed to sun and storm and all kinds of hardships, until they resemble the Indians in complexion as well as in tastes and habits. From time to time they bring the peltries they have collected up to the trading-houses of the company in whose employ they have been brought up. Here they traffic them away for such articles of merchandise and ammunition as they may stand in need of. At the time when Montreal was the great emporium of the fur-trader, one of these freemen of the wilderness would suddenly return after an absence of many years among his old friends and comrades. He would be greeted as one risen from the dead; and with the greater welcome as he returned flush of money. A short time, however, spent in revelry would be sufficient to drain his purse and sate him with civilized life, and he would return with new relish to the unshackled freedom of the forest."

A band of such hardy adventurers, in the freedom of the Western wilderness, at bivouac or rendezvous, was a sight to see. Their equipment and looks made you half doubt whether they were civilized or savage by nature. Their garbs and accoutrements and the gay and gaudy trappings of their horses made them resemble the Indians, whom indeed they imitated, sometimes to the extent of painting their faces. They wore their hair long and flowing, and their leggings and moccasins were quilled and beaded. They copied the ways of the savages also, yelping, shouting, talking loudly, practicing all sorts of boisterous jokes, and

[1] All authorities concur—and the maps of Pittman and others prove it—that in every case the French village stood a little apart from the Indian village, while adjacent to it. There was frequent, unrestricted, and most friendly association at all times, but never any complete or close assimilation of manners. The Frenchman in nearly all cases remained a Frenchman still, the Indian was always an Indian. The half-breeds very often clung to their mother's kin, and went completely over to barbarism, because, under the Indians' peculiar social system, all inheritance and descent was through the female, and the half-breed had all the tribal rights, and bore the "totem," of his mother; but with the pure born whites the tendency was always to better themselves more rapidly than the Indians could do, and to segregate themselves more completely from their savage associations.

exploding in wild laughter. Their lives were hard, but it brightened their faculties instead of rendering them more stolid, and the free trapper was always a lively and jocund mortal, hardy, active, brave, a braggart capable of making his extravagance good, careless of the future and making the present fly,—game-cocks of the wilderness. They needed to be so, for their only bed was their blanket, and the trap and the rifle their only resource. They provided for themselves always, and acquired a singular independence of all adventitious aid. Chester Harding, the artist who went to Missouri expressly to paint Daniel Boone's portrait, relates that when he reached the house of the old pioneer, then over eighty, and bedridden, he found him lying by the fire, cooking his own venison, wrapped upon the handle of his ramrod.

In this respect, however, the French trapper and hunter was less bold and self-reliant than the American who superseded him in the farther West. The Creole wanted his hut or cabin, if he could get it, and his Indian wife to cook for him. He was lighter, milder, softer, more self-indulgent than the stark and stalwart man from "Kaintuck," the peerless backwoodsman of the world. The Creole was sometimes thoughtless and did not heed landmarks, but the American knew even more of "sign" and its interpretation than the Indian, and likewise he had greater endurance. "I consider one American," said an experienced forester and fur-trader, "equal to three Canadians in point of sagacity, aptness at resources, self-dependence, and fearlessness of spirit. In fact, no one can cope with him as a tramper of the wilderness."[1]

It is for this reason that, after a season, the French Creole was gradually supplanted as a trapper and hunter in the far West by the more stanch American, and forced to return more or less to his original trade as *voyageur* and carrier and packman, or else to adopt the duller but certainly not less laborious occupation of boatman on the rivers. The latter, finally, until the steamboats monopolized transportation, became the chief pursuit of the Creoles about the American Bottom who cared to vent 'e from home at all, and there were no boatmen so good for rowing or paddling or handling the pole or the *cordelle* as the long-haired, dark-skinned lithe lads of "Kas" and of Prairie du Chien, who thought nothing of keel-boat voyages from "Redstone" and Pittsburgh and from Prairie du Chien down to New Orleans and back again, taking heavy cargoes both ways. Boatmen and *voyageur* and *coureur*, there was but one costume of the whole class, except when the man had grown so wild as to copy the dress of the savages as well as their ways, and this was the dress too of the *habitant* of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve in some sort, modified more or less by circumstances, the "national costume" of the male Creole of Upper Louisiana. The head was left bare, or wrapped about with a gay handkerchief, except in age, when a skull-cap or a cotton night-cap, like the liberty-cap on old coins, took the place and supplied the absence of the long, unkempt, and flowing locks. But the *capot*, our surcoat, invariably had a hood, and this could be drawn over the head in bad weather. The *capot* was made of a blanket; it was, indeed, the counterpart of the Indian's match-coat, except that its long skirts were suffered to flow loose. The shirt was of tow, or blue or striped cotton, colored always. The legs were clad either in trousers of tow or else in leather leggings, and there was a belt about the waist of leather or variegated worsted, which supported the trousers, and from it were suspended the knife, tobacco-pouch, and other implements and articles in regular use. The feet were clothed in deer-skin moccasins. The women wore moccasins or shoes, either, sometimes, perhaps, sabots; often, weather permitting, went barefooted. Their frock was of cotton or calimanco. They wore a mantlet and a Madras handkerchief about their shoulders, and, when grown older, a handkerchief about their heads, wrapped turban-fashion.[2]

But we are not content to pass over the subject of dress in this easy manner. We have before us[3] the transcript of an invoice of goods received and for sale by Charles Gratiot, merchant in Cahokia, in 1780,

[1] Captain Bonneville's Adventures.

[2] Brackenridge, "Views of Louisiana," says, "Their dress was formerly extremely simple. The men wore a blanket-coat of coarse cloth or coating, with a cape behind, which could be drawn over the head, from which circumstance it was called a *capote*. Both sexes wore blue handkerchiefs on their heads, but no hats or shoes or stockings; moccasins, or the Indian sandals, were also used. The dress of the females was generally simple, and the varieties of fashion few, though they were dressed in a much better taste than the other sex . . . We still see a few of both sexes in their ancient habiliments,—*capote*, moccasins, blue handkerchiefs on their heads, a pipe in the mouth, and the hair tied up in a long cue." This was written in 1811, and published on the spot. Again, in his "Recollections of the West," he describes M. Beauvais as "dressed in the costume of the place (Ste. Genevieve),—that is, with a blue cotton handkerchief on his head, one corner thereof descending behind and partly covering the eel-skin which bound his hair, a check shirt, coarse linen pantaloons on his hips, and the Indian sandal, or moccasin, the only covering to the feet worn here by both sexes." And Monsieur Beauvais was a person of consequence in the little town.

[3] Thanks to Mr. Billon.

l'année de grand coup, with the retail price marked against each article in livres. The livre of the day (livre tournois) was a coin worth eighteen and a half cents; but we are not informed whether the values in Mr. Gratiot's invoice are meant for coin or the currency of the country, which was almost exclusively peltries. Probably the invoice values were coin, reduced to peltry values at an agreed rate, so much per pound of pelts, according to quality, there being three grades, twenty, thirty, and forty cents or sous per pound respectively. This understood, we find that Mr. Gratiot had for sale: Blankets at ten livres the "point," the best sort ranging from two and a half to three "points,"[1] which would be about six dollars for a first quality double blanket, not so high. Blue and red cloth was furnished at thirty livres per yard, and cotton buckram was the same, but this was as compact and durable as corduroy. Kersey jackets, thirty livres (for negroes). Blanket capots, thirty livres each,—the capot blanket cloth was invariably white and fine, durable stuff. Under capots of melton, seven to ten livres per yard. Calimanco cloaks, double, six livres. The original says *les mantelets de calmande*, and the mantelet exactly corresponds to the mantilla, or cape calmande, or calamanco, being a sort of grogram or mohair stuff, with a fine gloss, light but warm, and very generally worn at that period and later. Double flannel for cloaks, six livres per yard; small flannel dresses for children, ten livres each. Goods of this quality cannot be bought any cheaper in Cahokia to-day. Shirts, cotton and linen, large, twenty livres, small, ten livres; melton, ten livres a yard, and kersey the same,—cheap enough if double-width. Scarlet cloth (for the Indian trade), forty livres per yard; "cotty," a coarse India muslin, white and gray, fifteen livres, striped the same, used for shirts. Red cotton handkerchiefs, ten livres (but these were genuine "Turkey red" Madras handkerchiefs); knit caps, six livres each; striped caps, four livres, and white cotton ones five livres. Blue romal ("chappa romal" was a Canton silk) handkerchiefs (for head-gear), six livres.

It is evident from the above that the Cahokians dressed in good stuff, if plainly, and that their clothes were warm and comfortable. They did wear stockings and shoes, too, sometimes, for Mr. Gratiot's invoice mentions black stockings at ten livres per pair, and purple stockings, fifteen livres; for men, on State occasions, when they also wore small-clothes and polished up their buckles and shoes, ten livres the pair. Thread was ten livres the "hank," and lace edging, seven and one-half livres per yard. Hats were fifteen livres apiece; black silk handkerchiefs, fifteen livres; collar-buttons, one and a half livres each (think of twenty-eight cents for a pearl button!); ribbon, four livres per yard; silk ferret (galloon), fifteen livres per piece; white thread, the same price per hank; sleeve-buttons, thirty livres per pair; Holland lace, fifteen livres a piece.[2] Obviously, the regular costume which all contemporary writers have described so particularly and identically, while it was ordinarily worn, and by all classes, was varied on special occasions by the substitution or addition of something finer and better. We have, indeed, the evidence of this in more than one shape. In 1788 the family of a man named Kerr was murdered by Indians on a farm of Jacques Clamorgan's, on the Bellefontaine road, six miles north of St. Louis. Lieutenant-Governor Perez went to the place and had an inventory made of the effects by Benito Basquez, Bentura Collell, and Santiago Chauvin, who appraised each article. Among them were nine women's dresses (Kerr had a wife and two daughters), valued at one hundred and fifty livres; two gowns, fifty livres; eight jackets (what are now called "joseys"), twenty livres; one pellerine, thirty livres; five yards black silk, seventy-five livres; seven handkerchiefs, thirty-five livres; five caps, one livre; five chemises, forty livres; one piece of cloth, ten and one-half livres; two pair of stockings, seven livres; one apron, seven and one-half livres; two pillow-cases, three livres; one looking-glass, five livres; four leather gloves, five livres; two pair silver buckles, thirty-five livres; three snuff-boxes, five livres; two pair shoes,

[1] The "point" was the stamp or "rose" in the corner of a blanket, indicating its size, those with a worsted "rose" being for domestic use, those with a black stamp for camp service.

[2] Other prices in this inventory are useful as guides. We must remember Mr. Gratiot traded to St. Louis, and by boat up the river to Prairie du Chien, so that he supplied both trappers, Indian traders, and the Indians themselves. Fire-steels, for getting sparks from flints, were three livres per dozen; scissors, each six livres; ferule knives, six livres each; canoe awls (punches used in stitching birch-bark canoes together), four livres per dozen; grass awls, twenty-four livres per dozen; grass wad-screws, twenty-four livres; vermilion, twenty livres per pound; gun-flints, ten livres per hundred; small knives, five livres per dozen; cartridge-knives, three livres each; butcher-knives, twelve livres per dozen; fine buck-horn handle butcher-knives, five livres each; tobacco boxes, three livres each; box-wood combs, ten livres per pair; hooked knives, two livres each; guns, forty livres; and gunpowder, twenty livres per pound, Glass beads (*graine d'orge*) for the Indian trade, two livres per pound in bulk, and three livres when strung. Only a few articles in this list—gunpowder for example—would be considered high by purchasers for the Indian trade to-day. Some are so cheap—butcher's knives for example—as to create the suspicion that they were "Brummagen ware," got up expressly for the Indian trade.

fifteen livres.[1] Monette, in his "History of the Valley of the Mississippi," describes the winter dress of the men as

"Generally a coarse blanket capote, drawn over their shirt and long vest. [But other writers either deny or ignore the vest.] The capote served the double purpose of cloak and hat; for the hood, attached to the collar behind, hung upon the back and shoulders as a cape, and, when desired, it served to cover the whole head from intense cold. Most commonly, in summer, and especially among the boatmen, *voyageurs*, and *coureurs des bois*, the head was enveloped in a blue handkerchief, turban-like, as a protection from solar heat and noxious insects. The same material, of lighter quality and fancy colors, wreathed with bright-colored ribbons, and sometimes flowers, formed the fancy head-dress of the females on festive occasions; at other times they also used the handkerchief in the more patriarchal style. The dress of the matrons was simple and plain; the old-fashioned short-jacket and petticoat, varied to suit the diversities of taste, was the most common over-dress of the women. The feet in winter were protected by Indian moccasins, or the more unwieldy clog-shoe; but in summer, and in dry weather, the foot was left uncovered and free, except on festive occasions and holidays, when it was adorned with the light moccasin, gorgeously ornamented with brilliants of porcupine quills, shells, beads, or lace, ingeniously wrought over the front instead of buckles, and on the side flaps."

The primitive people dressing thus spoke rather an idiom of the French tongue than a pure French, as might have naturally been inferred from their isolated situations in a remote and unfrequented locality. It lacked the nervousness, the *verve* and "snap" of the animated and brilliant dialect of Paris. There was a drawl and a languor about it noticeable to-day in the French of the Louisiana Creoles, but it was not corrupted, like that, with imported negro words and the vices of a defective negro pronunciation, and the occasional English words in it were not naturalized, but duly recognized as foreigners. These people are described by Stoddard, a good and trustworthy observer, as rather small in stature and slender in their make, "though their bodies and limbs are remarkably well proportioned, supple, and active. Their complexions," he says, "are somewhat sallow, and exhibit a sickly aspect, though they experience a good degree of health, which results in a great measure from the nature of their food (mostly of the vegetable kind), and their manner of dressing it.[2] They usually possess a keen, piercing eye, and retain their sight longer than most other people. They are almost strangers to the gout, consumption, the gravel and stone in the bladder, and in general to all chronic complaints. The hair of the people in the Delta and neighborhood of it retains a dark-brown color, while that of the old people in Upper Louisiana commonly becomes gray. The young men at this time manifest no great passion for long hair; not many years ago they were seen with cues dangling about their legs. Most of the laboring class disregard dress, and appear no better at home than on a trading voyage among the Indians."

The people of "the Illinois country" were to be envied in all their external relations. Therein they were blest enough to entitle them to La Salle's praise, that the land they dwelt in was truly a "terrestrial paradise." Government, both under French and Spanish rule, was a paternal, patriarchial despotism of the mildest sort. The commandant was everything, because content to be almost nobody. He seldom interfered unless appealed to, and then he was judge, jury, and executive all in one. Local affairs, the little concerns of the commune, the fences, roads, and ditches, were cared for by the people themselves, and

[1] The other effects of this family, which, however, was English or American—they came "from the other side"—were a horse (worth one hundred livres), two cows and calf (three hundred livres), one large hog and two sows, an old file, a box of pewter spoons, a pewter dish, eleven cups and saucers and six plates, "ware" (Edgewood), six tin measures, a tin coffee-pot, a tin tea-pot, two iron candlesticks, a side-saddle, four iron ovens, one hundred and fifty livres (bake-ovens), a frying-pan, seven wooden buckets, a pump, a lot of kegs, a water-bucket, three spades, two axes, a feather bed, three blankets, two smoothing-irons, one trunk, four chairs, one beaver hat, one bedstead frame, one plow, one spinning-wheel, one gun, a cock, six hens, and fifteen chickens.

[2] But Stoddard shows in other places that they lived well enough at times. He says, They "are temperate; they mostly limit their desires to vegetables, soups, and coffee. They are great smokers of tobacco, and no doubt this gives a yellow tinge to their skins. Ardent spirits are seldom used, except by the most laborious classes of society. They even dislike white wines because they possess too much spirit. . . . Clarets and other light red wines are common among them; and those who can afford it are not sparing of this beverage. Great economy is displayed in their family meals. This is not the effect of a parsimonious disposition, nor always of the want of adequate means; it results from a conviction of what their constitutions require; they readily sacrifice what may be termed luxury for the preservation of health, and it is seldom they contract diseases from intemperate excesses. Naturally volatile in their dispositions, they sometimes precipitate themselves from one extreme to another. Hence it is that, in making entertainment for their friends, especially for strangers of distinction, they study to render them sumptuous; their tables are covered with a great variety of dishes; almost every sort of food dressed in all manner of ways, is exhibited in profusion. The master of the house, out of respect for his guests, frequently waits on them himself. On such occasions no trouble or expense is spared in procuring the best wines and other liquors the country affords. Their desserts are no less plentiful, and there is no want of delicacy in their quality or variety. Many of these entertainments cost from two hundred and fifty to four hundred dollars, especially in Upper Louisiana, where the luxuries of the table are much more expensive than in the Delta." Stoddard, however, writing in 1804, is referring to the Lucullans of St. Louis, rich by the fur trade, and not to the frugal Catos and Columellas of the American Bottom.

there was practically no taxation. The Illinois French were always on the best possible terms with their Indian neighbors, with all the Indian race, in fact. There was unity and harmony, good will and friendship between the two races, joined to an unlimited reciprocal confidence. They interchanged good offices frequently, and the Indian never attempted to rob the Frenchman, who, as he felt assured, would never seek to despoil him of his land, nor to defraud him in the exchange of goods. "Providence," says Monette, "smiled upon the happy union of the white man of Europe with the red man of the American wilderness." In other words, the Frenchman treated the Indian justly and kindly, and in return the Indian acted in his natural character towards the Frenchman, neither suffering his instincts to be warped by passion nor distorted by fear. The French who settled in Illinois had habits at once vagrant and gregarious, and they assimilated themselves to and amalgamated themselves with the Indians in a remarkable way. They understood Indian habits, and respected Indian customs with unvarying courtesy and *politesse*. They did nothing by violence, made no attempt to take alien and repugnant natures by storm, as the Puritans, indeed, the Englishman of any degree, would have done under similar circumstances. On the contrary, they were not only conciliatory, but they paid the Indian the compliment—and none higher can be paid to a savage—of adjusting, in some measure, their habits and customs to his own. This policy, if such a cold term can be applied to what was the natural, spontaneous impulse of gentle and kindly natures, had its reward in a contented, happy, and prosperous existence.

The *habitant*, *voyageur*, and *coureur*, vagrant of lonely lake and stream and forest solitudes as he had been, was by nature gregarious and sociable. He and his kind and kin planted their villages in the wilderness alongside of another village of Indians, remote enough to avoid actual contact with its dirt and squalor, near enough to interchange visits and courtesy, to co-operate for mutual defense, and to have the use of one common chapel. The French village was compact. Its site was well chosen,—the margin of a prairie, the bank of some gentle stream, with room for common and common field, and resources whence firewood might easily be derived. Here it was placed in long, narrow streets, upon which the houses fronted close and in such contiguity that merriment and sociability might be common to all, and conversation might promote the consciousness of having neighbors. Here the old men sat on the porches in front of their houses, tapping their *tabatierès*, smoking their long pipes, and recounting adventures of days gone by to their dames beside them, while the youths, just home with stores of peltries gained at the headwaters of distant streams, related more thrilling adventures still to the ears of maidens ready to hearken forever. The villages were patriarchal in every suggestion of their aspects. The whole assemblage of houses resembled each homestead; all about it spoke of the family unit. There was a striking simplicity and uniformity about the houses. Each homestead had its own separate lot, its own separate inclosure of picket-fence dividing it from the neighbors. The house most commonly was a one-story structure, raised above the ground and surrounded usually by a gallery, which the owner roofed if he could afford it. The walls were generally made of logs of wood, planted erect in the ground or erect upon the comb of a wall. Sometimes, instead of the posts, there was simply a framework, with corner posts and studs horizontally connected by cross-ties, and filled in with "cat and clay," a paste of mud finely mixed with cut straw or with Spanish moss. When this surface had dried, it was whitewashed until it had a dazzling whiteness. The chimney, filled in with the like material, was made of four long corner-posts, converging towards the top, so that the interior diameter of the chimney at the top was not more than half as great as at the hearth. The primitive houses usually had the dimensions of twenty by twenty feet, or twenty by forty feet. They were low in the ceiling, and the roof, which had but little slope, was covered with large shingles or clapboards laid on poles, with a lap of three in four. When they had been carefully laid they were held in place by battens of poles stretched across them, the ends pinned down



OLD HOUSE.
Southeast corner of Second and Spruce.



OLD HOUSE.
Northwest corner of Third and Plum.

with wooden pegs to the corners and the frame. Interiors were of two or five rooms, or more, with generally a lean-to or detached kitchen. There was seldom more than one window to a room; the frames, set with eight by ten inch glass, were hinged and swung like doors. When the chimney was erected in the middle of the house, it was built of stone throughout. In the ruder cabins the floors were made of slats or puncheons, but in better built houses there was a floor of nicely-joined plank, and this was kept well waxed.[1]

There was a primitive simplicity about the patriarchal homesteads which all unite in pronouncing very charming. The inclosure of the "lot" was a common yard, part for culture, part for general use, and in the towns was often an acre or so in extent. The father of the family had here planted his residence; as his children grew up, married, and had children of their own, a cottage or addition to the main building was put up for them hard by, until the original building was like an Indian banyan-tree, a dozen slenderer stems growing vigorously around the venerable central trunk. This same idea was carried out in the "commons" and "common fields" which every commandant, in making a grant of land for a village, was careful to designate and reserve. The greater part of the agricultural work of the French *habitant* was done in his garden and his common-field lot, the latter being always one arpent wide and forty arpens long, containing about thirty-four acres. Very few villagers owned or required for their simple agriculture more land than the common lots afforded them. As population increased, and new families were formed, more common lots were added for each one, taken from the commons. The "common field," as it has already been described, was a large contiguous tract of arable land, inclosed in a single fence, each family having its own lot for farm and garden, the entire product of which it enjoyed in fee-simple, but liable, however, to forfeiture from such neglect of the inclosure as endangered the safety of the whole. The syndic and the "viewers" regulated the fence, and the elders of the village also determined the seasons for conducting the various agricultural operations of the field, so as to prevent trespass, plundering, and neglect. The inclosures of the "common field" were so strong as to serve in some cases as a protection against hostile irruptions. The "commons" was simply a common pasture-field, free for the use of all, and supplying fuel also if it contained timber. Many had large flocks and herds, but few villagers pursuing any trade for a livelihood, and each being his own mechanic.

In the "common field" the villagers attended to their plowing and reaping in a regular and primitive way. The soil was rich and kindly, producing bounteously a great variety of plants. The American Bottom is peculiarly rich in fruits and in trees producing nuts, in berries and in almost every other product of the temperate zone. It yielded pecans and chestnuts, strawberries and melons, indigo, rice, and cotton, alongside of grapes and peaches, wheat and corn, and the *habitans* were thrifty and careful husbandmen, reasonably industrious. "The pursuits of the inhabitants were chiefly agricultural," writes Brackenridge of his infant days at Ste. Genevieve. "Their farming was carried on in a field of several thousand acres in the fertile river-bottom of the Mississippi, inclosed at the common expense and divided into lots separated by some natural or permanent boundary. Horses or cattle, depastured, were tethered with long ropes, or the grass was cut and carried to them in their stalls. It was a pleasing sight to mark the rural population going and returning, morning and evening, to and from the field, with their working cattle, carts, old-fashioned plows, and other implements of husbandry." These plows were peculiar. Gen. de Rozier, in his lecture on Ste. Gene-

[1] "The house of M. Beauvais was a long, low building, with a porch or shed in front, and another in the rear; the chimney occupied the centre, dividing the house into two parts, with each a fireplace. One of these served for dining-room, parlor, and principal bedroom; the other was the kitchen, and each had a small room taken off at the end for private chambers or cabinets. There was no loft or garret, a pair of stairs being a rare thing in the village. The furniture, excepting the beds and the looking-glass, was of the most common kind, consisting of an armoire, a rough table or two, and some coarse chairs. The yard was inclosed with cedar pickets, eight or ten inches in diameter, and seven feet high, placed upright, sharpened at the top, in the manner of a stockade fort. In front the yard was narrow, but in the rear quite spacious, and containing the barn and stables, the negro quarters, and all the necessary offices of a farm-yard. Beyond this there was a spacious garden, inclosed with pickets in the same manner with the yard. It was indeed a garden, in which the greatest variety and the finest vegetables were cultivated, intermingled with flowers and shrubs; on one side of it there was a small orchard containing a variety of the choicest fruits. The substantial and permanent character of these inclosures is in singular contrast with the slight and temporary fences and palings of the Americans. The house was a ponderous wooden frame, which, instead of being weather-boarded, was filled in with clay, and then white-washed. As to the living, the table was provided in a very different manner from that of the generality of Americans. With the poorest French peasant cookery is an art well understood. They make great use of vegetables, and prepared in a manner to be wholesome and palatable. Instead of roast and fried they had soups and fricassees and gumbo (a dish supposed to be derived from the Africans), and a variety of other dishes."—*H. W. Brackenridge: Recollections of the West.* The house of which Brackenridge is writing was situated in Ste. Genevieve, and the time of his first visit 1802.

vieve (the same plow was used everywhere else in "French Illinois"), says that they were made entirely of wood, without iron fastenings. The mould-board had only the curve that could be found in a root of the appropriate shape, but the beam was strong, the point sharpened. It could easily penetrate the soil, which, from repeated careful working, was light and friable. The only vehicle, says the same authority, was the wooden French cart, without tires. It was made light and strong, long and narrow, very suitable and convenient for travel or hauling over such roads as existed. It had strong, heavy shafts, to which a horse was attached, with two horses in the lead, and it could easily convey a large quantity of furs, lead, merchandise, or wood. The load of the latter was five-eighths of a cord, and the people of Carondelet made a business of fetching that load of wood to St. Louis for a great number of years. Perhaps some of them do it yet. The cart has not changed.[1] The traces used were made of strong seasoned raw-hide, well twisted, but still apt to "pull out" in warm weather. The horses of the period were ponies in size, resembling mustangs, but strong, of great endurance, and easy in their keep. They were Canadians in breed, but crossed with the blood of the wild Spanish horse of the plains, which the Osages, Pawnees, and Comanches captured and sold to Indian traders in considerable numbers. In stock indeed the French settlements of Illinois were rich. The commons and adjacent forests and prairies teemed with herds of domestic animals—swine, cattle, horses, sheep—wandering at will, almost a common stock and general store-house, from which all who needed, all who came along, might supply themselves.

A happy race. Competence and peace smiled upon them; the climate was benign; nature in her most unsophisticated and genial form brooded over their dwellings and guided their ways. Contentment was the only monarch enthroned there; joy and mirth sat on every countenance. The affluence natural to climate and soil, and common to all the *habitans*, became in effect great riches where the community's wants were so few and their tastes so simple,—in fact, there have been few people on earth ever so rich as were these Creoles of Upper Louisiana. They had no politics save loyalty to France and a dim belief that the king of France was monarch of all the earth, or, if he was not, ought to be. They were out of the world, and too ignorant of and indifferent to its affairs to be perplexed or anxious about them. Care was, indeed, a stranger in the village; and if it ever came at all, did not venture to tarry where everything was so alien to its haggard, hollow aspect. Learning none had, unless it was the curé, and he, their oracle in matters of faith, could be taken likewise as their voucher in matters of science. They wanted neither culture nor learning, so they had virtue and content, could speak the truth, and were bound by bargains. This they were, so much so that after land values had advanced a hundred-fold, sons and grandsons thought it the simplest, most matter of course duty for them to ratify, confirm, and complete the verbal contracts made by their parents. The records of St. Louis show this to have been done in hundreds of cases, and in spite of the vicious example set by ravenous "land-sharks" of another race.

In fact, their good name, and their unaffected respect and reverence for it, was no small part of this people's riches, to whom truth was the largest jewel in their carcanet, and mere sordid wealth gave no privileges that weighed a feather in the scale with actual merit. The calm, quiet tenor of their lives, the same from day to day and year to year, and the example of their Indian neighbors, perhaps, gave a sort of serious gravity, almost saturnine, to the ordinary deportment of the common people. There was a languid softness, an indifferent equipoise in their manners that might erroneously be mistaken for a gentle sadness till you knew and understood them better. But you had only to become their guest to understand their faculty to be amused and their zest in amusement, such zest that *fêtes* became a duty and enjoyment a business. Hospitality was not a virtue, for the neglect of it was a crime and a sin. There were no taverns in the Illinois, for every latch-string hung out, and every man's house was the stranger's.

But they had virtues of a positive sort, to exercise which was a duty, to neglect them a disgrace. Punctuality and honesty in all dealing were among these, politeness and courtesy to strangers, friendship and cordiality and *bienséance* among neighbors, gentle kindness and affection in the domestic relations, reverence and respect to elders, justice to all. Women were blest in these simple communities, for they had, in addition to kindness and affection, all the consideration which belongs to equals and some of the deference which is yielded to a superior faculty of judgment. In a matter of business the husband

[1] The pattern of the cart in which Madame Chouteau and family were seated when old Rivière drove them from Fort Chartres to Cahokia, Laclede riding alongside, to make their first visit to yet unplanted St. Louis, is identical with that in which ex-Capt. U. S. Grant used to drive his load of wood from Dent's place in Carondelet to St. Louis not a generation ago.

always consulted his wife, and, as she seldom judged wrong, her opinions usually prevailed. It seems as if all this could only be said of Utopia; it is written, however, about "the country of the Illinois,"—but that, as La Salle declared it to be, was "the terrestrial paradise."

Amusements, festivals, and holidays were natural among such a people. They were too devout not to keep every *fête* in the calendar, and too fond of enjoyment not to wish there were twice as many more. The dance, the music of the violin, cards, billiards,—every evening had something of the sort; every festival, every Sunday was rounded up with the innocent recreations which these words imply, when the young people gave themselves to amusement as to acts of devotion, and priest and patriarch, when their joints were too stiff to permit participation, looked on and smiled and cheered the scene. It was part of their religion to be cheerful on *fête* days, and to celebrate all festivals with the jocund sacrament of mirth. Neither sex nor condition were kept from these festive enjoyments; pleasure was like the church floor, free to all without distinction of quality. The black slave danced to the same fiddle that sent his mistress and master tripping, and the stolid Indian sat by on his haunches, wrapped in his blanket, watching and wondering. It has become a proverb, the contentment and happiness of the negro slaves in French Illinois. All were Catholics, and all kept the festivals of the great mother church in the same identical spirit. The New Englander, Capt. Stoddard, saw these things, so contrary to what he had been used to behold at home, but he could not bring himself to condemn or believe them wrong.

"Perhaps the levities displayed and the amusements pursued by the French people on Sunday," he says, "may be considered by some to border upon licentiousness. They attend mass in the morning with great devotion; but after the exercises of the church are over, they usually collect in parties and pass away their time in social and merry intercourse. They play at billiards and other games, and to balls and assemblies the Sundays are particularly devoted. To those educated in regular and pious Protestant habits such parties and amusements appear unseasonable, strange, and odious, if not prophetic of some signal curse on the workers of iniquity. It must, however, be confessed that the French people, in these days, avoid all intemperate and immoral excesses, and conduct themselves with apparent decorum. They are of opinion that there is true and undefiled religion in their amusements, much more, indeed, than they can see in certain night conferences and obscure meetings in various parts among the tombs. When questioned relative to their gayety on Sundays, they will answer that men were made for happiness, and that the more they are able to enjoy themselves the more acceptable they are to their Creator. They are of opinion that a sullen countenance, attention to gloomy subjects, a set form of speech, and a stiff behavior are more indicative of hypocrisy than of religion; and they say they have often remarked that those who practiced these singularities on Sunday will most assuredly cheat and defraud their neighbors during the remainder of the week. Such are the religious sentiments of a people void of superstition; of a people prone to hospitality, urbanity of manners, and innocent recreation, and who present their daily orisons at the throne of Grace with as much confidence of success as the most devout Puritan in Christendom."[1]

The festivals and joy-days of French Illinois were numerous. It was Corpus Christi Sunday, the day before the famous affair of May 26, 1780, and the people of St. Louis were afield picking wild strawberries. There were harvest-homes and vintage feasts and feasts of corn-planting, Easter and Whitsuntide, and midsummer and Michaelmas; but we have no space to consider all of these. Let us see how Christmas and New Year's and Twelfth-night were kept in Upper Louisiana, turning to and confining ourselves to these *fêtes* the more readily because in speaking of them we can put ourselves under the guidance of that appreciative and accurate pilot, the late Judge Wilson Primm. Let us imagine ourselves in ancient and venerable Cahokia upon a Christmas-eve, almost any time between 1760 and 1800. The little village, not as distant from the river then as now, is in a stir of preparation and a bustle and a hubbub of joy and celebration; for the long-absent ones have come home for the holidays, the last keel-boat, with its load of good things, in charge of the patriarchs of the village, has arrived on time, as it was bound indeed to do with two such stout lads as François Lefebre and Jean Baptiste Saulcier tugging at the *cordelle*, pushing with the poles, and plying the short nervous oars. They had Christmas presents for Manon Peletier and Thérèse Bissonnet, and it would have been an endless pity if they had failed to arrive in time to deliver them. And this very morning, could anything be more opportune! the long-absent fleet came into the creek from distant Prairie du Chien. A bateau and three long canoes they went out ('tis now fifteen months long gone), and they have come back with two bateaux and five canoes, laden down to the gunwale with robes, furs, and peltries,—a fortune for the young men and their parents. Besides the Indians and mulattoes, there was Regis Cabassier, the widow's handsome son, and Laurent Saulcier, and Jean Marie Amalin, Gabriel Dumain,—what a tall *voyageur* he's grown to be, to be sure!—and Tonish Labuxière, a perfect Nadowissioux, with his long black hair, flashing eyes, brown skin, and beaded leggings and moccasins,—fine doings in the wilderness, to be sure, when such costumes can be found hanging on the bushes

[1] Sketches of Louisiana, 316–17.

Pierre Martin, too, and Louis Pancrasse! Warrant ye we'll have kings a plenty for *jour des rois*, and some weddings to come off at Paques! So runs the busy, idle tongue of village gossip, as the boats are unpacked, their cargoes carried up to the village, and the absent ones made welcome home, singing, as they draw near, the immemorial *chanson* of the *voyageurs*, which the demoiselles pretend not to hear, but listen to all the time:

"Tous les printemps
Tan' de nouvelles,
Tous les amants
Changent de maitresses;
Jamais le bon vin ne m'endort,
Quand l'amour me réveille.

"Tous les amants
Changent de maitresses;
Qu'ils changent qui voudront,
Pour moi je garde la mienne," etc.

Or else that other rondeau, which you may still hear the canoe-men sing or the Pembina cart-drivers chant almost any time up in far-away Manitoba:

"Dans mon chemin j'ai rencontré
Trois cavaliers bien montés.
Lon, lon, laridon daine,
Lon, lon, laridon dé.

"Trois cavaliers bien montés,
L'un à cheval et l'autre à pied.
Lon, lon, laridon daine,
Lon, lon, laridon dé."

In the houses of the village there is a busy stir of preparation,—busy, that is, for people so quiet and usually undisturbed. Floors are scrubbed and waxed, decorations and evergreens prepared for the church and for houses, and the young ladies get ready their own finery too. There is much cooking going on in the kitchen, for this is a time of feasting and of many neighborly interchanges of rival dishes. The cordials and cherry bounce and honey are hunted up in the store-room, with the bottles of home-made wine from last year's vintage,—currant and gooseberry, anyhow, if not grape,—and the ratafia brought from New Orleans is strained and decanted.[1] In every house almost there was game for the pasty, and every housewife without exception was making, after her grandmother's recipe, a store of *croquecignolles*, a sort of doughnut or cruller, fashioned and fried in odd fantastic shapes. These, with pies, cakes, and the glass of cordial or bounce or ratafia, were handed to every visitor on every occasion, and each housewife tried to give a sort of individuality to her *croquecignolles*, so as to make them, as it were, the trade-mark of her culinary superiority.

When night fell on Christmas Eve, and the decorations were all arranged and the cooking done, none went to bed, but, on the contrary, all arrayed themselves in their best, and turned their thoughts with expectancy to holy things. At last the clock struck, and the church-bell echoed, twelve o'clock midnight,—the hour of Bethlehem,—and all the *habitans* made their way to the church, to attend the midnight mass. No scene could be more impressive in its quiet solemnity. The old log church was filled, and outside a dusky cloud of Indians and negroes, each decked forth in his best. The altar was decorated gorgeously, and illuminated with a profusion of wax candles, while the venerable priest bent under the weight of his sacred vestments, and trembled with the solemn impression of the holy occasion. A still hush pervaded the scene, broken at last by the swelling music of the Gregorian chant, chorded by trained and tuneful voices, and by the solemn words of the appropriate offices which the holy man intoned. Then the host was consecrated, and all the congregation, equals in the eye of God, and, just now, of man, pressed thronging to the balustrade to partake the sacrament. Then the words of the benediction trembled upon the celebrant's lips, and the concourse withdrew from the sacred building, and made their silent way homeward. The man is not to be envied upon whose imagination such scenes fail to leave a powerful and enduring impression.[2] It seems certain that to their honest religious convictions, and the candor with which they obeyed them, the *habitans* of Upper Louisiana owed much of that sterling business integrity and that rigid adherence to truth in all its forms which always excited the surprise and admiration of strangers.

On leaving the church all the different members of each family turned homeward, proceeding in a body, when once they had assembled, to the domicile of the head or oldest member or patriarch of the family, to partake of the *réveillon*. This was a Christmas

[1] Ratafia was a semi-distilled rum, made from molasses or sugar, alcoholic, but sweet and cloying.

[2] F. M. Bracken[illegible], writing in 1851 of such a scene witnessed in 1802, says, "On Christmas-eve it was the custom to keep the church open all night, and at midnight to say mass. On this occasion I found myself alone for nearly an hour before the time, seated on a high stool or chair, with a cross in my hand, in front of the altar, which was splendidly decorated, and lighted with the largest wax candles the village could afford. My imagination was at first filled with an indescribable awe at the situation in which I was placed, and I gazed upon the sacred images about the altar as if they were in reality what they represented; but after the first impression had passed away, I began to reflect upon what I was doing, and asked myself many questions, to which I could find no satisfactory answer."—*Recollections of the West.*

breakfast, ample and abundant for all, the eating of which was made an occasion for expressing and acknowledging the reciprocal sentiments and obligations which should ever exist in families, and remain the backbone of social well-being. It was a family reunion, a thanksgiving feast *sans gêne*.

The rest of the day was given to religious exercises at the church, and when evening began to fall the neighbors were apt to gather in some house where there was the most room and the best waxed floor; the violin found its way thither also, and there was sure to be dancing, to last as long as nature did not fail, and they were tough, these people of French Illinois.

On New Year's Eve, soon after nightfall, the young men of the villages would assemble at some rendezvous, decked forth in fantastic costumes and masked. Each was provided with a bucket, basket, sack, or other receptacle in which solids and liquids could be carried. Thus equipped, they proceeded in a band from house to house, excepting none, and in each place they sang in full chorus, "*La Guignolée*."[1]

"*La Guignolée*" was a quaint song set to quaint music, and the words ran thus:

"Bonoir, les maître et la maîtresse,
Et tout le monde du logis!
Pour le premier jour de l'année
La guignolée vous nous devez.
Si vous n'avez rien à nous donner,
Dites-nous le;
Nous vous demandons pas grand'chose,
Une échinée,—
Une échinée n'est pas bien longue—
De quatre-vingt-dix pieds de longue—
Encore nous demandons pas grand'chose!
La fille âinée de la maison
Nous lui ferons faire bonne chère,
Nous lui ferons chauffer les pieds.
Nous saluons la campagnie,
Et la prions nous excuser;
Si l'on a fait quelque folie,
C'était pour nous desennuyer;
Une autre fois nous prendrons garde,
Quand sera temps d'y revenir.
Dansons la guenille—
Dansons la guenille—
Dansons la guenille!

"*Chorus:* Bonsoir, le maître et la maîtresse,
Et tout le monde du logis!"[2]

In its present form the song is evidently of negro origin: slave is written in every line. There was of course an accompaniment of action, and rude or gross enough to demand the apologetic latter part. Judge Primm says that when the young men came to that part of the song where the young lady is to be feasted and have her feet warmed, some swain would break in with a ditty about doves and cuckoos, nightingales and green bowers, "closing with a protestation that he was dying for the soft eyes of his mistress."

All this preliminary performance concluded, the baskets, etc., were produced and donations were bestowed, the masquers capering in the rag-dance, which, by the way, was a true Saturnalian performance, and akin to the sword-dance of the English Christmas mummers, in which the hobby-horse, Robin Hood, Maid Marian, etc., bore conspicuous parts. In departing, the chorus bore the masquers on to the next house, where the same performance was renewed, and so on until all the village had been traversed or the night was well spent. At the different houses contributions of various sorts were received, but generally such as would be of service towards a coming festival, as sugar, maple sugar, coffee, lard, flour, candles, syrup, eggs, meat, poultry

[1] "What the meaning of this word is," says Judge Primm, "I do not know, and no one of the inhabitants has been able to explain it to me. The Gauls, at the commencement of the new year, were accustomed to present to each other small branches of '*gui*' (mistletoe), which had been previously blessed by the Druids, singing at the same time a kind of hymn, the burden of which was '*au gui l'an neuf*' ('to the mistletoe the new year'). *Au gui l'an neuf* may have been transformed into *au gui la nouvelle année*, and this may have been still further corrupted into *la guignolée*." This is sufficiently far-fetched to suit antiquarians, but philologists will still wish to be informed how the second *g* got into the word, which Judge Primm does not explain. But, in fact, he looks too far. The *guignolée* is a Christmas-box, but not the "aguilaneuf" of the Roman and Druidic feast of fools. On the contrary, it is a Christianized remnant of the old Pagan tradition. The church used to say masses at this season for the absent and those at sea, etc.; and as they could not pay for those masses themselves, the charitable and compassionate were solicited to contribute to prevent the dire consequences which might otherwise ensue. "Guignole," in French, is the beam of the steel-yard,—the balance,—and the burden of the song was, "Give us money, good people, fill the mass-box, so that if any of those poor absent souls shall have perished, they may not turn out to be weighed in the balance and found wanting for lack of a few masses." When three-fourths of the male population were away in the wilderness two-thirds of the year, such appeals would naturally have force. At any rate, *La Guignolée* is "the balanced."

[2] Judge Primm's prose translation of this song—he rightly says it cannot be reduced to English verse—is as follows: "Good-night, master and mistress, and everybody in the house! For the first day of the year you owe us the guignolée. If you have nothing to give us, say so. We do not ask you to give us much,—a chine; a chine of pork is not very long, ninety feet long, that is all we ask. We do not ask much, once more, only the eldest daughter of the house. We will give her good cheer and have her feet kept warm. We salute the company, beg them to excuse us if we have perpetrated any folly, it was only for fun and to make fun. Another time we will be more careful,—when it is time for us to come again. Let us dance the rag-dance—let us dance the rag-dance—let us dance the rag-dance! Good-night, master and mistress, and people of the house!"

ratafia, etc. These provisions being all gathered up were put away for the future.

At daybreak the next morning the whole population attended the celebration of the mass, and when this duty was performed the next thing was to ask the paternal blessing, "and then could be seen the children, the grandchildren, and the great-grandchildren, each in their turn, on bended knee, imploring a blessing from the authors of their being; and that blessing was given, ever coupled with the heartfelt prayer that God, the father of all, would ratify it in heaven, and so guide and protect them amid the joys and sorrows, the snares and perils of life as to fit them for another and better existence. This touching ceremony," adds Judge Primm, from whom we have been quoting, "repeated at the commencement of each year, gave tone to the whole current of their thoughts and acts. Filial piety was their guiding star. The young never dreamed of forming matrimonial alliances without the full and unqualified assent not only of the immediate parents, but of family relatives; and even grown men, settled in life, scarcely ever entered into any important business contract without the assent or advice of their parents; and never, even where it might otherwise have been to his advantage, has a child been known to repudiate the acts of his parents. When the assent of the parents had been obtained to a marriage, the affianced pair would together visit the relatives, explaining, '*Nous sommes venus demander votre consentement à notre marriage*,'"—a pretty enough custom, by the way, since it made a direct bid in advance for the good will of the whole circle of relatives on both sides.

After the blessings—and the breakfast, of course—the several families of the village began to interchange visits, and pay one another the compliments of the season with that exquisite grace of courtesy which so embellishes the French character. The regular phrase, "*je vous souhaite*," or "*je te souhaite*" (according to the degree of intimacy), "*une bonne et heureuse année*," was full of feeling and meaning, because full of sincerity. Old feuds were healed, old quarrels made up, old animosities ceased to rankle, because then and there forgiven and forgotten. All breaches of social intercourse and family ties were healed by the kiss of peace and amity, and, indeed, kisses ran round in volleys. Naturally the young men took advantage of this custom to kiss and compose their quarrels with all the young girls whose rosy lips were at all accessible, saying, "*Mam'selle, je vous souhaite une belle et heureuse, et un gros mari à Pâques*." (Happy New Year, and a big husband at Easter!) To which mademoiselle probably replied with a glance only, as she handed the glass of cordial or ratafia and the plate of *croquecignolles*. Always, before the day passed, children went to visit their godfathers and godmothers, and to receive from them their "*étrennes*," or New Year's presents, and even the poorest contrived to give something. The New Year's night generally wound up with a ball.

Twelfth-night, however, was the occasion which the young people looked upon as most exclusively theirs. This, the feast of the Epiphany, commemorative of the adoration of the Magi, of the recognition and worship of the infant Jesus by the wise men of the East, has always been a festival of peculiar legendary interest in the Catholic Church. It has just the flavor of mysticism about it which touches the popular imagination, and from the earliest mediæval periods *le jour des rois* has been a season of essentially popular festivals. On Twelfth-night, some fitting house being dedicated to the *fête*, the articles collected by the young men who "ran *la guignolée*" were brought to the spot, and converted by the young girls and matrons into as sumptuous a feast and supper as the materials justified. There were pasties and pies, stews and ragouts, and the *croquecignolles* were piled as high as they would go. An especial Twelfth cake was always baked by the girls, but before the dough was put in the pan four beans were kneaded into it. The table was spread, the feast served, it disappeared, the fiddles began to be tuned up for the dancing, and now the Twelfth cake was cut,—*à tout cavalier toute honneur*. Each lady whose slice contained a bean became a queen of the revels, and she in turn chose some swain to be her king, signifying her preference by presenting to him a bouquet. Before the coronation, however, the ball must be in full swing. The violins respond to the nimble bow, there is neither waltz nor mazourka nor German, but the ball is opened by the elder and married people with a stately regulation "*mennet de la cour*," in a style that would have won dignified recognition and qualified approval even from the haughty chin of Louis Quatorze. After that the floor is the young people's by prerogative right, but is often disputed by some venerable grandsire and his spouse, who hobble forth and exhibit fancy steps learned by them during the *beaux jours de jeunesse*—the days of Frontenac or D'Iberville, or perhaps those days before the hoar Atlantic rolled between them and La Belle France. Such *ailes de pigeon*, such *chasses* and *battus*, and such applause welcomes the rheumatic caperings of the roguish exiles from the chimney-corner!

Shortly before midnight, the queens having selected

and proclaimed their kings,—the court-cards of the pack,—a night and place are chosen for the first of the "kings' balls," at which all present are expected to attend without further bidding. The expenses of this ball are borne by the four kings just chosen and enthroned. They are not heavy. The room and fuel cost nothing. The music can be hired generally for a livre or two, with a good supper and an allowance of ratafia, which sometimes disturbs the *tempo* of the violins towards daylight. The lights are but tallow candles mounted in sconces hung against the walls, and the "refreshments" do not go much beyond coffee, cakes, pies, a little *bouillon* of game, and a glass or two of cordial or ratafia,—not near enough to make a hole in the treasury of the four kings. At the close of the first kings' ball, the queens select other four kings, who in turn select new queens for the next kings' ball, and so a series of festivities is begun which lasts until Shrove Tuesday and the carnival.

We have tried to present a faithful picture of life as it was in the old French towns of Upper Louisiana. It is such a picture as will tempt the modern poet of "the Earthly Paradise" to burn his book and buy a limited express ticket for the American Bottom. Yet there are said to have been Cahokians, even in those primitive days, who climbed upon the top of Monk's Mound, and, looking across the river, yearned to get away, as Prince Rasselas yearned to be set free from the Happy Valley in Abyssinia. We do not believe the story. We would far rather credit that other legend of the Yankee from St. Louis who found himself in Cahokia one day and tried to persuade an old citizen of the town to go West (to St. Louis) and grow up with the place. "Look at the stacks of furnaces and forges," said he, "look at the industries, and the manufactures,—man alive, you'll get rich there; here you'll rust!" But the Cahokian, sitting on the top rail of his common-field fence and resting his elbows on his knees, without taking the pipe from his mouth, gently and mildly replied, "The town is young, dear sir, and can't help these things. After a while, when it has grown older, it will learn better. I truly hope so, for I wish it well. It has a noble example before it," and he waved his hand in the direction of the hamlet of his affections. "It has a noble example, sir, and must profit by it in the end."

St. Louis was one of the old towns of the Illinois, but it was so much more, and so very different from them in a hundred respects, that we only get the broad and general features of the place, and very few of the distinctive particular ones, from their description. That lays, as we said before, simply the groundwork of the picture,—the features of the landscape which identify the spot must still be painted in. It is to be said that the rough and hardy American pioneers who invaded the French settlements during and immediately after the war of the Revolution had no great opinion of the primitive French settlers. Neither had the Americans who began to come into St. Louis from that date, until, between 1816 and 1820, there was a flood of these rough, pushing, enterprising, and rather unscrupulous immigrants, changing, in the course of a few years, the entire face of the country and the manners of the people. These Goths and Vandals of the border called Kaskaskia "Kusky," and took power and progress away from the old Illinois towns without so much as saying "by your leave." They carried off the capital, and actually tried to teach the simple *habitans* the mysteries of "shin-plasters" and "wild-cat" banking. The common opinion concerning the French settlers is exactly reflected in the late Governor Ford's "History of Illinois," a book full of the frankest solecisms and the most meritorious faults and defects:

"These people," he says, speaking of the descendants of the old French settlers of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Prairie du Pont, and Cahokia, "had fields in common for farming, and farmed, built houses, and lived in the style of the peasantry of old France an hundred and fifty years ago. They had made no improvements in anything, nor had they adopted any of the improvements made by others. They were the descendants of those French people who had first settled the country . . . and such as subsequently joined them from New Orleans and Canada, and they now formed all that remained of the once proud empire which Louis XIV., king of France, and the Regent, Duke of Orleans, had intended to plant in the Illinois country. The original settlers had, many of them, intermarried with the native Indians, and some of the descendants of these partook of the wild, roving disposition of the savage, united to the politeness and courtesy of the Frenchman. In the year 1818, and for many years before, the crews of keel-boats on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers were furnished from the Frenchmen of this stock. Many of them spent a great part of their time, in the spring and fall season, in paddling their canoes up and down the rivers and lakes of the river-bottoms, on hunting excursions, in pursuit of deer, fur and wild-fowl, and generally returned home well laden with skins, fur, and feathers, which were with them the great staples of trade. Those who stayed at home contented themselves with cultivating a few acres of Indian corn in their common fields for bread, and providing a supply of prairie hay for their cattle and horses. No genuine Frenchman in those days ever wore a hat, cap, or coat. The heads of both men and women were covered with Madras cotton handkerchiefs, which were tied around in the fashion of night-caps. For an upper covering of the body the men wore a blanket garment called a 'capot' (pronounced 'cappo'), with a cap to it at the back of the neck to be drawn over the head for protection in cold weather, or in warm weather to be thrown back upon the shoulders in the fashion of a cape. Notwithstanding this people had been so long separated by an immense wilderness from civilized society, they still retained all the suavity and politeness of their race. And it is a remarkable fact that the roughest hunter and boatman among them could at any time appear in a ball-room or other polite and gay assembly with the carriage and behavior of a well-bred

gentleman. The Frenchwomen were remarkable for the sprightliness of their conversation and the grace and elegance of their manners. And the whole population lived lives of alternate toil, pleasure, innocent amusement, and gayety.

"Their horses and cattle for want of proper care and food for many generations had degenerated in size, but had acquired additional vigor and toughness; so that a French pony was a proverb for strength and endurance. These ponies were made to draw, sometimes one alone, sometimes two together, one hitched before the other, to the plow or to carts made entirely of wood, the bodies of which held about double the contents of the body of a common large wheelbarrow. The oxen were yoked by the horns instead of the neck, and in this way were made to draw the plow and cart. Nothing like reins were ever used in driving; the whip of the driver, with a handle about two feet long, and a lash two yards long, stopped or guided the horse as effectually as the strongest reins.

"The French houses were mostly of hewn timber set upright in the ground, or upon plates laid upon a wall, the intervals between the upright pieces being filled with stone and mortar. Scarcely any of them were more than one story high, with a porch on one or two sides, and sometimes all around, with low roofs, extending with slopes of different steepness from the comb in the centre to the lowest part of the porch. These houses were generally placed in gardens surrounded by fruit-trees of apples, pears, cherries, and peaches; and in the villages each inclosure for a house and garden occupied a whole block or square, or the greater part of one. Each village had its Catholic Church and priest. The church was the great place of gay resort on Sundays and holidays, and the priest was the adviser and director and companion of all his flock. The people looked up to him with affection and reverence, and he upon them with compassion and tenderness. He was ever ready to sympathize with them in all their sorrows, enter into all their joys, and counsel them in all their perplexities. Many good Protestant ministers, who stoutly believed these Catholic priests to be the emissaries of Satan, would have done well to imitate their simple-hearted goodness to the members of their flocks."

In St. Louis, from the very first, congregated the most enterprising and adventurous of the *coureurs* and the *voyageurs* of the French settlements, reinforced by men of active and energetic purpose and intelligence from abroad. There is no computing the impression and influence of a handful of men like Laclede, the Chouteaus, Charles Gratiot, Manuel Lisa, the Cerrés, the Vallés, François Vigo, etc., upon a litle community of some hundreds of persons, where, as was said, "everybody knew everybody and everybody's dog." Three-fourths the early population of St. Louis were hunters and boatmen, to the exclusion of other occupations. While the population of Kaskaskia, Ste. Genevieve, and Carondelet was agricultural, that of St. Louis did not till the common fields assiduously enough to raise its own bread. Its neighbors derisively called it "Pain Court," and it was for many years in the regular habit of buying provisions from the towns just named, which gave attention to the cultivation of the soil. Its early traders, from the very first, undertook extensive operations and embraced wide areas in their transactions, employing not only capital, but the best men who could be found. Laclede had his partners in New Orleans, and the most of his time was spent in establishing trading-posts up the Arkansas, the St. Francis, and the Red Rivers. The Chouteaus spent years among the Indians, acquiring such a familiarity with their language and manners and customs that they were sought after by the government as Indian agents and interpreters. In addition to the posts which Laclede established, they had stations on the Osage, the Upper Missouri, the Des Moins, and on Lake Michigan. Vigo traded from St. Louis to Vincennes, thence to Montreal and Detroit, and back again to New Orleans. Gratiot traded to Prairie du Chien and New Orleans, and went to England in the regular routine of business for his partners. Manuel Lisa was an explorer as much as a fur-trader, and he was as ready to fight his rivals and the Indians as to buy their peltries.

Charles Gratiot and Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, indeed, were merchants such as sometimes do not appear more than once in a century. The former, for all he did business in Cahokia, and had lawsuits with Sanguinet of St. Louis, was better known in New York and Philadelphia than in the latter town, and better known in Paris, London, and Geneva than on this continent. A man of the firmest convictions, he was an American and a republican from the first, and never ceased to exert himself to procure the annexation of Upper Louisiana to the Union. These convictions guided his conduct and that of his family on all occasions, and it is well known that the latter finally left St. Louis on account of their intolerance of slavery. As a business man, Pierre Chouteau is said to have had no rival in the valley of the Mississippi for forty years. The very genius of commerce inspired him, and the plans of this Indian trader, who got his earliest training among the Osages, on the borders of Kansas, reached out wide like the arms of the Mississippi River. His spirit was bold, his sagacity unerring, his business reputation never sullied by a breath. He was a man who looked what was in him,—tall, erect, splendidly proportioned, his black hair, dark, penetrating eyes, and pleasant but commanding features, all indicated the leader, while his sympathetic but strong, vibrating, accentuated voice, and the French vivacity and courtly frankness of his manners gave him the stamp of the diplomatist.

Men of this sort ought to have been able to build up their own town, since they built up others whenever it suited their business. Note this of the founding of New Madrid by Cerré, from the narrative of Godfrey Lesieur, whose father, François, with Joseph, a brother, started away in youth from Trois

Rivières, Canada, and found themselves, two penniless adventurers, in St. Louis. They sought and found employment with Gabriel Cerré, a fur-trader, and the father-in-law of Auguste Chouteau. He was a Kaskaskian, but his business took him to St. Louis, as it did all the enterprising people of that section. Cerré set the two youths to classifying and baling furs and peltries for market, and this one fact gives an idea of the extensive scale on which the business was then carried. "After remaining about a year with Mr. Cerré, they were both sent in a canoe down the Mississippi River, and instructed to find the most suitable place for the establishment of a trading-house among the several tribes of Indians then inhabiting the country. The first place they found which afforded the greatest advantages and inducements was a large Delaware Indian town, where New Madrid now stands. There were also, on the margin of the Louis Prairie and Big Prairie, several other large Indian villages. They quickly returned to St. Louis, and reported to Mr. Cerré all they had seen, portraying to him the results that would, in their opinion, be derived from starting a house at the place mentioned. The year following they were sent by Mr. Cerré to build a house, and taking with them a lot of goods suitable to the Indian trade, were successful beyond their expectations, making large collections of furs and peltries." In a few years competition reduced the profits, whereupon Cerré sent them to build a house at some other point. This is the way to build up business. François Lesieur's son, some years after, reports that his own collections of furs in this country, as agent for Pierre Chouteau, averaged sixty or seventy thousand dollars a year.

This business it was which established St. Louis at once, gave the town stability, and the leading inhabitants incentives to enterprise and control of wealth. Hunters found regular employment and good pay in the little trading-post town, and they profited by it. The spot, indeed, had been a hunter's paradise from the first, as well as a fur-trader's goal. Game abounded in the adjoining prairie, and the hunters in primitive times had no difficulty, when starting out at daybreak, in getting a fat buck for breakfast. The deer lingered long around grounds so familiar to their feet as if loth to leave. Daniel Webster killed one in the American Bottom opposite Jefferson Barracks about 1835, and in 1837 Judges Wash and Krum both killed deer one morning while hunting near the residence of the late Hon. Edward Bates. The hunters went forth from St. Louis to gather furs and peltries for the traders of St. Louis, and from Laclede's day up to 1830 the town was the general rendezvous of hunters and fur-traders, the Montreal of the Mississippi, and the depot of all the basin of the great rivers emptying into that river between the Minnesota and the Rio del Norte. Washington Irving[1] has graphically described the appearance of the town in 1810, when John Jacob Astor's "partisans" first came there to provoke the rivalries of the Missouri Fur Company. It was at that time, he says,

"a frontier settlement, and the last fitting-out place for the Indian trade of the Southwest. It possessed a motley population, composed of the Creole descendants of the original French colonists, the keen traders from the Atlantic States, the backwoodsmen of Kentucky and Tennessee, the Indians and half-breeds of the prairies, together with a singular aquatic race that had grown up from the navigation of the rivers, the 'boatmen of the Mississippi,' who possessed habits, manners, and almost a language peculiarly their own, and strongly technical. They at that time were extremely numerous, and conducted the chief navigation and commerce of the Ohio and the Mississippi, as the *voyageurs* did of the Canadian waters; but, like them, their consequence and characteristics are rapidly vanishing before the all-pervading intrusion of steamboats.

"The old French houses engaged in the Indian trade had gathered around them a train of dependents, mongrel Indians and mongrel Frenchmen, who had intermarried with Frenchmen. These they employed in their various expeditions by land and water. Various individuals of other countries had of late years pushed the trade farther into the interior, to the upper waters of the Missouri, and had swelled the number of these hangers-on. Several of these traders had two or three years previously formed themselves into a company, composed of twelve partners, with a capital of about forty thousand dollars, called the Missouri Fur Company, the object of which was to establish posts along the upper part of that river and monopolize the trade. This company had in its employ about two hundred and fifty men, partly American hunters, and partly Creoles and Canadian *voyageurs*. All these circumstances combined to produce a population at St. Louis even still more motley than that at Mackinaw. Here were to be seen, about the river-banks, the hectoring, extravagant, bragging boatmen of the Mississippi, with the gay, grimacing, singing, good-humored Canadian *voyageurs*. Vagrant Indians of various tribes loitered about the streets. Now and then a stark Kentucky hunter, in leathern hunting-dress, with rifle on shoulder and knife in belt, strode along. Here and there were new brick houses and shops,[2] just set up by bustling, driving, and eager men of traffic from the Atlantic States; while, on the other hand, the old French mansions, with open casements, still retained the easy, indolent air of the original colonists; and now and then the scraping of a fiddle, a strain of an ancient French song, or the sound of billiard-balls showed that the happy Gallic turn for gayety and amusement still lingered about the place."

But the Missouri Fur Company was not the first of these co-operative establishments in St. Louis by more than a dozen years. The Missouri Trading Company was formed in 1794, at the suggestion of

[1] Astoria, i. 141.

[2] No brick houses yet, Mr. Irving; it will be a year before the first one is begun, and a dozen more years before there are a dozen brick houses.

Lieutenant-Governor Zeñon Trudeau, and comprised "all the traders of St. Louis." who were assembled to "unite in copartnership, consolidate their respective capitals, and control the trade in peltries," of the regions of the Upper Missouri. A petition addressed to Governor Don Gayoso de Lemos, in regard to this company, by Joseph Robidou, declares that only two of the St. Louis traders drew out after the organization was formed. Robidou complained of Jacques Clamorgan to De Lemos, and probably the organization did not work well. It was, anyhow, abandoned. The fur trade, however, increased steadily in value, and Stoddard shows that in his day it was worth $200,000 a year, of which nearly $170,000 was in the pelts and skins of beaver, deer, and others. The Missouri Fur Company was organized in 1808, the chief spirits of it being Pierre Chouteau and Manuel Lisa, with Governor William Clark as one of the members. Manuel Lisa was the most active and energetic member, going out at the head of all the important expeditions, and insuring a good return for the "outfit." Lisa was president of the company as late as 1820. At that time, however, the old company had practically disbanded, and the name was simply a decorous disguise for Pierre Chouteau and company. In 1812, the amended articles of association of the Missouri Fur Company began as follows: "The undersigned do hereby form a company of limited partnership, and do associate and agree with each other, to the end of exploring in a commercial way, and hunting within that portion of country within the claim of the United States, and westwardly of a point which shall be five hundred miles from the United States present factories, and to conduct business within the said boundary, and at the town of St. Louis, under the name and title of the president and directors of the Missouri Fur Company." The capital stock is limited to $50,000, in 50 shares, of $1000 each, half paid on subscription, the remainder in installments, not exceeding $250 per share, after thirty days' notice by the board. The stock of the old Missouri Fur Company, with its "plant," is to be taken in lieu of $27,000, and the rest is to be cash. These directors were to be elected each year, and to receive an annual salary at the rate of $100 per annum.

After the demise of this company, the Chouteaus, Lisa, and Astor formed an alliance under the name and style of the American Fur Company, the successor of the Missouri and the Rocky Mountain Companies; and when Astor withdrew, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., became himself the American Fur Company. This company continued the work of the two companies which it had succeeded, opened up and explored the Rocky Mountains and Western waters, and for thirty years held a monopoly of the fur trade south of the vast regions ranged over by the Hudson's Bay Company. The firm did business on a very large scale, and at one time owned and maintained five forts, all built by themselves in the heart of the Indian country,—Forts Sarpy, Benton, Union, Pierre, and Berthold. It was not until 1858, after repeated efforts persisted in for a number of years, that the firm was able to get a steamboat up to Fort Benton, but finally the trip was made.

This trade was very valuable. The average returns on goods sent out was 100 per cent. in peltries, and this by no means represented the actual profits, for the goods were valued at their selling price in St. Louis, not their cost, and the peltries at their currency value in St. Louis. But red cloth that might retail at 5*s.* a yard in St. Louis probably did not cost the companies more than 3*s.*, including freight, interest, and insurance; and on the other hand, beaver worth $2.00 a pound in St. Louis might fetch twice as much in London, and five times as much in Canton. With capital enough, therefore, to buy wholesale for cash, and to carry the furs and deliver them in the best markets, those embarked in the St. Louis fur trade might easily make from 250 to 500 per cent. and turn their capital over once a year. Brackenridge, in his "Views of Louisiana," notes the fact that in 1810 the Indian trade of St. Louis with the Osages alone was worth $30,000, or nearly $6 per capita, the outlay in goods being $20,000,—a profit of 50 per cent. measured in furs. With the Cheyennes the trade was expected to yield a profit of 100 per cent., and so also with the Poncas and Arickarees. The trade with the Crows was counted on to return three for one, and that with the Pastanounas fifteen for four. The trade at Arkansas Post with the Chickasaws and Cherokees yielded five for two, and that with the various bands of Sioux four for one. The Spanish Governors of Louisiana, said Brackenridge, by a mercenary policy, had done great injury to the Indian fur trade, and threatened to throw it all into the hands of the British, their heavy charges for concessions forcing traders to charge high prices for their goods to the Indians; whereas it was the policy of the traders of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies to supply goods and stores at low figures, charging exorbitant figures for their spirits. The Indians required to have stores and supplies to enable them to hunt at all; but to obtain the coveted whiskey, at no matter what price, they were sure to hunt assiduously. The same idea of cheap goods and

dear spirits is the key-note of the British fiscal policy to-day, and, while it will not do to say that Mr. Gladstone's plan is to cheapen clothing and food, so that the British workman may have the more to spend at the publican's, that is the outcome of it.[1]

St. Louis was founded in the pursuit of the fur trade, and it was the immense network of beaver-hunting streams made tributary to it which gave the fur trade of the town its immediate great value. The beaver recedes before civilization more rapidly than the honey-bee advances in its front. A timid, shy, and sagacious animal, hunted by many enemies, and procuring his subsistence by great labor, the beaver never attempts to restore his settlement when it has once been invaded by the white man. He abandons it at once, seeking refuge in the recesses of some deeper wilderness. The otter and the muskrat, with not a little of the beaver's intelligence, show a much greater tenacity in their resistance of the encroachments of man. The spoor of the former may still be seen along the edge of rocky forest streams; and the latter refuses to be expelled from the banks of mill-dams and the meeting-places of tide and fresh water, where his long and intricate covered ways may to-day be traced in every direction. But the beaver disappears as soon as the lonely trapper sets foot in the glen where he has hid his house, and the consequence is that his pelts need to be carried a long distance before they reach market. The cost of transportation of furs from the trapping regions of the Northwest, by lake, river, and portage, to Montreal, and thence to Europe was enormous. It consumed half the value of a pack of furs—deer-skins—to bear it from the Minnesota lakes, by Lake Superior and Mackinaw, Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa, to Montreal. But from St. Louis there was easy water transportation on the one hand to the vicinity of the trapping regions, and on the other to New Orleans and a market. This gave the traders and hunters of that place a great initial advantage over their rivals in the Northwest, and it was profited by to the utmost by the energetic men we have described and their associates and successors, such as Henry, Gen. Ashley, etc. Under their fostering care the fur trade of St. Louis rose to a value of six hundred thousand dollars a year.

One thing caused St. Louis to cling to the fur trade the more tenaciously, and that was that, until steamboats began to ascend the Mississippi on regular trips, the growing town was prevented by the difficulties of navigation from getting its share of the large and increasing commerce of the Ohio River. From the peace of 1783, and particularly from the opening of navigation on the Mississippi by Spain, a great influx of population was received by the counties of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois binding on the Ohio and its chief tributaries; and these new-comers vastly increased the merchantable surplus of products from these rich and teeming soils. The transportation of these products, of the host of incoming settlers and their supplies, made an immense business. But when the mouth of the Ohio River was reached the current turned down, not up, and goods from Redstone, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville either were carried direct to New Orleans, or, if they broke bulk at all on the Mississippi, did so at New Madrid. So much so was this the case that passengers from up the Ohio to St. Louis were expected to leave the boat at New Madrid and proceed by horse to St. Louis. In the rare cases when goods were taken up the river for a market, they seldom went higher than Cape Girardeau or Ste. Genevieve. The earliest hunters in the Missouri country, those of Cerré, started from Kaskaskia, crossed the Mississippi at Ste. Genevieve, and thence made a portage across to the Bonne Homme, Gasconade, and Osage Rivers. This was due entirely to the difficulty of navigating heavily-laden boats against a rapid stream, and the produce-laden craft of the Ohio was never meant to return against the current, either with or without cargo, for, as soon as their freight was disposed of, the boats were sold too, as lumber, and the boatmen returned overland.

St. Louis, in retaining control of the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers fur trade, not only acquired control of the large barter and exchange trade thus made local in that town, but it controlled also the chief *currency* of those sections, and had the advantage of possessing large supplies of a circulating medium of fixed and

[1] It has been usual to underestimate the value of this fur trade of St. Louis, through defective acquaintance with all its bearings. Thus, Martin, in his "History of Louisiana," vol. ii. 173, estimates the value of the fur trade of Upper Louisiana, in 1799, at only $70,000, upon the following returns: 1754 bundles (average 100 pounds each) of deer-skins, at $40=$70,160; 8 bundles bear-skins, at $32=$256; 18 bundles buffalo robes, at $30=$540. Total, $70,956. Martin does not seem to have known that at that time the most valuable part of the furs never went to New Orleans at all, but were sent to Canada *via* Vincennes and Detroit, or *via* Prairie du Chien, only the coarse and bulky pelts being sent down the river. Stoddard shows that 36,900 pounds of beaver, 8000 pounds of otter, 1300 pounds of marten, and 300 pounds of lynx were the average return for fifteen years, none of these going down the river. A bundle of castor (beaver) was worth $180 on the spot; a bundle of lynx was worth $500; of otter $450, and of marten $300; and the yearly value of these furs averaged $110,000. A buffalo robe was worth about $6, and a bear-skin $8.

certain value, receivable by Indians and whites equally and alike. Fur was the currency of St. Louis from the days of Laclede very nearly until Missouri became a State and the town an incorporated city. Other things were taken in exchange and barter,—beeswax, whiskey, potash, maple-sugar, salt, wood, feathers, bear's oil, venison, fish, lead, but fur was the currency and the standard of value, the representative of and equivalent to the *livres tournois* of hard metal. The only small coin consisted of Mexican dollars, cut with a chisel into four or five pieces,—"bits." A pound of shaved deerskin of good quality represented about twice the value of the livre, and a pound of beaver, otter, and ermine represented so many pounds of deer-skin. A "pack" of skins had a definite weight, and thus trade and computation were both easy. Checks and notes were drawn against them, deposits were made of furs and packs, and on the whole they constituted a much better and more uniform currency than the staple tobacco which was at one time the only circulating medium of Virginia and Maryland. "Bons" were a species of order or note for goods, redeemable in peltries, which, when signed with the name of any responsible merchant or trader, had full currency in local and general trade. Practically, they were certificates of deposit, but convertible or exchangeable into any other equivalents in the course of trade and barter. Next to the peltry, which had a regular currency and pretty near a uniform value from Mackinaw, Detroit, and Prairie du Chien among the French settlements all the way to New Orleans and the Belize, the best medium of certain value, but only of limited circulation, was the "carot" of tobacco. This article is still prepared in Louisiana by the plantation manufacturers of tobacco, and "carots" of "Perique" may still be seen in all the tobacconists' shops, —a solid roll of the shape and appearance of a bologna sausage. These rolls were called "carots," from their resemblance to the root of that name, and they were in common use and demand in the early days in Lower and Upper Louisiana from their convenience. All the grown population, male and female, took snuff; each carried his or her snuff-box habitually, and each prepared his snuff and filled his box in the morning. The snuff was not ground as now, but rasped or grated from the end of one of these rolls, and hence their form and solidity was a desideratum.[1] The carots had a definite weight, like the packs of furs, and their usual value was about two livres. They were sometimes prepared by boring a half-inch or inch hole in a log of tough wood; the tobacco, damp and cured, was wedged into this hole tightly with mallet and peg, and when the plug was as tight and hard as was desired the log was split and the tobacco taken out.[2]

The following copy of a St. Louis bill of lading, in 1809, will illustrate how completely the people were saturated with the conception of a peltry currency: "Shipped by Peter Provenchere, of the town of St. Louis, merchant, on board the boat 'J. Maddison,' whereof Charles Quirey is master, now lying at the landing before the town of St. Louis, and ready immediately to depart for Louisville, Ky., six packs of deer-skin, marked and numbered as per margin (F. T. 96, 99, 109, 111, 112, 113), and a barrel of bear's oil containing about thirty-two gallons, all in good order and well conditioned, which I promise to deliver in like good order and condition (unavoidable accidents excepted) unto Mr. Francis Tarascon, merchant, Louisville, or to his assigns. And, moreover, I acknowledge to have of the said Peter Provenchere a note of Peter

[1] This mode of preparing snuff was still not unusual at the beginning of this century. An anecdote is still going the rounds about Gilbert Stuart, the portrait painter,—he who alone succeeded in making a portrait of George Washington,—that a visitor called at his house one morning while the artist was taking a walk, and concluded to wait for him. Presently Stuart came in, nervous and agitated, and, without noticing his visitor, hurried to a cupboard, took his tobacco and grater and grated himself a handful of snuff. Not till his capacious nostrils were well supplied did he turn to speak. Then, in his courtly way, not without a reflection upon the slavery of habit, he explained that he had accidentally gone to walk without his snuff-box.

[2] We have before us the inventory of an auction sale—a *rendue*—had Dec. 23, 1780, "by Don Francisco Cruzat, lieutenant-colonel of the Louisiana regiment of infantry, and commandant of this western portion of the Illinois country," a sale made by order of Charles Sanguinet of certain effects of Louis Dubreuil, of New Orleans, the goods to be paid for in deer-skins or beaver at the current value or in money, as they may choose, five months credit, good security required. The sale is made by Constable Demers, who doubtless officiated as auctioneer, and the minutes of the sale are subscribed by Sanguinet, Diego Blanco, and notary Labuscière. At this sale *one hundred and six carots of tobacco* were sold for one hundred and ninety-one livres. A yoke of steers was sold for three hundred and ninety-nine livres ten sols, showing close bidding. A bottle of gravy-sauce and some vinegar sold for twenty livres, while "a lot of several historical books" only fetched twelve livres ten sols. A hundred empty bottles sold for thirty-nine livres. The fondness of the French *habitans* for the auction form of sale was very marked. In many of our rural districts throughout the country all auctions borrow the French name and are called "vendues,"—or, rather, in the current pronunciation, *vandus*, and the custom was probably borrowed also. In St. Louis the effects of all deceased persons under all circumstances were cried at auction, the commandant authorizing and ordering the sale, and the notary authenticating the account. The Archives of St. Louis contain as many records of such sales as they do of any other class of transaction. The sociable habits of the people made these sales go off well; they were made the occasion for little reunions, and the women always attended them and helped to give spirit to the bidding.

Menard on Louis Lorimier, inhabitant of Cape Girardeau, *for one thousand pounds of receiptable deer-skins*, the said note transferred to my order, and I bind and engage myself to ask of the said Louis Lorimier the payment of the said note, and if I reclaim it to deliver to the said Francis Tarascon or assigns the thousand pounds of deer-skins, together with the said six packs and the barrel now received, and in case of no payment to return the note to Mr. Tarascon, he or they paying freight. In witness whereof I have set my hand to these bills of lading, all of the same tenor and date, one being accomplished, the others null and void." The pack of deer-skins was thus about one hundred pounds in weight,—in this case the average was within a fraction of one hundred and seven pounds,—and notes were given, not for the value of so many deer-skins, but made payable in receiptable skins themselves, just as a warehouse bill to-day is payable in so many bales of cotton or hogsheads of tobacco, or an elevator receipt is "bon" for so many bushels of wheat or corn. The fixed price was forty cents per pound for finest deer-skins, thirty cents for medium, and twenty cents for inferior, and all contracts, unless there was an express stipulation to the contrary, were made in this medium. Spanish coin never affected the fur currency. The Spanish government paid off its officers and troops in hard dollars, but this was a mere drop in the bucket, —less than twelve thousand dollars a year for St. Louis. Even after the transfer to the United States, peltry continued the controlling currency for a number of years. Judge J. B. C. Lucas made his first purchase of a house for his residence in St. Louis in this currency, buying of Pierre Duchouquette and wife their domicile, for the price of six hundred dollars in peltries. This was Dec. 14, 1807.

One circumstance, however, materially influenced the value and the stability of the peltry currency, and this was the fact that it was only redeemable in money at New Orleans. Perrin du Lac, in his journal of travels in Louisiana, 1801–3, calls attention to this cause of depreciation in the circulating medium, and its tendency to enhance prices of commodities at St. Louis. To be sure, he was a chronic fault finder, and determined to see no possibility of good in the Spanish government. Yet it is true what he says, that "all commercial transactions, unless otherwise specially agreed to, are made conformably to this standard of value, and are taken in barter at the rate of forty cents per pound; but, as they have to be taken to New Orleans to realize that price, there is much risk and loss; so, consequently, the merchant sells his goods at a charge proportionate to the venture he assumes. Everything sells at an enormous price, the result of which is that the commonest workman receives pay for labor at the rate of ten to twelve francs per day."

In spite, however, of its control of the fur trade and of a currency, it was not until the city had completely mastered the transportation problem that St. Louis fairly began to grow. From the day when the arrival of the ten barges was thought to be worthy a *fête*, and to be chronicled among the memorabilia of the place, to the day when a Levee eight miles long is piled with freight, and cannot find room for the triple tiers of steamers ranged along its front; from the day of an occasional canoe-ferry and cow-paths across the commons for the only roads to the present, when a dozen trunk line railroads fetch in every day the products of every clime, is a long step apparently; but St. Louis took it when the first steamboat equalized to her the currents of the Mississippi and the Missouri, when imports from Europe came from the Atlantic coast instead of the Gulf for distribution, and the lead of the Missouri Potosi was piled upon the Levee alongside the pigs of Galena and Dubuque. But before that there was a long wrestle with the difficulties of transportation. The *charrette*, or cart, which has been described, could do little off the farms, and the heavy wagon of Pennsylvania was not in use anywhere to the west of Pittsburgh,—the "prairie schooner," as it came to be called, was, with reason, supposed to be unfit for a country which possessed no roads. Off the watercourses, all the transportation was done by means of pack-horses and pack-mules, and Capt. Bonneville has recorded the fact that he was the first fur-trader and adventurer at the head of a brigade of trappers who ever attempted to go west of the Kansas River with a wagon. Twenty years later than that, great wagons, drawn by long spans of oxen or by reduplicated teams of mules, found it easy to cross the South Pass to California, or go over the forks of the Canadian, *en route* to Santa Fé. But all the transportation of the Missouri Fur Company overland was done with pack-mules, and in the early days of the fur trade, where the canoe would not go, the goods must be loaded upon the shoulders of the *voyageurs* themselves.

The first goods received by the French settlements in the American Bottom, and the first peltries sent to market by them, were by the way of Montreal and the St. Lawrence River. Cahokia and Fort Chartres, before regular intercourse was established with New Orleans, traded through the lakes by way of the Illinois and Wisconsin Rivers, but Kaskaskia undoubtedly received and sent many goods by the Wabash. When the water was high, it was not a long nor diffi-

cult portage from the upper waters of the Kaskaskia, by the bed of the Embarras River, to the Wabash, and when the water was low, goods came down the Ohio to Fort Massac, and thence were carried by *charrette* and pack-mules to Kaskaskia. But very soon after St. Louis was founded all supplies came from New Orleans, and we find Laclede's trading-post and Cahokia actually sending goods to Prairie du Chien and probably to Michilimackinac also, while Vincennes was recognized to be a station on the water highway between New Orleans and Detroit. In this arduous service, a long and difficult route, the *voyageurs* had to lay aside the paddle for the oar, and the bateau and the barge superseded entirely the birch-bark canoe. The latter was still used to some extent in the upper waters and smaller streams, but it was abandoned so far as the Mississippi was concerned. It never was used on the Missouri, where, if any ferriage or short water transit was required, the rough boat made of buffalo hides stretched over a wooden frame was resorted to, and for regular navigation the barge and bateau.

The barge was but a bateau enlarged and made more commodious for passengers, and of a greater capacity for freight. On the Ohio, the ark and the flat-boat were contrived, to move down produce, families, and stock,—rude structures of great capacity, rafts, in fact, with two or three great oars worked by a dozen men, less to propel than to guide the unwieldy craft, which, indeed, was expected to move with the current of the river, and, to all practical purposes and intents, was a raft, broken up and sold for old lumber when its destination was reached. The Ohio and Mississippi River steamboats of the present day are simply engines set upon flat-boats, and with houses for freight and passengers built above them. These arks and flat-boats it was in the service of which the race of Ohio and Mississippi boatmen was trained,—a rough and boisterous class, but trustworthy and capable, and willing to endure periods of extreme fatigue and exposure. A great responsibility rested upon them, for often they carried to New Orleans cargoes worth thousands of dollars, the proceeds of which they had to fetch safely home with them and deliver to the owners. Often a boatman from Redstone or Pittsburgh or the Kanawha, after selling his goods in New Orleans, would seek passage round the Florida Capes in some vessel returning from the Gulf to Baltimore, and thence home over the mountains. But the usual route of the returning boatmen was up the Mississippi River to the second or third Chickasaw Bluff, and thence by the "Tennessee trace," a well-beaten path, to Cumberland Gap, and through that to the Ohio. It was a route through a wild country, and beset with perils beyond those proceeding from the Indians, through a part of whose territory it lay, for outlaws and desperadoes were to be encountered at almost every portion of this line of transportation and travel, tempted by the rapid succession of rich prizes, and the unsettled state of a country almost without the protection of law, and filled with adventurers of every stripe. There were caves in the river's banks, both on the Ohio and the Mississippi, where bands of highwaymen had their rendezvous, and whence they would sally forth to plunder the boatmen and capture their boats and cargoes, if they could not defend themselves. In many a bayou and lagoon along the course of the great river gangs of land-pirates lurked, ripe for rapine and murder too, and scarcely less dangerous were the gamblers who loitered in New Orleans or made their hideous homes in "Natchez-under-the-Hill." If the boatmen escaped these perils, others awaited them on the line of the "Tennessee trace," where there were regularly organized gangs of mounted highwaymen, attracted by the large quantities of specie the returning navigators brought home with them. So daring and numerous were these gangs that the boatmen, for safety, were forced to travel in well-armed parties and convoys, sometimes two or three hundred strong, and even then were frequently not able to get through without a battle. Such a training as this made the Ohio boatmen a class almost *sui generis*, hardy, self-reliant, bold, reckless, careless of their lives, and rude in their speech, yet faithful to their trusts in a remarkable degree, and always ready to defend the property of their employers with skill and courage. Had this not been the case the transportation business must have perished, because its profits would have been destroyed.

But between New Orleans and Louisville and St. Louis transportation up the river was demanded as well as down, and to supply this on a scale commensurate with the demands of commerce the *keel-boat* was contrived, a vessel capable of efficient service and heavy burdens in waters not too shallow. The keel-boat was capable of carrying from ten or twenty to sixty or seventy tons; it was built with a view to offering as little resisting surface to rapid currents as was compatible with good freighting capacity, and it was propelled by a composite enginery, including oars, poles, and the *cordelle*. With the latter, while one hand steered, the rest of the crew towed the boat, carrying the tow-rope over their shoulders as they walked along the river-bank. With the pole, the boatmen, in gangs, planted a heavy beam upon the bottom of the stream, and pushing against it, moved

rapidly towards the stern of the boat. That reached, they lifted their beams and ran to the bow, to continue the arduous and monotonous task. The oars were great sweeps, sometimes with a broad square end and a long leverage, which several men worked in huge clumsy oar-locks. This difficult and fatiguing boatman's service was almost altogether undertaken by the French Creoles, the descendants of the *voyageurs*, or by negroes and mulattoes. These boatmen worked with uncovered heads in the hottest weather, or at most a handkerchief about their foreheads and hanging down to cover their necks. They lived upon a poor and meagre fare, and were remarkable for their fidelity, honesty, and peaceful ways. But they were not capable of defending their charges with the fierce combativeness and bull-dog tenacity that characterized the American boatmen.

The best ideas of the difficulties of the transportation service in early St. Louis are to be gathered from the narratives of the primitive travelers and first immigrants to that point. In 1809, Charles Hempstead and his brother went to St. Louis from Connecticut. There were at this time, he used to relate, but two practicable routes from the Atlantic States to the Mississippi. One of these was *via* Philadelphia, across the mountains by wagon to Redstone, thence by flat-boat and keel-boat down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. The other route was by sea to Alexandria, Va., thence by Conestoga wagon or horseback to Wheeling, or *via* Winchester and Romney to Clarksburg, and thence to Marietta. From this place, if there were no boats, it was common for the traveler to buy a canoe and paddle himself down the Ohio to Shawneetown, at the mouth of the Wabash, whence there was a road, or "trace," across country to Kaskaskia. The latter, being the most populous settlement in that part of the West at the time, was naturally a centre of attraction to travelers. Mr. Hempstead and his brother, finding no vehicle or other mode of transportation at Shawneetown, shouldered their packs and walked to Kaskaskia, a matter of one hundred and fifty miles' distance. The country was settled thickly enough for the lads to find a bed and supper every night at some sort of a stopping-place. At Kaskaskia it was easy to find horses for transport to St. Louis. Philip Fine, who came from Tennessee, a lad, in 1801, recollected how he tumbled from a keel-boat into the Tennessee River. At Cape Girardeau the boat was sold, and pack-horses hired to transport their goods to the Maramec River, where Fine had an uncle living, an old settler. J. G. Easton remembered when all the transportation of St. Louis and vicinity was done in the French cart, or *charrette*, on land and keel-boats by river. The motive-power of the *charrette* was the French pony, or scrub oxen yoked by the horns. A cart with one horse carried about five hundred pounds; with two added in the lead its capacity was doubled. It took a full day, and often longer, to carry a load to St. Charles and back. These carts were made entirely of wood, without a pin or a band of iron about them. Sometimes the wheels were a solid block, but old Regis, a wheelwright distinguished in St. Louis in his day, and a sort of jack-at-all-trades, contrived to turn out respectable hu[illegible]d spokes by means of a lathe rigged by himsel[illegible]ply a spring-pole, a tug of rawhide, and a spindle,—and with this lathe the old workman used to manufacture capital peg-tops for the boys, charging from two to four tallow candles apiece for them, the highest-priced ones being made of seasoned hickory, with steel point.

Mrs. Anne L. Hunt, the daughter of Hon. Charles J. B. Lucas, came to St. Louis with her father in 1805, when he was sent out by Jefferson as one of the commissioners of land titles and judge of the district court. Judge Lucas purchased a flat-boat in Pittsburgh, and the government provided him with a corporal's guard,—one man to steer and four men to row. The boat had a little caboose aft for the protection and shelter of Mrs. Lucas and her children: all the rest was open [illegible]d exposed to the weather. The cargo was made [illegible] the judge's furniture and the stores and provisi[illegible] a voyage of two months. The party started June 9, 1805, without any company, but Mrs. Hunt notes that they occasionally passed boats and rafts on the way. At Shawneetown Judge Lucas took his mattress ashore to sleep on the bank, and the women were terribly alarmed in the night by the yells of Indians, but it was only a pow-wow of some kind, not a scalping-party. At Louisville the travelers went ashore and tarried with friends, while the soldiers rowed the boat over the falls. When the mouth of the Ohio was reached the travelers bought or hired horses, and proceeded on them towards St. Louis, Gen. Wilkinson having failed to send them a promised keel-boat. This boat they caught and went aboard at Cape Girardeau. "It was shaped somewhat like a barge, and was worked with oars, with a *cordelle* or rope, which the men pulled when the banks permitted, and with spiked poles, which were used to keep it off the bank." "I don't recollect exactly when we reached St. Louis," wrote Mrs. Hunt, "but it was somewhere in the forepart of September, which would make the entire trip about three months, and that was considered a fast trip in those days. Such a thing as a hotel or boarding-

house was of course unknown here, but my father, who had been up to St. Louis ahead of us to find out what delayed the keel-boat, had requested Mr. Soulard, who resided here, to rent a house for him." It is not to be presumed that there can be much traveling when the travelers must buy and provision their own flat-boat, buy their horses if they wish to ride, and rent a house if they wish to stop at their journey's end. To be sure a flat-boat at the mouth of the Ohio would sell for more than it cost at Pittsburgh, a Kaskaskia pony could be bought for one hundred livres, and a house that could be bought for five hundred dollars would scarcely rent for more than fifty or sixty dollars a year, still travel under such circumstances must necessarily have very narrow limitations.

Dr. Robert Simpson, an early postmaster of St. Louis, whose narrative has been partly quoted in a previous chapter, was a native of Port Tobacco, Charles Co., Md., and came from Washington, D. C., to St. Louis in 1809, having been appointed assistant surgeon in the United States army, and received orders to report at Fort Madison, on the Upper Mississippi. He left Pittsburgh in January with a detachment of troops, for whose transportation a number of flat-boats were prepared. They were intended for New Orleans. The ice was running badly when this army sallied forth in scows, and a boat was lost at Point Pleasant. Dr. Simpson left the flotilla at Fort Massac, and there waited several days for a passage up to St. Louis. At last a keel-boat came along with merchandise and a crew of three men and a steersman. "I procured a passage," says the doctor, "and we made our way up the Mississippi by means of poles, oars, *cordelle*, and sails. Our *cordelles* were made of bed-cords, our sails of four blankets sewed together, and our mast a sapling cut from the bank." Continuing his narrative, which abounds in happy and vivid reminiscences, the doctor says,—

"I did not reach Fort Madison until May, 1809. In June, 1810, I came to St. Louis in a canoe. I visited the town again in February, 1811, coming part way by land and part by water. . . . On 1st of February, 1812, I left on an overland trip for Washington, in company with John Rice Jones, Clement B. Penrose, Thomas F. Riddick, and Reuben Lewis. Mr. Riddick and I passed through Lexington, Ky., to East Tennessee, and at Bean's Station concluded to send our horses back to Louisville and take the stage. Between broken-down stages and being packed on stage-horses we had a hard time in getting to Washington, where we arrived in something less than forty days from St. Louis,—slow and rough traveling in those days."

Levi Pettibone accompanied Henry R. Schoolcraft, the Indian archæologist, on his first excursion to the West. They descended the Alleghany River from Olean to Pittsburgh, and thence down the Ohio in an ark,—the first one of the season. It was built of stout planks, with the lower seams calked, forming a perfectly flat bottom. It was about thirty feet wide and sixty feet long, with gunwales of about eighteen inches in height. Upon this were raised posts and boards eight feet high, forming an interior, divided into rooms for cooking and sleeping. The whole was covered with a flat roof, and near the front were two long sweeps, or gigantic oars, occasionally resorted to to keep the unwieldy vessel from running against islands or dangerous shores. Every night the ark was tied up to a tree, and a fire built on shore. The crew and passengers landed at everything like a town, and bought milk, butter, and eggs. The hands on these boats, and on flat- and keel-boats, we learn from a memorandum furnished the Missouri Historical Society by Capt. Joseph Barclay, were content to work for twenty-five dollars a trip and found, though a trip often consumed three months.

Timothy Flint's "Recollections" are dry and prosy, but they embody the actual observations and experiences of a conscientious traveler. He went West in 1815, and has described the transportation system the more minutely in that it often occasioned him great incommodity. He started from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and noted pretty much all that he saw *en route*. The people he met were styled "backwoodsmen," their baggage was called "plunder," and the common tavern signs in the mountains were the wolf, the bear, and the eagle. The travelers passed "hundreds of Pittsburgh wagons," the teamsters fit companions for the Ohio boatmen,—rude, profane, selfish, and drunken. At Pittsburgh, Flint was struck with the multitude and variety of river-craft, the stately barge, big as an Atlantic schooner, "with its raised and outlandish deck," requiring twenty-five hands to work it up stream; keel-boats, long, slender, elegant, carrying from twenty to thirty tons; Kentucky flats, or "broad-horns," resembling a New England pig-stye, and carrying often seventy tons; "family boats" of the flat-boat species, large, roomy, with comfortable apartments, stoves, and other comforts; "covered sleds," "ferry flats," "Alleghany skiffs," pirogues, common skiffs, and "dug-outs." The manners of the boatmen Flint found to be as strange as their language: "Their peculiar way of life has given origin not only to an appropriate dialect, but to new modes of enjoyment, riot, and fighting. Almost every boat, while it lies in harbor, has one or more fiddles scraping continually aboard, to which you often see boatmen dancing." Our author descended the Ohio in two or three different crafts. Here is his description of "poling:" "We found a new source of amusement

in contemplating a set of twelve or fourteen hands, walking slowly forward, and half bent, with the shoulder firmly fixed against the knob of a long pole, whose iron point was set in the bottom, and thus apparently with great labor propelling the boat against the stream. As soon as they have walked the length of the boat, they raise their poles, walk forward in Indian file, and renew their 'set,' as the phrase is, again."

From Cincinnati to St. Louis, Flint traveled in a keel-boat he had bought. For a twenty-ton boat nine hands was the complement to stem the current of the Mississippi, and French boatmen were the best, said our author. At one place they would *cordelle*, at another pole, at another "bush-whack" (pull the boat along by the bushes hanging down from the bank), at a fourth row. When the current was too strong on one side they would cross to the other, and all the way it was a laborious and exciting struggle.

"Let no deluded emigrant imagine," says Flint, "that he can work a boat up this river without great patience, expense, and labor, and, after all, without danger. The danger and fatigue in this kind of boating are undoubtedly greater than those of sea navigation. Let the emigrant, then, who ascends this river make the proper estimates of trouble, expense, and danger in advance, and arm himself with the requisite patience and resources. Above all, let him have a full complement of faithful and experienced hands. I do not remember to have traversed this river in any considerable trip without having heard of some fatal disaster to a boat, or having seen a dead body of some boatman, recognized by the red flannel shirt which they generally wear. The multitudes of carcasses of boats lying at the points, or thrown up high and dry in the wreck-heaps, demonstrate most palpably how many boats are lost in this wild and, as the boatmen always denominate it, 'wicked river.'"

Travel was high in proportion to its difficulties and dangers. In 1810 Mr. Billon paid $50 to have his trunks transported from Shawneetown to Kaskaskia. The actual expenses of keel-boating from New Orleans to St. Louis, on the basis of a boat of 40 tons, was about $23 a ton, so that freight could not be transported that distance for less than about $1.25 per 100 lbs. For passengers, the fares from New Orleans to Louisville and St. Louis, even after steamboats began to run, were from $125 to $150 each. This was in a few years reduced to $35 from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and $10 or $12 only for deck passengers. From Boston to Central Illinois, in 1832, the fare was about $100. From Baltimore to Wheeling, by mail-stage, the charge used to be $12. From Louisville to St. Louis, by way of Vincennes, $25; by steamboat, $12. Freight from Baltimore to Wheeling was $1.50 per 100 lbs.; Wheeling to St. Louis $2 per 100; New Orleans to St. Louis, by steamboat, 65 cents per 100. The average reduction in cost of transportation from keel-boat rates to early steamboat rates was in the ratio of 5 to 1. Remembering this standard, we find that keel-boat rates, just prior to the introduction of steam navigation at St. Louis, would have ranged about as follows: St. Louis to New Orleans, going $100, returning $125; second class, $30 to $35. Freight, descending $1.50 per 100 lbs., ascending $3. St. Louis to Louisville, $50; second class $20; freight $1 per 100 lbs. St. Louis to Fever River, $50 up, $30 down; to Falls of St. Anthony, $75; to Franklin, in the Missouri, $2 per 100 lbs.; to Fort Leavenworth, $5; descending rates, one-third of the above. These figures might be extended further, but there is no need to use them except for illustration.[1]

The difficulties, dangers, and expenses of travel and transportation, however, could not arrest the tide of immigration when it had once fairly set in. It exerted such pressure, it rose in such a volume, that it overcame every obstacle. A St. Louis journal under date of Oct. 26, 1816, has the following significant paragraph: "Missouri and Illinois exhibit an interesting spectacle at this time. A stranger to witness this scene would imagine that Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas had made an agreement to introduce us as soon as possible to the bosom of the American family. Every ferry on the river is daily occupied in passing families, carriages, wagons, negroes, carts, etc.,—respectable people, apparently able to purchase large tracts of land. Come on, we have millions of acres to occupy; provisions are cheap and in abundance." Flint saw and mixed much with this great body of new settlers, which pervaded every part of Illinois and Eastern and Northern Missouri, besides contributing a large quota to enhance the

[1] Soon after the general tide of immigration rolled into Missouri and Illinois, the following was the scale of prices for labor and articles of common use:

Wages.—Mechanics, $1 per day and board; master-mechanics, millwrights, scientific workmen, $2 and $3 per diem; common hands, $10 per month; hands using broad-axe, saw, or plane (unskilled mechanics), 75 cents per day.

Materials.— Bricks, $3.50 to $4 per thousand; seasoned pine boards, $20 to $30 per thousand; unseasoned (raft stuff), $12.50 to $15; flooring, at saw-mill, $1.25 per hundred; weather-boarding, 80 cents to $1 per hundred; walnut boards for ceiling, $1 to $1.50 per hundred, roofing, 75 cents per hundred; nails, 10 cents by the keg; glass, $6 per hundred square feet; oil, 75 cents per gallon by the barrel; white lead, $4 per keg of twenty-eight pounds.

Joining Work, etc.—Framing, $1 per hundred square feet; roofing, $1.50; laying floors, $4; doors, 50 cents per panel; window-sash, 6 cents per light; laying brick, $2 per thousand; plastering, three coats, 12½ cents per square yard, and board.

population of St. Louis. They did not escape the miseries of strangers in a new land, unused to its hardships and privations. The influenza and the ague smote them severely, and colds and pneumonias were rife among them.

"They were but too often wretchedly furnished with money and the comforts almost indispensable to a long journey. It seemed to have been their impression that if once they could arrive at the land flowing with milk and honey, supplies would come of course. The autumn had been unusually sickly. The emigrants had endured great exposure in arriving here. Families were crowded into a single, and often a small, uncomfortable apartment. Many suffered, died, and were buried by charity. Numerous instances of unrecorded suffering of the most exquisite degree, and with every agonizing circumstance, occurred. The parties often were friendless, moneyless, orphans, infants, widows, in a strange land, in a large town, as humane as might be expected, but to which, unfortunately, such scenes of suffering had become so frequent and familiar as to have lost their natural tendency to produce sympathy and commiseration. The first house which I entered in this town was one into one room of which was crowded a numerous family from Maine. The husband and father was dying, and expired while I was there. The wife was sick in the same bed, and, either from terror or exhaustion, uttered not a word during the whole scene. Three children were sick with fevers. If you add that they were in the house of a poor man, and had spent their last dollar, you can fill out the picture of their misery. It is gloomy to reflect that the cheery results of the settlement of our States and Territories are not obtained without numberless accompaniments of wretchedness like this."

But this picture is one of exceptional gloom, and Flint saw many brighter ones which redeemed it. St. Charles, where he lived, was a centre of the Kentucky and Virginia immigration pouring through to occupy the rich farm-lands of Northern Missouri. Sometimes as many as a hundred would pass through in a single day for days together. Sometimes a dozen wagons would be waiting at the Mamelles ferry, each with its team of four or six horses, each wagon attended by a dozen slaves, and followed by a hundred head of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs. It was a busy, bustling sight,—the cheery, laughing negroes; the cattle, each jangling a different bell; the wagons, freighted heavily with household stuff, and women and children.—a pleasing and patriarchal spectacle. "I question," says Flint, "if the rich inhabitants of England, taking their summer excursion to Bath, are happier in their journey than these people. Just about nightfall they come to a spring or branch where there is water and wood. The pack of dogs sets up a cheerful barking, the cattle lie down and ruminate, the team is unharnessed, the huge wagons are covered so that the roof completely excludes the rain, the cooking utensils are brought out, the blacks prepare a supper which the toils of the day render delicious, and they talk over the adventures of the past day and the prospects of the next. Meantime, they are going where there is nothing but buffaloes and deer to limit their range even to the Western sea. Their imaginations are highly excited. Said some of them to me as they passed over the Mamelles prairie, the richest spot I have ever seen, 'If this is so rich, what must Boon's Lick be?'"

Flint found the rough backwoodsmen who made up the body of these immigrants to be a class full of homely virtues, and he was not sparing in their defense and praise. The backwoodsman had his vices and barbarisms, to be sure, but underneath there were truth, honesty, hospitality. His manners were rough, like his beard, his bear-skins, his buffalo robe, and the walls of his cabin. He said little, his courtesy was scant, but his latch-string hung out always, and he had meat and bread to lay before every stranger. "I reck'n you kin stay," or, "I s'pose we must let you stay," was the best welcome the casual visitor might expect; but the ungracious speech veiled many kind deeds. Everything the cabin afforded was at the new-comer's service; good fare, good cooking, a profusely-spread board, and a churlish resentment of every offer to pay for what was received. "A hardy, adventurous, hospitable, rough, but sincere and upright race of people," says the conscientious Flint, who still cannot quite forgive them for not liking Yankees, and for caring little about ministers, and thinking less about paying them. "They are averse to all, even the most necessary restraints. They are destitute of the forms and observances of society and religion; but they are sincere and kind without professions, and have a coarse but substantial morality, which is often rendered more striking by the immediate contrast of the graceful bows, civility, and professions of their French Catholic neighbors, who have the observances of society and the forms of worship, with often but a scanty modicum of the blunt truth and uprightness of their unpolished neighbors."

Governor Ford's "History of Illinois" does similar justice to the qualities of these American pioneers who came in such numbers into Missouri and Illinois, instantly taking the control of affairs out of the hands of the French settlers, and giving a new impulse to agriculture and every other industry. They were mostly illiterate, with few schools and no time to educate their children. It was cheaper to import their educated and professional people than to grow them at home. As for their preachers, they did not consider it necessary that a teacher of religion should be a scholar. They did good, and, so the matter was right, the manner was not worth much concern. These people were nearly all farmers. A few traders

supplied the goods which they did not produce or manufacture at home, and these were few. The farm yielded nearly all that the frugal life of toil which they spent demanded. They rarely used tea and coffee; the sheep-shearing produced wool sufficient for winter clothing; the cotton and linen that was worn was raised, and spun, and woven, and made up at home. Copperas, indigo, or butternut were all the dye-stuffs required. A coon's skin furnished hat or cap, a deer-skin, tanned in a domestic vat, or dressed, Indian fashion, at home, supplied shoes or moccasins. A hollowed log with a pestle was all the hominy-mill that was needed. The family dwelt in a log cabin, made out and out of wood, chinked with mud or mortar, without glass, nails, hinges, or locks. Each farmer was his own mechanic, built his own house, made his own harness, implements, and utensils, and furniture, doctored his own stock and his children, and was able to take care of himself in the heart of a prairie sea, without one of the resources which Robinson Crusoe found ready to his hand on Juan Fernandez. His carts and wagons were made without iron and run without tar, and their musical creakings were of a quality to have silenced an orchestra of steam-calliopes. The horse-collars were made of plaited straw or corn-husks, and Governor Ford tells of a farmer who, when his mischievous son had hid the collars, took off his own leather breeches, stuffed the legs with straw, and, using them for collars, turned over as many furrows as usual.

It was a virgin land, full of beauty, full also of riches, into which these pioneer Americans came. The grass on the prairie ranges grew higher than a man's head, and the cattle could not keep it down. There were wild fruits, berries, plums, pawpaws, herbs for sauce or physic, flowers exquisite as hot-house exotics. The vines hung heavy with grapes; the brooks, the rivulets, the spring-heads were umbrageous with lofty trees. Everywhere there was game in copse and vale and open prairie; the bison had gone West, but the deep paths cut by his feet and the wallows where he had rolled and plastered his huge flanks with mud were still visible. Few rifles cracked that did not bring down a deer or a wild turkey. Snakes were only too numerous until the droves of hogs exterminated them. The rural settlers who came in, with some New Englanders and Pennsylvanians, were chiefly of the yeoman class of the Carolinas, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Maryland. They established themselves on the margins of the little prairies, on the banks of streams, and near large springs of water. Their cabins were built of round, unhewn logs, and the floor, where there was one, was at most of puncheons. The wolves serenaded them at night, but the cypress vine and the woodbine and morning glory festooned their fronts by day. The men hunted and tilled their fields by turns. They led a quiet and peaceful life, their homes too remote and deep embowered in seclusion for sociability, but not for friendship and neighborly deeds. If a man was sick, the neighbors plowed his field, planted his corn, cultivated and secured his crop for him. If a woman were sick or in travail, the neighbors' wives took turn about in caring for her family and discharging her various household functions. These women may have been border beauties in their youth, but they aged quickly, —there was so much hard work for them to do. They had few graces and adornments at the best of times, and the life they led was rather homely, like their dress. They split wood, carried water, went to milking; and unkempt hair, large, coarse hands, freckled faces, sunburnt necks were inevitable. They were often alone, and sometimes had occasion to profit by their knowledge of the use of the rifle in encounters with bears and wolves.

They spun and wove the stuff their garments were made of, and small blame to them if they did not encourage a fashion of flowing patterns. Six yards was thought to be almost an extravagant allowance for a dress. There were but two widths in the skirt, the front one cut gored; the waist approached the armpits, and the fastening behind was a draw-string across the shoulders and a buttoned belt at the waist; sleeves "sheep-shank" pattern; sun-bonnets of tow, with pasteboard splits; for Sunday luxury perhaps a Leghorn monstrosity, tied with a great broad bow of ribbon apeak, and another corresponding one under the counter. The tow linen dress gave way to calico or gingham in course of time, since the prairie manufacture could not compass prints; but the linsey petticoats, jackets, and bed-gowns held their own, and so did the check and "domestic" aprons. Madame and mademoiselle equally went barefoot in summer; in winter wore yarn stockings, knit of copperas-dyed wool, and moccasins or coarse brogans, or "shoe-packs," most commonly the latter. A woman's wardrobe hung on pegs around the cabin-wall, the man's clothes on pegs beside it when he did not have all that he possessed upon his back. If he were a hunter he always wore the hunting-shirt, of linsey or butternut, with the bosom bulging out with stores of all kinds,—it was his only pocket. This blouse hung to the knee, belted tight about the waist, and was often fringed, if a teamster's always. The hunter wore a vest of skin or woolen cloth, a pair of leggings or kersey trowsers, deer-skin moccasins, and a cap

coon- or deer-skin. The farmer, in place of the hunting-shirt, wore a frock-coat of kersey or linsey, with metal or horn buttons, buckskin trowsers, woven straw hat. His shirt was coarse, unbleached, unstarched stuff, and he generally had a bandana neckcloth in numerous folds about his neck, like a Belcher handkerchief, unless he preferred to have his throat and hairy breast bare to sun and wind.

These pioneers, coming in their jolting wagons over a mere pretense of roads, could not bring much furniture with them, and that in the cabins (there was not room for much) was homemade, rude, and plain. The bedstead was a bunk,—a fork driven in the ground, poles laid across to the wall, boards on them, and on these a bag of sacking filled with straw, or a pile of bear- and deer-skins. The table was made of boards pegged on to a frame, with four legs crossing each other in the centre like a saw-buck. On this a few pewter dishes, plates, and spoons, some wooden bowls, noggins, and gourds. A few had coarse china and delft ware, but it was not esteemed. It broke easily and could not be replaced, and it dulled the scalping- and clasp knives used for trencher-work. There were iron pots, a gridiron, a frying-pan, a Dutch oven, but no tinware, unless a coffee-pot. Every house had its loom, however, and its big or little spinning-wheel, or both. The dietary was abundant, but lacked refinement and variety. When the mill might be fifty miles off, it was cheaper to be content with hominy. That could be beaten at home, and it went well with pork, and still better with game. The elegant modern cuisine of cities has been able to discover no substitute for hominy as the accompaniment of venison and canvas-back duck. Some meal was pounded up at home, enough to make johnny-cake and pone, and mush for eating at supper with milk, or, in warm weather, a pan of clabber. The farmer's wife made few sweetmeats, but she did her best in the spring to boil down a supply of maple-sugar and maple-syrup, and, if there was an orchard, there was sure to be cider, provided tubs or barrels could be had. The garden sauce was not abundant; but wild greens were much sought after in the spring,—sorrel, lamb's quarter, dock, poke-sprouts, purslane. The fields supplied roasting-ears and pumpkins; the "patch" gave beans, squashes, potatoes, cabbage. If company came, a sheep or calf or half a dozen chickens were killed; if there was a log-rolling or a house-raising, pot-pie must be prepared, and such pasties as were got up for such occasions Friar Tuck never conceived of.

Hunting was business, not sport. When wolf-scalps were a dollar apiece and land two dollars an acre, some hunters could make enough to buy a farm in a few months. Bee-hunters were numerous, and wax was an article of export; so was bear's grease. But the hunters and farmers had their sports, their recreations, their hours of relaxation, though they did not take holiday like their French neighbors. Horse-races, especially scrub-matches and quarter races, were frequent. There were gander-pullings, too, and shooting-matches for turkeys, all of which amusements, as the women kept away from them, were boisterous and disorderly, much whiskey consumed, and free and rough-and-tumble fights very common. In these fights gouging was as frequent as it ever was in Georgia, and river boatmen ashore made the rioting and disorder worse than it would otherwise have been. Dancing was common at house-raisings, and every other entertainment in which women participated, such as weddings and huskings. The pioneer people married young, and with none of the Creole ceremonial and consultations *des parents*. The couple made their own bargains, announced their intention, got a license, a squire or preacher; then there was a dinner, which the wedding ceremony preceded, and an infaring, the neighbors coming together to build the young folks a cabin. There was much co-operation in the pioneer society,—it was "help me and I will help you" at log-rolling, house-raising, wood-choppings, corn-shuckings, and rail-splittings. All turned out if a child was lost, and every one went to a funeral, to a camp-meeting, to county court, to a political barbecue, and to a public sale or vendue.

The Spanish laws required every settler and tenant of the royal domain in Upper Louisiana to be a good Catholic. But when Cruzat and Trudeau and Delassus invited over the American colonists, and made liberal concessions of land to them, they winked at this ordinance with both eyes. "Of course you are a good Catholic, or else you would not come," said Trudeau to a Presbyterian minister. And when the latter asked permission to hold meetings, the Lieutenant-Governor said he had nothing to do with any public assemblies, so they were not disorderly. All this conveys a very good idea of the quality of the Spanish *régime*. It was the shell of despotism, but without the kernel. It was patriarchal, but not paternal. It was a potentiality, but not a power. The Lieutenant-Governor was absolute in authority, but he left every one to pursue his own counsels in nearly every case, and confined his drill and his discipline to the little handful of regular soldiers under his own immediate care who made up the garrison. In all ordinary matters home rule was the only rule in St. Louis. The syndic, the committees and trustees, and the notary and priest had control of the public

business and of local affairs. The Governor was useful for ornament, for defense against external enemies, and as arbitrator in cases of appeal. But the people transacted their own business. The law under which they governed themselves was the *coutume de Paris*, which all were familiar with, as children in a city are familiar with the main rescripts of the police code.

Spain governed Upper Louisiana under the general regulations of the Spanish colonial code, a very elaborate system of rules, conceived and matured in wisdom, and tried and proved by experience. But the unlettered inhabitants of Louisiana knew about as much of this code, and came about as much under its operations, as the rude sailor on the ocean knows or is affected by the consular code of his government. They saw the flag, they heard the drums beat, they met the Governor on the street and in the church, and when they or their neighbors quarreled they went before him to settle the dispute. He signed their marriage contracts, and gave them deeds for land when they bought it, and if they died he authorized and regulated the sale of their personal effects at auction. That was all. In other respects the government was outside and aloof from the people, only touching them in matters of real estate and of written contract. The code of the Indies and the laws of the Partidas, wise and beneficent institutions, were in nothing more wise and more beneficent than in leaving this simple people entirely alone. Meddlesome Governors or a restless, uneasy, mistrustful people could have easily made mischief. Put this code and these laws over colonial Boston, with Edmund Randolph to administer them, and there would have been a rebellion in six weeks. But the people of St. Louis were easily contented; they did not care under what tenure they held their lands so they remained in undisturbed possession. They did not object to have the law regulate the rates of interest, since they seldom borrowed at all, and never except at the established rates. They made all their contracts in compliance with the *coutume de Paris*,—second nature with them,—and so were not in danger of having them revoked. They gave themselves no concern about the formalities and intricate regulations concerning wills and testaments, nuncupatives, donations *intervivos*, dispositions *mortis causa*, revocations express and revocations implied, for the notary attended to all that, as it was his business to do. They seldom left property out of their family, and so never came in collision with the Governor's power to nullify their wills and set their death-bed bequests aside But a system like this would not have worked at all in New England; a system which required wills to be executed in the presence of a notary in order to sustain their validity, and for some classes of bequests exacted the signatures of seven witnesses, and which required to know all a testator's circumstances before conceding his competency to make a will, would have disturbed Massachusetts and Vermont more than the severest earthquake that was ever experienced there. So also the paternal and domiciliary intervention of the Spanish law in every other matter of succession; its recognition of illegitimates, its care of widows, dowries, and marriage contracts, and its guardianship of minors, would all have been looked upon as highly impertinent in any English-peopled State. This intrusive law further compelled children to maintain their parents, and directed kinsfolk to take care of minor orphans; it compelled witnesses to tell all they knew about things deemed material to the dispensation of justice,—in short, it was an offensively paternal system, the weight of which the people of St. Louis never felt, any more than they felt the weight of the atmosphere, for the simple reason that they were by nature, tradition, education, and disposition inclined to do exactly what the law prescribed, and to avoid all that the law forbade.

Louisiana only had one Governor, O'Reilly, who let the weight of his hand be felt, and scarcely the windage of that blow reached St. Louis. In fact, St. Louis—Upper Louisiana—was a distinct province from the lower one, though dependent on it. The Lieutenant-Governor was under the orders of the Governor at New Orleans, but he was appointed by the crown. The intendant at New Orleans was scarcely heard of in St. Louis, and the Lieutenant-Governor on the spot had almost unarrested jurisdiction as to finances, Indians, commerce, the collection of revenue, and the sale of lands. These grave and mighty functions were easily discharged in St. Louis; the financial department was limited to paying salaries; the Indians were kept quiet with presents, and now and then a hanging or an imprisonment; commerce mostly took care of itself; no taxes were collected, so the revenue caused no sleepless nights; and the land dispositions were chiefly the concession of parts of the royal domain to friends and favorites. The Lieutenant-Governor was himself intendant-general, commander-in-chief, *jefe político*, judge of admiralty, assessor, alcalde-general, auditor, *procureur du roi*, *regidor de Cabildos*, contractor, and treasurer. All the offices and powers of the State were assembled in his person, except those of syndic and priest, and the latter no longer had the functions of inquisitor, and hence his authority was simply advisory.

When power was so unlimited there would be a natural tendency to administer laws humanely and in accordance with public opinion. This was the case with legal process particularly; execution on judgment might be had in four days, yet the indulgence of the Governor always secured ample time for the debtor to pay without distress to himself or sacrifice of his property. Fees, costs, and legal charges were kept down to a very low minimum, and no extortion was ever permitted, yet the payment of debts in St. Louis under the Spanish *régime* is said to have been unusually prompt and punctual,—a necessary condition to a business which rested on credit, and whose only circulating medium was also the chief article of trade. Stoddard observes that "the change produced by the operation of the laws of the United States (after the cession), the dilatory proceedings of our courts, the introduction of the trial by jury, and the expenses of legal contracts gave a temporary check to trade and to the credit of merchants, particularly in Upper Louisiana. Experience led them to believe that the Spanish mode of decision, grounded on equitable laws, was much the most wise and salutary; and they murmured at a system calculated to produce delays, and in many instances to create expenses equal in amount to the sums demanded. They preferred the judgment of one man to that of twelve; and it is but justice to observe that their judicial officers were in most instances upright and impartial in their decisions."[1]

Stoddard calls attention to one gratifying fact, which is a practical testimony to the good effects of the Spanish system, and that was the almost total absence of aggravated crime, a circumstance scarcely to be hoped for in such a mixed population, leading lives of such excitement and adventure in settlements so new. Punishments were not too rigorous, but they were certain to be meted out to the offender, and the dread of the Mexican mines and the dungeons of the Moro Castle in Havana quelled the turbulent immigrants from the United States. As to the Creoles, they were naturally of a peaceful disposition, educated to obey, kept in hand by the church, and acutely sensitive to the disgrace of punishment.

In St. Louis, under the Spanish government, lawyers were not encouraged, forensic disputations were not allowed, and the laws themselves were not published to the people. It was thought enough that they were known by the government. Political inquiry was discountenanced. The government made the laws; it was enough for the people to do to obey them. The publication of ordinances and decrees was authorized where not incompatible with the public interest and common welfare, but this authorization amounted to nothing. Stoddard notes that only two decrees were ever promulgated,—one an ordinance relative to dowry and the inheritance of intestate estates, the other respecting grants and concessions of land, prescribing the quantities allowed to settlers and the forms to go through in order to perfect titles.

Practically, neither Upper nor Lower Louisiana had any revenue. There was no direct tax. Collateral inheritances paid two per cent., legacies to strangers four per cent., transferred shipping six per cent., and there was an income tax on salaries and "venal" offices. All vessels paid a pilotage at New Orleans of twenty dollars, and the license for selling ardent spirits in St. Louis and Upper Louisiana was thirty dollars. There was also a duty of six per cent. on all goods exported or imported, and that was all. The receipts of the Upper and Lower Louisiana treasury from all these sources was $126,000; the expenditures were $650,000; annual deficit $524,000. To liquidate this Mexico contributed $400,000 annually, the balance of $124,000 was met by the issue of treasury certificates or exchequer bills, which circulated as a sort of currency and were bought up by officials of the finance department on speculation at a discount of twenty-five to thirty per cent. At the time of the cession of Louisiana the debt accruing from these deficits was about $450,000, showing that unpaid certificates were outstanding to cover nearly four years.

The French in America were certainly wedded to their system of government, their *coutume de Paris*, and their commune home rule. Excepting St. Louis, all the towns in French Illinois retain to-day their ancient commons and common fields, just as they existed between a hundred and a hundred and fifty years ago. Louisiana is still governed under the old Roman civil law, not greatly modified. In Canada, after the British conquest, the laws of England were introduced in 1764, including trial by jury and legis-

[1] There is a quaint confirmation of this in an account of the old times in St. Louis, furnished to a newspaper some ten years ago by Mr. Godfrey Lesueur, an old citizen of Point Pleasant, New Madrid Co. "I have lived here under five governments," said Mr. Lesueur. "I was born under the Spanish government, then lived under the French government temporarily, then the United States government, then that of the Confederacy, now under the fifth. It may be asked which government was the best? I shall answer briefly,—that under the two first named, the governments of France and Spain. No taxes or contributions of any kind were exacted from the people. There was no litigation among the citizens, and no lawyers' fees to pay. All matters of controversy were acted upon promptly by the commandant at each post. The people were protected in all their rights, privileges, and immunities which were guaranteed to them by the treaty of cession. When the country was ceded to the United States the people were happy."

lative assemblies elected by the freeholders. The Canadians did not like the change. Innovation was disagreeable to them, and they longed to have their *coutume de Paris* restored to them. They petitioned to have their ancient laws and customs reinstated and the unfamiliar English statutes set aside. This was in 1765. They petitioned again in 1770 and 1773, and finally Parliament passed the "Quebec Act," abolishing all former laws and ordinances of the English, and re-establishing "the laws and customs of Canada." Why this tenacious clinging to old forms? Because the administration of the law under them was admirably simple, clear, inexpensive, and equitable. A few cases from the records and archives of St. Louis under the Spanish *régime* will illustrate this.

In 1780, Charles Gratiot, as has been detailed in the chapter on the "affair" of that year, brought suit against Charles Sanguinet, under a writ of replevin, to recover his goods, deposited with the latter for safe-keeping. The case was tried before De Leyba. Gratiot filed his "nar" May 8th; Sanguinet replied May 10th. The next day the deposition of Gratiot's clerk was taken, and the same day Sanguinet was ordered to restore his private papers to Gratiot. On the 12th, Gratiot offered to let Sanguinet keep the goods at his (Gratiot's) appraisement. Sanguinet provisionally accepted this (13th), but proposed valuation by arbitrators, which, May 16th, Gratiot declined, whereupon, May 20th, Sanguinet decided not to take the goods at Gratiot's valuation. May 26th the Governor rendered his decision:

"All the evidence in the case having been attentively examined and duly considered, we decide that Mr. Sanguinet is not sustained in his defense; that he unjustifiably retained the goods of Mr. Gratiot, which had been merely intrusted to his care for safe-keeping, as is proven by all the evidence in the case. In consequence we condemn the said Mr. Sanguinet in all the costs, expenses, and damages of this suit, and direct him to restore to Mr. Gratiot all the merchandise deposited with him by said Gratiot for safe-keeping, under penalty of imprisonment.

"Given at St. Louis, in the government room, by us, Don Fernando de Leyba, commander-in-chief and Lieutenant-Governor of the western part of Louisiana."

That was all,—case heard without expense or extraneous matter, judged upon its merits, decided without appeal, imprisonment if the decree be not obeyed. Say what we will, this is *justice*, in the original and effective sense of the word. To-day the case would have had two or three lawyers on a side, two or three jury trials, with one or two issues taken up "on appeal" to the higher courts; finally, after eighteen months' or two years' litigation, costing each party more than the goods were worth, a jury would bring in "a compromise verdict," stultifying to themselves, and satisfactory to nobody else. Another case: Domingo Bargas, Spanish merchant, dies suddenly in the night. Father Bernard, the parish curé, is uncertain about giving the body burial in consecrated ground,—Bargas may have died of "intoxication or some other unnatural cause." The Governor orders Dr. Gibkins to make a post-mortem examination, and himself questions a few witnesses. Verdict, apoplexy from heat, and the dead man receives proper burial.

In the case of the killing of Madame Chouteau's negro, before referred to, in which damages were claimed, Governor Cruzat, in doubt himself, referred the evidence to "the chief tribunal at New Orleans," and to Governor Mirò. Had it been still more complicated, it might have gone to Spain for the final decision. When Mirò's decision was received, the parties were called together and made to sign a paper assenting to it, appraisers and umpire were forthwith appointed, the value of the negro determined, the sums assessed, the money paid, and a receipt given.

A Governor has retired; his successor, taking office, calls the inhabitants together, and at once they take the following action:

"We, the undersigned, inhabitants, merchants, tradesmen, hunters, and traders of the post of St. Louis, assembled in the government chamber, by direction of Governor Don Francisco Cruzat, of the Illinois, certify to all whom it may concern that we have no subject of complaint to allege against the manner in which we were governed by His Excellency the late Governor Don Pedro Piernas; that he rendered us all the justice to which we were entitled; that neither himself nor the company of soldiers he commanded in the post ever committed any excesses or extortions, or were guilty of any wrong on any of the inhabitants; that said company occasioned no trouble, nor gave any scandal nor bad example; that no one received any violence or bad treatment without cause; that we are not aware that he had any pecuniary agreement or understanding with any one whomsoever on this or the other side regard to business. It was never experienced by any one that he had injured the public in restricting trade; that he never exacted anything, either from traders, hunters, or merchants, for licenses or passports necessary for their affairs, neither in setting out nor on their return; that he never excluded any one from the benefits of this trade, which he distributed alternately each year to the best of his judgment for the public interest and the number of traders: that no one received any ill treatment from the Indian tribes for having been badly received by him at this post; that they never heard from said Indians any complaints of him, his behavior, nor of the Spanish government, and that they are peaceable and contented, as well as we ourselves. In short, we can only speak well of him, and with respect and gratitude.

"In presence of

"FRANCISCO CRUZAT."

It was the policy and practice of the Governors, in every case where the thing could be done, to encourage disputants to submit their issues to arbitration and avoid litigation. This was very successfully re-

sorted to, and without being looked upon as any very extraordinary performance. Thus, Diart and Datchurut have a dispute about a cargo; the case has two sides to it; losses have been incurred, but Piernas persuades them, in order that they may "end and put a stop to a suit which might be ruinous to both, and avoid all prosecution," to refer the matter to three expert arbitrators, one of whom, the umpire, should be appointed by the Governor. Diart named merchant Perrault, and Datchurut named merchant Laclede Liguest, while Piernas named Lambert Lafleur, lieutenant of militia and merchant. Perrault and Laclede, not to be outdone, agree upon a basis of settlement without calling in the umpire, and so the whole matter is settled at once.

These Governors did not decide on the side of the capitalist and against the laborer. Picart (Pierre Massé was his right name) and J. B. Labastille, leadminers at Mine Lamothe, took out twenty thousand pounds of lead from land they thought to be part of the royal domain, free to squatting miners. Then Laroze came along,—it was his land, bought of Datchurut,—and he seized their lead and drove them off. Piernas, appealed to, investigated and confirmed Laroze's title, ordered him to survey his land, and compelled him to restore their lead to Picart and Labastille, who, however, were to work there no more without permission of Laroze. Massé had another lead dispute with François Vallé about a rate of wages. He lodged a complaint with Piernas, who investigated the matter, and the result was that his successor, Cruzat, exonerated Vallé, and ordered Picart to make him a public apology, and retract his injurious imputations. Picart asked leave to lay the case before the Governor-General below. It was granted, and the sentence confirmed. Cruzat appointed Laclede, Carpentier, and Duralde to receive the apology, and Diego Blanco, sergeant, and Juan Olivier, soldier, to act as witnesses. Hard-headed Massé declined to make the apology, but after holding out for a fortnight submitted. This, too, was justice, and of a very fine quality and pure strain. Parents deal so with their children; why cannot judges deal so likewise with unjust suitors who come before them? Are they not put upon the bench to do justice between man and man?

A cross-suit comes before De Leyba,—one of the sort that attorneys nowadays grow fat on. Joseph Marchetand Denoyer petitions De Leyba: Claude Tinon sold him a lot for a heifer; the heifer was delivered to Tinon, but Denoyer claims the lot was found not to belong to Tinon. He therefore wants his heifer (now a cow with a calf) restored to him. De Leyba orders Tinon to be furnished a copy, and to reply in three days. Tinon does so. He did sell the lot to Denoyer for a heifer and a pair of cart-wheels; he got the heifer, but never received the wheels. Denoyer received the lot, and Tinon several times offered to give him a deed for it, "but, being too stingy to pay the costs, has always deferred it and allowed the fence and ground to go to ruin," so that the Governor reclaimed the land and annexed it to the public domain. A copy of this reply is ordered to be sent to Denoyer, with directions to rejoin in three days, at the same time Tinon's counter-claim against Denoyer for work he promised to do, but neglected. The judgment is that Denoyer carry out his contract for work with Tinon; cow and calf awarded to Tinon, and Denoyer ordered to deliver the cart-wheels besides, and pay all the costs of the suits.

One must be careful how he talks at the church door in this loyal town, as witness this decree of Governor Piernas:

"We, Don Pedro Piernas, captain of infantry and Lieutenant-Governor of the Illinois settlements of His Catholic Majesty: In view of the complaint of Mr. Louis Lambert, of the 15th August, against Amable Letourneau, a Canadian, accused of using improper and seditious language in contempt and derision of the ordinances of the king, published by us at the door of the church on the day of the feast of the Assumption, and also that of Mr. Joseph Labuscière, of the same date to the same effect, we declare the said Amable Letourneau duly attainted and convicted of seditious language and a disturber of the public peace, and sentence him to ten years' banishment from His Majesty's settlements, with still heavier punishment should he disregard this sentence and reappear; as also to pay all the costs and expenses of this prosecution.

"Sentence executed this day. COTTIN, *Alguazil.*"

In the way of personal difficulties, there seem to have been more suits for slander than anything else in the little village,—natural enough in a small community given greatly to talk, and where everybody knew all about every one else, where, moreover, there was a strong dislike to everything calculated to disturb kindly and neighborly relations. To decide in such cases taxed both the patience and the judgment of the Governors; but they met the difficulties bravely. Robidou's match with Becquet's daughter had been broken off by tales about Robidou's undesirable relatives in Canada, some of whom had sold their souls to the devil,—one had killed his wife, one had committed sacrilege, etc., and as "there were no wicked ones in Becquet's family, he would not introduce any." Robidou petitioned the Governor for redress, and wished him to compel Becquet to disclose the name of his informant. The Governor said the evidence *pro* and *con* was pretty evenly balanced, so he threw the case out of court, enjoining on all parties to curb their tongues in future, and particularly rec-

ommending Robidou to "procure the requisite documents from Canada in support of the respectability of his branch of the Robidous." It *was* a reflection upon a man, a disgrace to him in the eyes of this simple-hearted community, to have "wicked ones in his family." Another suit was thrown out of court because the action proceeded "from a spirit of chicanery and obstinacy subversive of the harmony that should exist between neighbors." In another case, where an offender had impeached a lady's honor and confessed he lied, the judgment was that, "considering the petition of the said Menard, and the gravity of the offense, and that the written recantation is not adequate to the injury done the lady, we order that the said Menard be conducted on the next Sunday to the door of the parish church, at the close of the mass, where he will publicly make the necessary reparation as stated in his written recantation, and will suffer an imprisonment of fifteen days, as an example to others." In another slander case, between women, the matter is thrown out of court, there being no grounds for suit but "the idle scandal of babbling women, which took place long since, and is now revived by dissensions and broils among them." The Governor imposed absolute silence on the subject on all implicated in it, forbidding them to reflect on each other in any way, "under penalty of the utmost rigor of the law to be imposed upon the first transgressor."

Michael Calas was proved to have defamed the reputation of Madame Montardy. Governor Piernas decided that Calas was a calumniator, and should make reparation by publicly apologizing to the lady and asking her pardon; by paying a fine of twelve hundred maravedis, half to the lady, half to the Church, "and to be banished and chased away from this part of the Illinois for ten years, as a pernicious calumniator and disturber of the public repose, as much for the present offense as for other violences committed heretofore. To this effect he will be conducted by a detail of men beyond the lands of this province, where this sentence will be read to him by the constable of this post, enjoining on him to respect his banishment, and not to reappear under penalty of corporal chastisement if found on the possessions of his Catholic Majesty." Jeannot, convicted of being "a disturber of the public peace, prejudicial to good morals and public tranquillity, having been heretofore driven from the place," ten years' banishment, costs and expenses. In fact, St. Louis justice was as eager to get rid of all its "desartless rogues" as Dogberry could have been.

One of the most fatiguing duties of the Governor grew out of the fact that his notarial functions were very extensive. The law called for a great many written instruments, deeds, contracts, inventories, etc., and the Governor's association with a large proportion of these was essential to their authentication. Wills, marriage contracts, land sales, sales at auction of personal effects, inventories, manumissions, deeds of gift, deeds of donation *intervivos*,[1] and many other formal documents received the executive signature and required his approval. It seems that there were a good many slaves manumitted in old St. Louis, especially females. The consideration specified was usually valuable and faithful service. Thus, Joseph Dubé, before Labuscière, "acting as judge and substitute of the king's attorney-general in the Illinois," declared that he had "received valuable services from his Indian slave, Marie Marguerite, for which reason, as he had always found her a faithful and attached servant, he now gives her her freedom, as also to her female child, Victoire, aged about two years, declaring said slaves now free, to enjoy all the rights and franchises of free persons," etc.

There were a good many Indian slaves in Upper Louisiana under the Spanish *régime*, and it is not quite clear where they came from, but it seems probable that there was a system of buying and enslaving captives made by the Indians from tribes with which they were at war, and probably an exchange of such slaves from one part of the Territory to another. Indian slaves, it is obvious, were treated and regarded precisely as negro slaves were, with the difference, however, that more Indians than negroes appear to have been manumitted. Many of the enslaved In-

[1] This was an odd form of deed, of which several are on record. Thus, Zeñon Trudeau, ex-Lieutenant-Governor, wishes to do something for J. B. Truteau, schoolmaster; he accordingly makes him a present, for his children, of a debt of four hundred dollars in the following form: "Be it known by this indenture that I, Don Zeñon Trudeau, lieutenant-colonel and captain of grenadiers of the regiment of Louisiana, declare that I am under grateful acknowledgments to Don Juan Baptiste Truteau, schoolmaster of this town, he having for some years educated my numerous family with particular care, and having received many favors at his hands, and being my relative, and my eldest son, Don Renato, being godfather to his eldest son, René Louis, with my free consent, without any inducement or persuasion, in the best form of law, and well knowing my rights in such cases, I acknowledge and declare that I make a pure and perfect gift, which the laws call *intervivos*, and irrevocable, to the male children born and to be born, with the exclusion of the females, of the said Juan Baptiste Truteau of the four hundred dollars which he owes me, which I advanced for the purchase of his house, and now henceforth and forever I relinquish and abandon all right, title, actions, and resource to the said four hundred dollars," etc. Truteau accepts the gift and the trusteeship with similar formalities, while the Governor, for his part of the deed, bears witness that he knows the contracting parties, and that they had executed the paper before him.

dian women were probably the concubines of their masters, and set free because they had borne them children. Louis Metivier, for example, appears at "the registry of the royal jurisdiction of Illinois," before Labuscière, and declares that he has at the late N. Henrion's a little girl aged about five years, named Marie, the child of said Henrion and Agnes, a slave of said Metivier, on condition that said Henrion would take care of and raise her as a good father, and that she should be free, otherwise the said gift would not have been made. But Henrion said the child was now in the possession of Madame Beaugenou, and, as he had never conveyed the child to Henrion by deed of gift or otherwise, so now he set her free, to protect her from being enslaved by Henrion's heirs or any one else.[1]

[1] Among other deeds of manumission, we find Lieut. Louis Villars setting free his negress Julie, aged thirty; François Daire freeing Indian man Pierrot, aged forty; De Volsay and wife, their mulatto girl Françoise (who was De Volsay's child); Joseph Papin, his negress Flora and her child (Papin was sick, and had just made his will); Joseph Calvet and wife, their negro slave Louison Salbaxe; Nic. F. Guion, "a mongrel boy named Alexis, four years old, son of his Indian slave Madeleine and one Louis Lirette, of this place;" Charles Henrion, his mulatto girl Mariana. In the case of a mulatto infant, child of one Bargos, who had died suddenly, the Governor manumitted the child himself, upon the report of arbitrators that it had been the intention of Bargos to do so. (Under the slave code of our Southern States the courts often set aside manumissions, but never completed inchoate deeds of that kind.) Louis Perrault frees his mulatto woman Marie, long his faithful house servant, upon payment by her of five hundred dollars; Emilien Yosti, for four hundred dollars, emancipates his negro woman Genevieve and her two children, Magdalena and Augustina; the missionary priest, Father Torget, vicar-general of the Illinois, frees three slaves belonging to the mission, viz., Appollon, negro man, aged sixty, Jeannette, his wife, thirty-eight, and their youngest child, Anselmo, three and a half years old; Michel Bourgignon, his mulatto man, Batiste Indio Sambo; Louison, a mestizo slave of M. Lorain's, is freed by order of the Governor-general at New Orleans; Jacques Clamorgan frees his mulatto woman Ester, aged forty, for the five hundred dollars he paid for her; the same gentleman also sets free a mulatto boy, three years old, named Edward, son of his slave woman Silly, "for one hundred dollars paid him by *Lord* Edward F. Howard, reputed father of the boy;" Father Ledru, missionary curate, frees his negress Reichelle (Rachel), aged about twenty-six, for the price he paid for her to M. Reilhé; Mme. Marie Hebert, widow of John B. Martigny, frees her mongrel slave Marguerite, on condition that she serve her until her death; Gabriel Cerré manumits his "griffe" slave Victoire for eight hundred dollars, the price fixed by arbitrators ("griffe" was and is the Louisiana *patois* word for mulatto, half-and-half, in allusion to griffin, half lion, half eagle); Pierre Chouteau, for one hundred and fifty dollars, frees his slave Pelagie, aged three years, daughter of his mulatto slave Agatha and her free mulatto husband Antoine de May (almost the only instance found here of an official recognition of slaves as married people); Antoine Roy, negro slave Catharine, for four hundred dollars, to be free twelve years from date, but if Roy marries, to be free from time of marriage.

The first grant of lands recorded in St. Louis, the earliest mortgage, the first marriage, and the first baptism all bear date the same year, 1766. The first mortgage was given by a St. Louis trader to one in Canada, to cover advances, and was to be redeemed by the payment of a certain number of deer-skins within a specified time. It was duly paid at maturity. The first marriage took place—the contract was signed, that is to say—April 20, 1766, and the wedding ceremony, so far as the church rites went, was certainly performed at Easter, or "Paques." Marriage was very much of a business arrangement with the French *habitans* of St. Louis. All unions were not necessarily *mariages de convenance*, but without the *convenances* there was no marriage. The consent of the parents and the head of the family was necessary in order to get the sanction of the authorities, and no matter how much any one "sighed as a lover," he was sure to "obey as a son." Every marriage rested upon a written and recorded contract, which secured both parties, protected property and the rights of prospective heirs, and insured to the women especially a very desirable freedom and independence of action. Each party was protected, in his or her estate, from responsibility of the debts of the other contracted before marriage. The laws and customs relating to marriage were founded upon the *coutumes de Paris*, with some modifications derived from the laws of Castile. There was a community of interest; unless otherwise specified in the contract, whatever property either party possessed before marriage constituted a common fund to be enjoyed by both. When either party died intestate, the survivor was entitled to one-half the estate, and the children of the marriage, if any, to the other half; if no children, then the legal heirs of the deceased, such as parents, brothers, and sisters, etc. Hence it was customary on the death of a married person to proceed at once and take an inventory of his or her effects. If so specified in the contract, the survivor could elect to "renounce" the community of interest, and withdraw whatever amount he or she may have put in. This did not prevent either party from leaving by will to the survivor the whole of the property, where there were no children, and this was commonly done. All papers of this sort, marriage contracts, wills, inventories, etc., had to be executed in the presence of the Governor to give them validity.

Marriage contracts were very specific. They were drawn upon the principle that by avoiding mistakes now, differences in the future, quarrels and separations, may be escaped from. The pieces of property held by the parties are enumerated, and sometimes even

the wedding presents. The civil marriage was so much of a business arrangement that sometimes the parties executed their wills, drawn in one another's favor, immediately after signing the marriage contract. But when the religious sacrament was performed everything became a festival. The two fiddlers of the town were called in,—there were but two professionals, who sat beside each other like L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, for one was lean, lank, and melancholic, and the other was plump, jovial, and smiling,—and the fun did not cease until daylight came. In cases of odd matches, of marriages in which there was disparity of age or condition, or which the censorship of a small gossipy community did not approve, the wedding-night was sure to be the occasion of a "charivari," and an elderly groom who had married a young girl was generally forced to pay pretty heavily for peace and quiet on such occasions.[1]

A bigamist fared badly in St. Louis; the marriage tie, being practically indissoluble, was held to be very sacred. When it was discovered that Bonaventura Collell, who married Dr. Condé's daughter, had another wife in Spain, the marriage was forthwith annulled, Collell imprisoned, and all his property seized and confiscated. When Dr. Saugrain, Brackenridge's old friend and tutor, removed to St. Louis from Gallipolis, one of his first acts was to present to the Archives a certified copy of the evidence of his marriage in Virginia. The regular form of entry of a marriage was as follows: "Eugene Alvarez, son of Augustin Alvarez and Maria Brabo, born in Madrid, to Josepha Crepaud, daughter of Louis Crepaud and Marie Louise Pertuy, of Post Vincennes; married Dec. 29, 1782, by Governor Cruzat, Diego Blanco, Ferd. Lisora, and others ...ng present." Now and then there was a regular marriage between a white man and an Indian woman, with one or two instances of white women marrying leading Indian chiefs or warriors. Louis Blanchet, of Petits Côtes, was in 1790 married by Governor Perez to Angelique, "Indian of the Spotted Pawnee tribe;" John B. Prevot married another Angelique, half-breed daughter of Valdy, and the civil ceremony was performed by this same Louis Blanchet, then commandant at St. Charles; Pierre Berger, son of P. B. and Thérèse Hebert, deceased, married in 1797 by Governor Trudeau to Josette Mayer, natural daughter of J. B. Mayer and Josette, of the Indian tribe of the Omahas; Michel Vallé, son of Louis Vallé and Louisa Mayote, thirty-five years old, born in Montreal, to Françoise Sueyeuse, sixteen years old, daughter of François Sueyeuse, deceased, and an Indian woman of the Big Osages.

In the simple and pious community of old St. Louis, it was as much a religious duty as a civil precaution for a man to make his will as soon as he fancied that death was approaching him. A man who died without a final testament was like one who neglected to make the last confession and procure absolution of sins,—he was in danger of not being able to procure burial in consecrated ground with full ceremonial. It did not matter whether he had much to leave, or little, or nothing at all; there were his parents and friends to remember in some shape or form, and his soul to commend to his Maker. The wills were very precise and formal. Labuscière, the notary who drew them, was a precisian and formalist himself, and probably was responsible for a good deal of the technicality observable in early St. Louis documents. The forms were nearly always the same:

"Before the royal notary in the Illinois, province of Louisiana, in presence of the hereinafter-named witnesses, was personally present Mr. John B. Valleau, a senior surgeon of His Catholic Majesty in the Illinois, being now at the post of St. Louis, in the French part of the Illinois, lying sick in bed, in the house of Desnoyers, but sound of mind, memory, and understanding, as appears to the undersigned notary and witnesses, who, considering that there is nothing more certain than death, and nothing so uncertain as its hour, fearing to be overtaken by it without having disposed of the few goods which God has given him, the said John B. Valleau has made and dictated to the notary, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, his last will and testament, in the following manner:

"First, as a Christian and a Catholic, he commends his soul to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, beseeching His divine bounty, by the merits of His passion, and by the intercession of the Holy Virgin, of holy St. John, his guardian, and of all the spirits of the celestial court, to receive it among the blessed.

"The said testator wishes and ordains that his debts should be paid, and the injuries occasioned by him, if there be any, shall be relieved by his executor hereinafter named.

"He declares, wishes, and ordains that Duralde, employed in the Spanish service, residing in this post of St. Louis, whom he appoints his executor, shall take possession of all his effects situated in this colony of the Illinois and at New Orleans, either personal or real property, goods, effects, money, or anything belonging to the said testator at the day of his death, in whatever part of this colony they may be situated, without any reservation, appointing the said Duralde as the executor of this will, and praying him to undertake the charge as a last proof of friendship.

"The said Duralde shall make a good and exact inventory of the property belonging to said testator, shall make the sale thereof, and the money arising therefrom shall be sent to Madame Valleau, or to her children, residing at La Rochelle, in the house of Madame Chotet, Main Street, revoking all other wills and codicils which I might have made before this present will, to which I adhere as being my last will.

"Thus made, dictated, and declared by the said testator, by the said notary and witnesses, and to him read, and re-read, he

[1] Col. O'Fallon, on his second marriage, was given one of these calithumpian serenades, and had to treat the whole town.

declaring to have well understood it, and wishing the said last will to be executed according to its tenor.

"Done in the room in which the said testator keeps his bed, the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, the 23d of November, about six o'clock P.M., in the presence of De Rive, civil and military Governor of the Missouri post, being at present in this post of St. Louis, and of Joseph Papin, trader, of this place, witnesses summoned for the purpose, and who have, with the notary and the testator, signed these presents, after the same was read conformable to the ordinance.

"VALLEAU.

"FRANCISCO RIVE.
"JOSEPH PAPIN. "LABUSCIÈRE, *Notary.*"

The above, one of the earliest wills ever executed in St. Louis, is the type of all that succeeded it until some time after the cession of Missouri to the United States. The introductory part has something of the slow, stately movement and solemn suggestion of a collect; it proves what was said above, that the draft and execution of a will was looked upon as essentially a religious act. In the body of the wills, however, the eccentricity of individuals often finds full play. A man's oddity of character is nearly always apt to crop out somehow in his last will and testament, and men thought to be sane to the core have sometimes made the craziest of wills,—wills which prove of themselves that the testator must have had a cranky thread somewhere in the texture of his being. Such, for instance, was Capt. De Volsay's legacy of five pairs of breeches to his faithless wife. In the will of Hebert, *dit* Lecompte, we have an illustration of the business like character of a marriage contract,—the domestic *ménage* becomes a partnership. Hebert has no children, so he leaves his property to his wife, specifying it. At the date of their marriage "she brought into the community nine hundred dollars,—four hundred her mother had given her, and five hundred she had earned by her own industry. His contribution to the community was four thousand dollars, making their joint wealth four thousand nine hundred dollars." Their property at the date of the will was five thousand five hundred dollars,—that is to say, during the ten years of their married life they had laid up sixty dollars a year, and all this was willed to the widow.

Property did not, as will be seen by this, accumulate very rapidly. Yet the people were thrifty, and it did accumulate. If there were no sudden starts forward, there were equally no collapses and fatal reactions. Every gain made was a permanent one. Every building put up was built to last. Real estate at first was not taken in great quantities. The titles cost some time to get them confirmed. A tract of a thousand arpens near St. Louis, which could be bought or sold for twenty-five barrels of whiskey (a gallon an acre), would probably not pay the expense and loss of time of a trader who had to go to New Orleans to get his concession confirmed and his title made complete. Thus it happened that the early inhabitants of St. Louis were, as a rule, content to cultivate and enjoy their forty-arpent lots, the title to which came to them through the commune, and their town lots, which they owned through concessions to Laclede Liguest and the Governor, without seeking to acquire estates outside. The exceptions to this were the large capitalists and wholesale traders and planters, like Chouteau and Vallé, men who regularly went to New Orleans on other business of their own, and the capitalists and speculative miners, who bought land with the hope of finding minerals upon it, deposits of lead, and salines which would pay to work. Still, from 1766 to 1788, no more than 6400 arpens of land all told had been surveyed in the district of St. Louis. In 1804, at the time of the cession, there were 868,771 arpens of recorded surveys, and 852,722 arpens of registered but unsurveyed concessions,—a total of 1,721,493 arpens of land claimed under French and Spanish titles, all granted in the last fourteen years of the Spanish *régime*, and nearly all of it in the last four years. The number of speculative and uncomplete grants among these created a reasonable and justifiable suspicion of fraud, while the determination of the United States courts to sift and investigate titles led to great uneasiness and mistrust, and for many years the tenure of land in and around St. Louis was a source of trouble, perplexity, and much discontent.

This, however, did not prevent people from improving their properties. The conditions under which both land and town lots were held required buildings to be erected within a limited time, and there are numerous instances of the Governor resuming possession of lots in St. Louis and giving them out to third parties because the original holder of the concession had failed to improve them within the period assigned by law. Still, in proportion to the slow growth of population, building was pretty active. The structures erected, however, were not of an imposing character. It was not until seven years after the American occupation that the first brick house was put up in St. Louis, and of those built of stone before that none were large or formidable in appearance. The famous old Chouteau mansion, the first and largest house in town, at various times Government House, bank, residence, trading-post, and practically fort also, was essentially only a double two-room house, with a basement and porticoes and a garret. It had but two chimneys; originally, therefore, but four fire-

places. Around these eventually a much larger building grew, but the ground-plan was not altered, and the Chouteau house was the pattern of every house built in St. Louis before the Spanish *régime* ceased to govern. This plan was the one room and chimney, the chimney between two rooms, and the hall between two chimneys, each flanked by two rooms. This last was the plan of the Chouteau house, a mere expansion of the one-room, one-story house of posts. The American log cabin, on the contrary, no matter how humble, always provided for the loft-room over the living-room, and the chimney being outside, the cabin could always be built to it, if needed.

As the population of the town under the Spanish *régime* grew in wealth from the increase of the fur trade and the trade in lead, both of which yielded large profits, and seldom less than cent. per cent. on the capital invested,[1] the inhabitants of St. Louis built themselves better and larger houses, often of stone, but always preserving the same plan,—the one-story cottage with veranda, built about a central chimney-stack, and inclosed in a square of ground, with a fence of durable pickets or a wall of stone. The Delaware and Shawanese Indians at Cape Girardeau had begun to erect their own log cabins, two stories high, before there was a house of that description in St. Louis. This was due to the influence of the indomitable conservatism of the French inhabitants of the towns, a population which still remained almost exclusively French for many years. Stoddard, who was a careful observer, and had taken a census of Missouri, notes the fact that there was a very large accession of population to the three districts of St. Louis, St. Charles, and Ste. Genevieve between 1788 and 1804, due to the profusely liberal policy of the Spanish government in granting free concessions of land, and exempting settlers from all taxes, and a still larger accession from 1804 onward. But these reinforcements were nearly all "English-Americans," and all took farm-lands. Three-fifths of the rural population in 1804, he says, was of these classes, while in the towns and the "compact villages," as he styles them, four-fifths were French and Canadians, and this proportion was maintained for several years after the cession.

The French population, however, of St. Louis, improved and refined itself very rapidly after 1788. There had always been a certain leaven of gentility and high breeding in the old French population of Illinois. The missionaries and priests, both Jesuit and Recollect, contained a proportion of men not only thoroughly and highly educated, but of gentle birth and ancient descent. Men like Marquette and Brébeuf were as well born as any of the proud nobles of the League and the Fronde, and among the wildest adventurers in the fur trade, hatless and barefoot *coureurs* and *voyageurs*, might often be found some cadet of French patrician stock, whom poverty and the love of sport and the keen desire to be free from all social restraints had combined to banish into the wilderness. Frontenac, Governor-General of Canada, was a ruined noble of the most ancient Basque blood; his wife, Anne de la Grange-Trianon, was the favorite companion of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the granddaughter of Henry IV. and daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans. Fénelon's brother, Abbé Salignes, was a priest in St. Sulpice at Montreal. La Hontan, the traveler and explorer, was a baron; Denonville was a marquis; there were many chevaliers of the noble orders of France among the emigrants to Kaskaskia and Cahokia; in Louisiana, and many of them among the garrisons at Fort Chartres, were found such names as De la Chaise, the Baron de Chesnay, Chevalier de Loubois, Chevalier de Noyan, Chevaliers de St. Julien, D'Arensbourg, D'Herneuville, D'Artaguette, De Beauchamp, De Bessan, De St. Denis, De Gauvrit, De Pradel, De Courcelles, D'Hauterive, De Lusser, Patit de Lieulliers, Simare de Belleisle, Marin de la Tour, De Grandpré, De l'Angloserie, De St. Ange, De Labruissonière, De Salverte, De Léry, De Bombelles, De St. Pierre, De Vallés, Des Marets, De Bouillé, etc., of whom Gayarré says, "They were, all of them, aristocratic scions of noble houses, who had come to better their fortunes in Louisiana, and with the hope of more rapid advancement in their military career, on account of the dangers of the colonial service, in which, for that reason, years counted double for the ar[illegible] either for promotion or in support [illegible] an application for a retiring pension." More [illegible] these people of high birth and cultivated [illegible] gentle manners we[illegible] moving about in the Illinois [illegible]untry and passing from Canada to Louisiana and back again all the time. They were part of the garrison at Fort Chartres; they sojourned at Kaskaskia and Cahokia. After the settlement of St. Louis and the war of the American Revolution, a very intelligent and curious class of French travelers came to the

[1] Wages are a proof of the profits of a trade, and wages in St. Louis were high from the first. We find in the Archives that there was bitter grumbling against wages of two livres a day—eleven dollars and twenty-five cents per month—and found, when six dollars a month was high wages in the Eastern States; and in the fur trade nearly all the trappers were paid a share in the venture. In the lead-mines, according to Stoddard, men working for themselves often took out thirty dollars per day for weeks together. The boatmen were not paid so well, but their wages were never less than eight dollars a month in the earliest times of the French.

country, and all these were eager to visit the French settlements. Brissot de Warville, Volney, Lauzun, Lafayette, Talleyrand, Haussonville, St. John Crevecœur, Adet, De Beauvais, Seybert, Lancini, Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Marquis de Chastellux, Abbé Robin, etc., were among those visitors who have left memorials of their impressions, and all note the amenity of manners of the French *habitans* as compared with the rough and rude Americans around them.

When the French Revolution began to rage, great numbers of the *haute noblesse* of the French court and their followers and sympathizers emigrated to America, and St. Louis gained a large and most valuable accession of population from this source, men and women of the most distinguished manners and refined culture, who, in often the most extreme poverty and privations and compelled to earn their living by the meanest offices,—nurses, governesses, housekeepers, store-keepers, barbers, fiddlers, teachers,—yet preserved their dignity and self-respect and extorted the respect of all around them. Many of these noble personages either settled permanently in St. Louis or made a temporary sojourn there until the rudest blasts of the storm of proscription had blown itself out. The colony of French *émigrés* at Gallipolis, on the Ohio, when it was abandoned, also contributed to reinforce St. Louis society. Dr. Saugrain, one of the leading physicians of the old town, came from this settlement. The Duc d'Orleans, afterwards Louis Philippe, with his brothers, the Duc de Montpensier and the Comte de Beaujolais, were among the French *émigrés* who visited St. Louis; so also did Gen. Collot, while the Marquis de Maison-Rouge, the Baron de Bastrop, and Jacques Céran de Lassus de St. Vrain settled in Louisiana, the family of the latter furnishing to St. Louis its last and in many respects its best Spanish Governor.

Another reinforcement in population and manners was derived from the servile outbreak in San Domingo, which expelled the wealthy planters. Some of these went to Missouri and St. Louis and settled there. The ordinance of 1787 forbidding slavery in the Northwestern Territory of the United States drove from Illinois all the large and enterprising planters who were slaveholders, and many of these identified themselves with St. Louis. The effect of this ordinance must have been considerable, more so than writers have usually been willing to admit; for it is the wealthiest and leading people in any community always who own slaves and profit by slave labor. None others can afford it, and these, exempted from daily labor and given leisure to cultivate their minds at the same time that they improve and increase their estates, must necessarily become the dominant class in every slaveholding community. In Upper Louisiana before it had ceased to be called indiscriminately "the country of the Illinois," that is to say, about 1750–60, there were two slaves for every white person in a population all told of about one thousand. In 1799, by the census of Governor Delassus,[1] in a

[1] This census-table of Delassus is worth producing in full. It will be seen on examining it that there was one slave to a small fraction less than six white persons, or, including free negroes and mulattoes, one colored servant, on the average, to each family. There was one marriage per annum to 177 persons (which is about 30 per cent. under the normal rate for the United States); births, one to 31½ persons, also a low average; deaths, one in 116, a small death-rate. There was a horse to each 3.4 persons, or an average of two horses to a family, and 1.15 horned cattle to a person, or between seven and eight to a family. The production of wheat was 14.6 bushels per capita, which would leave a surplus of sixty thousand bushels for sale after the home consumption for food and seed was satisfied. The corn product was 17.7 bushels per capita, probably leaving no surplus; and the tobacco crop was 4.6 pounds per capita, not leaving much above the local demand and the supply of "carots" for the Indian trade. The table is as follows:

TABLE OF THE POPULATION OF THE POSTS OF UPPER LOUISIANA, COMPRISING THE BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS, PRODUCTION, ETC., FOR THE YEAR 1799.

Names of Posts.	Whites.	Free Mulattoes.	Free Negroes.	Slaves.	Total.	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Productions.				
											Wheat, bushels.	Corn, bushels.	Tobacco, pounds.	Salt, bush.	Lead, pounds.
St. Louis	661	50	6	268	925	9	52	20	215	1140	4300	10,300	1650	...	.....
Carondelet	181	...	...	3	184				45	198	3390	2790	4500	...	.....
St. Charles	840	...	...	55	895	15	41	11	241	1202	6645	12,170	4053	...	.....
St. Fernando	259	...	...	17	276	5	34	7	57	230	5800	2350	750	...	.....
Marius de Liards	337	...	...	42	379				154	629	1019	1604	6800	...	.....
Maramec	115	...	...	...	115	...	...	...	125	229	200	6370	3150	...	.....
St. André	361	5	27	...	393	...	...	...	122	574	730	16,950	5465	...	.....
Ste. Geneviève	636	1	2	310	949	5	64	14	268	1253	16,400	21,450	1999	965	150,000
Nouvelle Bourbon	445	...	1	114	560				83	595	1680	14,386	300	...	20,000
Cape Girardeau	416	105	...	...	521	...	...	...	200	707	610	16,200	.....	...	.....
Nouvelle Madrid	731	...	...	71	782	...	...	...	245	1188	47,765	... ...	.....	...	.....
Petite Prairie	46	...	...	3	49	...	...	...	...	35	.....	2075	.....	...	.....
Totals	4948	161	36	883	6028	34	191	52	1753	7980	88,349	107,129	28,667	965	170,000

total population of 6028 in Upper Louisiana (Louisiana west of the Mississippi and north of the boundary line of Arkansas) there were 4948 whites, equal to 82 per cent. of the whole, and 883 slaves, 14.6 per cent., the rest being free negroes and mulattoes. It was a serious injury to the Illinois country and a proportionate gain to St. Louis and its environs to have this body of slaveholders and capitalists transferred in this abrupt way from one side of the river to the other. The effect upon the Illinois country may be gathered from the observations of Gen. Victor Collot, made almost immediately after the exodus took place.[1]

"On the American side," he writes, "there are still to be found some Frenchmen, to wit, at Kaskaskia, at Rock's Prairie, at Piorias on Red River, at Dog's Prairie near Wisconsin, etc. Most of these people are a compound of traders, adventurers, wood-runners, rowers, and warriors, ignorant, superstitious, and obstinate, whom no fatigues, no privations, no dangers can stop in their enterprises, which they always carry through. Of the qualities which distinguish the Frenchmen they have retained nothing except courage. When at home, in the privacies of their ordinary life, their character is very much like that of the aborigines with whom they live. They are, therefore, indolent, lazy, and addicted to drunkenness, cultivating the earth but little or not at all; the French which they speak has become so corrupt that it has degenerated into a sort of jargon, and they have even forgotten the regular division of the months, and of time itself, according to the calculations of civilization. If you ask them when a particular event happened, they will answer that it was when the waters were high, when the strawberries were ripe, or in the corn and potato season. Should it be suggested to them to change anything for the better, even in matters which are acknowledged by them as being defective, or should any improvement be recommended to them in agriculture, or in some of the branches of commerce, their only answer is, 'It is the custom; so it was with our fathers. I get along with it, so, of course, will my children.' They love France, and speak of it with pride."

After the cession of Louisiana to the United States, for forty years St. Louis was the centre of United States regular officers and soldiers. So strong a force was maintained at the Bellefontaine cantonments and afterwards at Jefferson Barracks that the military became an important and formative element in the society of St. Louis. It will presently be shown how great and important an influence this was; it is sufficient just now to note the fact of such a contribution to the moulding and amelioration of the society of the growing town.

Under all these influences, and stimulated by the growth of wealth, which in the town far outran the growth of population, St. Louis acquired, in the course of the years between 1780 and 1820, a social reputation and a social character peculiarly its own. There was less dissipation, as there was also less wealth, in St. Louis than in New Orleans, where the planters, enriched by sugar and cotton and regiments of slaves, grew suddenly rich, and were prodigal in their expenditure. But there was more social grace, to compensate for this, in St. Louis. Society was toned and sobered there by the restraints put by the American element upon the natural *abandon* of the Creole. But this American element was a hearty and cordial Southern element itself, free from *gêne*, fond of social enjoyments, and bred in all the *petits soins* of cultivated social intercourse. It restrained from excesses, but left the way open to the utmost of wholesome pleasures. The St. Louis Creoles understood and liked it, and the two elements shook hands, made friends, and formed an indissoluble alliance forthwith. These people, Stoddard has remarked, had a native and inherited vivacity which made it impossible for you to guess that they were a century behind Europe in the arts and sciences and in education, that a major part of the men, and nearly all of the women, could neither read nor write. They could converse intelligently, for they had quick and ready minds, but their knowledge had no depth,—it was a superficial stock, gathered for conversational purposes only. If it helped them out there, it did all they demanded of it, for they had, in Stoddard's words, a passion for social intercourse, and neglected no opportunity to gratify it. They carried parties, and dancing at parties, to what the staid but liberal son of New England regarded as "an incredible excess. Neither the severity of the cold nor the oppression of the heat ever restrains them from this amusement, which usually commences early in the evening, and is seldom suspended till late the next morning. They even attend the balls not infrequently for two or three days in succession, and without the least apparent fatigue. At this exercise the females, in particular, are extremely active, and those of the United States must submit to be called their inferiors."

It is worth our while to glance at the picturesque old town of St. Louis as it was at this time, from the date of the cession until it began to grow and expand its proportions and seek to become a city. As yet no steamboat has profaned the landing where the boats moor, sometimes a dozen or two of them at a time, with the boatmen on their decks, guarding their cargoes, singing and fiddling. Sometimes a stranger, come for a cargo, will draw his boat upon the sandy beach of the island there and camp out by it while he is selling his cargo and getting his goods for the return, but, as a rule, the boatmen do not tarry at the landing longer than their necessary duties require of

[1] His book was published in 1796.

them. They climb up one of these steep roadways cut through the rock and make their way to a tavern. There are but two of them, opposite one another, upon the corners of Main and Locust Streets, and they are not so much inns for the accommodation of travelers as *cabarets* for the entertainment of boatmen, *voyageurs*, and *coureurs des bois*. Reputable strangers and visitors would have no need of a tavern. The house of some acquaintance would surely be open to them, or, if they came to stay, they would hire or buy a house for themselves.[1] The two taverns were kept, one by Yosti, and the other by Landreville, and they were generally crowded with reckless and daring men, just in from long voyages to Pittsburgh, Olean, or Redstone, to Prairie du Chien and Michilimackinac, to Natchez and New Orleans, or else from some long trapper's tramp to the headwaters of the Yellowstone, or the Seeds-ke-dee-agie, or the Popoagie, or the Salmon River, or the Wind River Mountains, and where they had encountered plenty of hair-breadth escapes and marvelous adventures, of which they liked to brag, particularly when they told of battles with the Blackfeet Indians and with the grizzly bears of the Missouri valleys. In these talks the liquor cans moved rapidly, thick clouds of tobacco-smoke were blown, not always out of peace-pipes, and cards were incessantly played, often for high stakes. There were quarrels and fights, too, but not with deadly weapons, and there was no end of good-natured chaff and banter. How it used to delight the boatmen, in the time of Governors Lewis and Clark, to get the latter's body-servant, York, into the taverns, ply him with liquor till the *miles gloriosus* rose within him to the Munchausen pitch, and then "draw him out," in order to make him out-brag the trappers and cap their marvelous stories with tales more marvelous still. They could not gainsay him neither, for he had been farther than they. He had followed his master across the great divide and down the Columbia River, until the camp was pitched within sight and sound of the long, murmurous rollers of the great Pacific Ocean.

St. Louis at the time of which we write had nearly two hundred houses, and fifty of these were built of stone. It had four or five mills, usually worked by horses, but one of them was a wind-mill; and its stone tower, demi-lunes, and bastions gave it a quaint mediæval look. The houses were not thick anywhere, but they were all white, very white,—lime was plenty and whitewash cheap,—and they gleamed out among the trees and orchards in which they were embowered in a very captivating way. They rose above one another up the side of the bluff, with the tower and the common-field picket-fence crowning the crest. Of the streets it will be wise to say as little as possible. That was before the days of city commissioners and also of heavy hauling. These thoroughfares were not of a very admirable grade; they were not very wide and not very straight. Still, you could find your way along them, and if you sought some particular place, all you had to do was to ask the first *habitant* lounging on his veranda,—you would be sure to find one if the weather permitted,—and he would courteously give you the information sought, and, furthermore, escort you to the spot in person, in spite of your protestations. Did you want to find the *Place d' Armes* and the "Government House," Main Street and Walnut? Or Madame Chouteau's, Main, Second, Market, and Chestnut; Auguste Chouteau's, where Laclede turned the first earth in the building of St Louis, Main and Second, Market and Walnut; or the Fort St. Charles, Fourth and Fifth, Walnut and

[1] There was but one inn at the time of Brackenridge's visit, in 1810–11. Mrs. Hunt, who went to St. Louis with her father, J. B. C. Lucas, in 1805, says, "Such a thing as a hotel or boarding house was of course unknown here;" and her father rented one from Cerré, the father-in-law of Auguste Chouteau. It was on Third Street, about two squares below Market. "It was a one-story house, built of logs, vertical, like posts, and had a large room in the centre, with two or three smaller ones around it. The roof was of shingles, and the shingles were not nailed, but were hung to the rafters with wooden pegs. The chimney was a monstrous affair, and the black-walnut mantel-piece was so high that none of the children could reach it." The old Missouri Hotel was the first hostelry worthy the name that was ever put up in St. Louis. It was begun in 1817, and completed two years later, the proprietors being John McKnight and Thomas Brady, and the carpenters and builders David Hill and Abraham Keese. Under the hotel were constructed very fine vaults, for the storage and preservation of furs and peltries. The hotel was sold by Brady's administrator to Maj. Thomas Biddle, in whose possession it remained until he fell in the duel with Spencer Pettis. Biddle's widow sold the property to John F. Darby. The hotel bore the sign of a life-sized buffalo. It was for a long time the centre of the political life of the just-created State of Missouri. The first Legislature convened here, and the first Governor and Lieutenant-Governor took the oath of office here, and here the first two United States senators were elected, David Barton and Thomas H. Benton, the latter only securing his nomination by the vote of a dying man and that of a bitter personal enemy. Benton's opponent was Judge Lucas, whose son, Charles Lucas, had died by Benton's hand in a ruthless, vindictive, and murderous duel, such as to-day would send a man to the penitentiary instead of to the Senate. It is, however, not exactly the fact to say that these were the only taverns and inns in St. Louis. There is casual mention of several more, such as Alexan Bellissème's, etc. Joseph Charless kept a tavern when he first came to St. Louis; Maj. Christy kept tavern, and there was one kept by a man named Webster, described by Dr Simpson as a long, low building. Besides this, as will be seen by consulting the notes of Mr. Billon in preceding chapters, and the lists of licenses given in a succeeding chapter there were several ordinaries in the town. But the two named in the text were those the boatmen resorted to.

Elm,—streets barely laid off as yet? If you wanted the doctor, M. Saugrain was to be found on Second Street, where the People's Garden used to be; baker Le Clerc had his shop on Main Street, between Elm and Walnut; and there were three blacksmiths, ready to shoe you a horse, make you a gun, or forge you a rudder-hook for your keel-boat in a trice. You could take your choice of Délosier, on Main Street near Morgan, Rencontre, on Main near Carr, or Valois, Main Street near Elm. There was but one schoolmaster (besides a dame who taught infant classes), however, and if you wanted any teaching done you must send your boy to J. B. Truteau, whose dwelling and school were in the same building. If you had goods to buy, there was Pierre Chouteau's, Chouteau & Berthold, Manuel Lisa's, Second Street, corner of Spruce, the king of fur-traders and trappers, whose delight it was to live and fight in the Indian country, and to come back to St. Louis with forty chiefs and their retainers for his guests; Labbadie & Sarpy's, Main Street, between Pine and Chestnut; Roubidou, Elm and Main; Jacques Clamorgan, Green and Main Streets, or the Debreuils, Second Street, between Pine and Chestnut. There were, as we have already said, two fiddlers, "Monsieur Tardif" and "Monsieur Chevreuil," for so the young men had nicknamed them, and there were five or six public billiard tables in town, but only one church, a wooden one, on Second Street, back of Auguste Chouteau's, and a very intermittent post-office and mail establishment; no printing-office and no newspaper. For that matter, not much news neither,—not more than a *quid nunc* could carry round from one ball to another and disseminate between the dances. There was no ferry yet across the Mississippi, and Mrs. Hunt says there were but two stores that had signs over their fronts,—"Falconer & Comegys" and "Hunt & Hankinson's New Cash Store,"—both on Main Street. In 1811, says this lady, her father moved into his new house, corner of Seventh and Market Streets, and people remonstrated with him on his want of prudence, taking a fourteen-year-old girl so far out of town, where the Indians might carry her off any day when he was down town attending to his business. In 1806, so simple were the habits of the people, so few their luxuries, that this girl, daughter of a judge and one of the most considerable men in town, a man, too, who was making money rapidly, records it as "one of the rarest treats I ever had in my young days" when a shop-keeper presented her with some almonds and raisins. There was but one butcher in the town in those days, and he never killed his ox until every cut of the beef was bespoke in advance. Game, however, was plenty, and there was no need to go far for it,—prairie hens could be shot anywhere between the town and Chouteau's mill-pond. James Lucas set his rabbit traps in what is now the Four Courts, and one day captured a skunk there. Skunks could probably still be caught around that vicinity—if the traps were big enough.

In 1808 there was a ferry established, a post-office was at work, with Rufus Easton postmaster,[1] the first newspaper was published, and the first murders, murder trials, and execution were had. Shortly after this an English school was founded, and the people began to build brick houses and advertise in the newspapers. When this happened old St. Louis knew itself to be doomed. The next thing was a fire company, a sweep-master, and a market-house, followed not many years afterwards by a bank. No old French settlement could survive such innovations as these.[2]

[1] He was Thomas Jefferson's appointee, and supposed to have for his errand not only the care of the mails, but also to watch Aaron Burr and Gen. Wilkinson. He was Territorial judge after serving as postmaster. His daughter, Mary E. Sibley, who was married in the year of the battle of Waterloo and survived until 1878, was the wife of Maj. George G. Sibley. Miss Easton was a leading belle and beauty, with scarce a rival in the town. She and her husband were both well educated, and having no children, though well off, determined to devote their lives to the promotion of female education. They founded Lindenwood Female Seminary, and Mrs. Sibley also established the first Sunday-school ever known in St. Charles. Judge Easton's successor in the post-office was Dr. Robert Simpson.

[2] To show the rapid progress of the community, we append some of the results of the census of 1810, beginning with population taken from a contemporary journal:

Districts.	No. of Souls.
St. Charles	3,505
St. Louis	5,667
Ste Genevieve	4,620
Cape Girardeau	3,888
New Madrid	2,105
Hopefield and St. Francis Settlement	183
Arkansas	874
Total	20,840

There are in the district of St. Louis 8 water-mills, 6 saw-mills, 15 horse-mills 12 distilleries, 2 breweries, 2 extensive shot-towers for manufacturing patent shot, 4 salt-works, 380 looms, and about 1200 spinning-wheels, etc.

The actual population of Louisiana exceeds the numbers of the above census by more than six per cent. That deficit may be accounted for in the following manner, viz.:

1st. The law of the United States directs that the enumeration should be made of those persons only that were resident in the Territory on the first Monday of August, 1810; since that period we have received a handsome increase by emigration, which may be set down at one hundred families of seven persons each.

2d. We have many of our citizens absent on hunts or down the river, etc.; for instance, there is with Mr. Henry, on the west side of the Rocky ridge, one hundred and forty men; for this item we may set down two hundred and fifty persons.

3d. The troops stationed in our Territory were not enumerated,

The establishment of the barracks at Bellefontaine by Gen. Wilkinson added sixty thousand dollars a year to the business of the town, and, as we have seen, contributed in a marked manner to its social enjoyment and improvement. The selection of this spot for a cantonment of troops was probably due to the fact that there were already buildings there suitable for barracks. There was an old factory there, used in the Indian trade, with many buildings, which had belonged to the Spanish fort, "Old Fort St. Charles the Prince."[1] These barracks were near enough to the town to allow constant intercourse between the troops and the townpeople, and there was much reciprocity in entertainments, the ladies often going out to the barracks. Wilkinson himself was very fond of society, in which he shone, for he had fascinating powers of conversation and liked to exercise them. His wife was an amiable, accomplished, and charming lady. There were usually from six hundred to a thousand troops in the cantonments, the officers of which made quite a respectable coterie in themselves,—enough to prevent any ball-room from seeming empty. Among the earliest commandants of the garrison was Capt. Howe, who was succeeded by Col. Bissell. The army had many intimate relations with the leaders in the fur trade, and some of the prominent men of the place, as, for instance, Charles Gratiot, had placed members of their own family in the regular service. Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and Gen. Howard kept up and consolidated the intercourse established by George Rogers Clark, and afterwards renewed by Gens. Harrison and Wilkinson and Maj. Stoddard and their staffs. The protection of the frontier from the Indians on the one hand, and from invasions on the other hand by the Spaniards on the south and the British on the north, made St. Louis a very important military post, as well as the distributing centre for the arms and supplies of a very wide area of territory. For more than thirty years St. Louis was much more than what Fort Leavenworth afterwards became.

To an educated and accomplished, well-born, well-bred, and intensely pleasure-loving class such as the officers of the army, the society they found in St. Louis was a perpetual source of delight and cause for thanksgiving. None were better capable of appreciating and enjoying the company of people like the Gratiots, Soulards, Chouteaus, Christys, O'Fallons, Lucases, Labadies, Cabannés, Chenies, Sarpys, Roziers, Macklots, Bertholds, Tessons, Vallés, Prattes, and so many more like them, gentle, easy, bright men, lively, charming, beautiful, and accomplished women. There was good blood, good breeding, careful training in that charming French grace of pure courtesy, and a love of pleasure which went hand in hand with a determination to see that all were pleased and none offended. It was a society of great polish and true refinement, captivating every stranger at once and letting none escape the glamour of its fascinations. The foremost people in their circles, now that they had secured wealth and were able to live at ease, maintained quite intimate commercial and social relations with France and Paris, and that France and Paris, moreover, which had escaped being submerged by the tidal wave of revolution, the people of the old chateaux of the Faubourg St. Germain, who still refused and persisted in their refusal to recognize the usurper Bonaparte. They wore for their better clothes goods of French importation, and followed French fashion at a much shorter interval than that which separated the modes on the Atlantic seaboard from those across the ocean. Their *salons* were beautifully and tastefully decorated in the French style, and French works of art were to be found in the cathedral as well as in private houses.

There was not any great display of wealth in furniture, upholstery, silver- and china-ware, even after luxury had stalked boldly in; but these neat and tasteful French housekeepers made a little go a great way. There were no carpets (none says Mr. Darby

and they amount to more than three hundred men; and, 4th, from the scattered state of our population, extending from the Mississippi to three hundred miles west of that river, divided in small sections or collections of families, in some cases so remote and recent that the civil officers have found it impossible to change up each group of frontiersmen that are constantly passing off from the more settled to the extreme frontier of our country, such as have recently formed the new settlements of Spring and Black Rivers, which are on the west of Cape Girardeau District. The foregoing considerations induce the opinion that the actual population of Louisiana is, on this day, at least twenty-two thousand persons.

[1] This Bellefontaine tract, on the Missouri River, in St. Ferdinand township, was granted by Governor Zeñon Trudeau in 1797 to Hezekiah Lard (or Lord), the concession comprising one thousand arpens, traversed by Cold Water Creek. Lard made a farm of it, and built a grist- and saw-mill. When he died, in 1799, the land was appraised at seven hundred dollars, and the mill at five hundred dollars. The property sold in 1803 at auction, by order of arbitrators to close the estate, for two thousand one hundred and ninety dollars. (The total costs of arbitration and sale were only $75.75.) The purchaser of the main tract, William Massey, in 1806 sold the factory and buildings, with five acres of ground, to the United States for two hundred and fifty dollars, with use of the grounds for five years. At the same time Wilkinson bought the rest of the land found from Massey (five hundred arpens) for two thousand five hundred dollars. In 1809, Wilkinson resold to the United States the same tract for what he had paid for it. The name, St. Charles the Prince, seems to have been by some applied to the fort of Rioux and the fort also on the hill above St. Louis.

until 1816), but the walnut floors, nicely laid and smooth, were carefully and elaborately waxed every morning. There were no pianos, but papa was apt to play the violin with exquisite old-fashioned grace, and mamma very likely had a guitar, handed down to her from the grandmother who had lived in *La Belle France*. On this the demoiselle could play well enough to accompany her light and airy *chansons*. Amusements were not very numerous nor exciting in this simple and single-hearted community, but the great charm of them was that they were nearly all enjoyed in the bosom of the domestic circle. The careless gayety of the people was of that infectious sort which made a little enjoyment a complete equipment of delight. If Col. Eugene Leitendorfer did but come up from Carondelet and exhibit a few of his tricks of hand, embellished by florid oratory and the vaporing boastfulness of an Indian brave (Leitendorfer was a harmless, good-natured humbug, who had been with Eaton in Barbary, doubtless as dragoman and courier, though he spoke as if he were chief of staff), everybody attended and had something to talk about for a good week afterwards. Among outdoor sports there were shooting-matches and pony races, for the multitude chiefly, however, and the betting was confined to the boatmen and wood-rangers. The Indian pony was fleet, but he had not the sustained speed for more than a scrub or quarter race. These ponies were natural pacers and untiring at a "lope" on the march, but they could not run like the Virginia and Kentucky thoroughbreds. Mile heats were unknown, and indeed there was no race-course, except such as the prairie above the town afforded.

There were two billiard-rooms in St. Louis as early as 1767, three years after the planting of the town, and a third was opened a little later. This amusement suited a people used to lounge in the shade of verandas during the warm months and indifferent to any exercise violent enough to arrest the steady hum of animated talk. As for dancing, the weather never interfered with that or with card-playing, in which all ages and sexes indulged, as if it were a vocation in life. Sometimes, when there was a dance of more than usual state, a king's ball or the like, the fiddles of Messieurs Turdiff and Chevreuil were supplemented with a triangle and a tambourine, and a minstrel might perhaps be found to pipe a flageolet. But the music got better when the band at Bellefontaine spoiled the people. Gen. Wilkinson used this band very liberally for his own purposes and lent it often to his friends. The dances were commonly quadrilles, opened with the statelier minuet. The waltz was not known until M. Réné Paul imported it (with a consignment of dry-goods) from Philadelphia. Sunday afternoon was the stated ball-day. Then, too, the children always had their balls, superintended by the grown people,—a school of manners and grace, where lessons were taught not only in the art of bowing and scraping, but in that genuine courtesy of the heart which is founded upon self-repression and respect for the feelings of others.

It would be a charming and delightful thing if we could but restore one of these ancient mansions of St. Louis, bring back the old life and the old people and the old hospitality to its venerable floors and walls, and visit it, thus awakened and rejuvenated. But, alas! when such things and people crumble into dust and mould, the dust and mould gather likewise upon the sound of the stilled voice and the touch of the vanished hand; there is no subtile perfume floating off from the glove and slipper of our grand-dame's balls,—the association, the power of invoking such scenes perishes with their surroundings and accessories. We may not hope to live over again the dead past; we cannot reproduce it any more than we can recall Mozart's divine touch by jangling the crazy keys of Mozart's harpsichord. Were it otherwise, what a past we might revel in by simply hunting up a few of those old St. Louis mansions!—if the audacious and irreverent hand of innovation have spared any. In one single neighborhood and almost one single block there stood the Hammond mansion,—the first house in St. Louis built on the American plan,—the old French stone dwelling of Col. Rufus Easton, the French house of posts in which Dr. Robert Simpson (Easton's brother-in law) lived, and the tavern and wagon-yard of Alexander Bellissème,—"Old Alexander," as he was commonly called. Col. Hammond, Maj. Stoddard's successor as civil and military commander of St. Louis, was a Virginian by birth, appointed to the army of the Revolution from South Carolina, where he resided when the war broke out. He served in Congress, and on the expiration of his term Jefferson sent him to St. Louis. He was rich; he had the profusest Virginia notions of the duties of hospitality, and when he came West with his retinue of servants, he felt that he was representing the whole United States in a half-foreign country. He built a house,—a large Virginia frame,—with chimneys and stairways outside the building, and made his house headquarters for the town. Here the officers of the army met St. Louis and sealed that delightful acquaintance which ripened into a very extensive relationship by marriage, so that the number of officers in the old army who are in one way or another con-

nected with St. Louis people is almost phenomenal. Officers of the army have a proverbial aptitude for choosing well among the ornaments of society, of whom indeed they have the pick, and it is a compliment to the ladies of St. Louis that so many of them have wedded our officers.[1] To illustrate the intimate relations and social reciprocity between the officers of the army and the citizens of St. Louis it is only necessary to read the following:

"The 1st of January, 1827, the officers of the United States army at Jefferson Barracks gave a grand ball, to which many of the leading families were invited. It was a grand affair. It was determined at this time by the inhabitants of the city to give a complimentary ball in return. The residence of Governor Clark was procured for the occasion, and the ball came off on the 8th of January.[2] It answered a double purpose, to return the compliment and to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans. The large room that contained the museum was emptied of its contents, was brilliantly illuminated by chandeliers hung to the ceiling, the walls were decorated with national flags, interspersed with life-size portraits of Washington, Lafayette, Jackson, and other distinguished men. The best wines and other liquors, cigars, and everything else to constitute good cheer were procured in the greatest abundance, and the very best musicians that the city afforded were obtained for this occasion. The time for commencing arrived, and with it came the gentlemen and ladies from Jefferson Barracks, bringing with them a full band of choice musicians. The invited guests of the city all arrived at the time and place appointed. The musicians were placed in the middle of this large hall, and the dancing commenced. The band from the barracks played alternately with the musicians from the city, and the enjoyment was genuine and general.

"The dancing ceased at one o'clock, and the company repaired

[1] The list is by no means complete of these marriages. In 1810, Lieut. John Campbell to Miss Nicholls; Lieut. Benito to Miss Vincent; Col. Bissell's daughter (1813) to William Morrison; another daughter of Col. Bissell (1815) to Capt. Price; a third (1817) to Maj. Douglass; 1816, Col. Thompson to Miss Lee; 1815, Christian Wilt to daughter of Maj. George Wilson; 1819, Indian Agent Ruland to daughter of Col. Wells; 1819, Capt. Bright to Miss Tesson; 1823, Maj. Thomas Biddle to daughter of John Mullanphy; 1823, Maj. Ben O'Fallon to daughter of Patrick Lee; 1824, Col. Farris to daughter of Samuel Perry; 1825, Capt. Bates to Mrs. Poteet; Capt. T. F. Smith to Miss Amelia Chouteau; Gen. William H. Ashley to daughter of Maj. Christy; 1824, Col. W. B. Alexander to daughter of Bernard Pratte; Capt. D. E. Hill to Miss Walter; 1827, Col. I. C. Brown to Miss Stephenson; 1829, Lieut Crosman to Miss Foster; Lieut. Clary to Miss Philipson; Capt. Z. C. Palmer to Mrs. Rector; Maj. Kearney to Miss Radford; Capt. T. J. Harrison to Miss Hamtramck; Capt. J. B. Clark to Miss Sanford; Lieut. Philip St. George to Miss Hertzog; Capt. James Dean to Miss Harriet Christy; Lieut. Rousseau to Miss Emily Lee; Gen. E. P. Gaines to Miss Myra Clark Whitney (1839); Anne Lucas, daughter of J. B. C. Lucas, in 1814, married Capt. Hunt, of the navy; Julia Cabanné married Lieut. Kingsbury; Capt. Grant (ex-President) married a Carondelet lady; Charles Gratiot's son and the son also of J. B. C. Lucas were graduates of West Point and distinguished in the army; Col. O'Fallon married a sister of Gen. George Rogers Clark; his son James married a granddaughter of Gen. Zachary Taylor; John T. Darby a daughter of Capt. Wilkinson; Col. Brant married a niece of Thomas H. Benton; Miss Easton married Maj. Sibley; Gen. Frost married a daughter of Maj. Graham; James G. Soulard married a daughter of Col. Thomas Hunt; Maj. Turner married a daughter of Capt. Theodore Hunt. Others of these intermarriages will be found recorded or spoken of in various other parts of this volume.

[2] Mr. Clark's residence in St. Louis was situated on the southeast corner of Vine and Main Streets. His ground extended east to the bank of the river, and down Main Street half the block. The house was of brick, and in 1820 was one of the best buildings in St. Louis, two stories high, and finished in the best style of the day. Attached to the south end of this building was a wing about one hundred feet long and thirty feet wide. In this department was kept what was then called the Indian Museum, where all manner of Indian curiosities were to be seen,—head-dresses composed of feathers, war-clubs, battle-axes, tomahawks, bows and arrows, smoke-pipes, breast-plates, and a large birch-bark canoe,—fossil remains, a large collection of minerals of different sorts, skins of large animals, among them the white buffalo robe, a great variety of birds, and the bones of rare animals, said to be the mammoth or the mastodon; a variety of the remains of serpents and reptiles, one a rattlesnake nine feet long, and the skin of a crocodile twelve feet in length, together with a collection of other articles which filled this large room in every part.

In further proof of the intimate relations of the citizens with officers of the army and their families, we append here from the unpublished papers of Col. John O'Fallon a unique list of the persons invited, and those who went, to a party given by Col. O'Fallon in 1828. The memorandum is in that gentleman's own handwriting, and these same guests were very likely at Governor Clark's ball in 1827:

	No. in family.	Did not go.
Judge Wash	2	
Maj. Christy	4	2
Gen. Ashley	3	
Maj. Biddle	4	
Gen. Clark	3	
Maj. O'Fallon	2	
Judge Carr	3	
Dr. Farrar	2	1
Matthew Kerr	2	2
Gen. Atkinson	4	
I. & G. Kennerly	4	2
Col. Woolley	4	2
Maj. Palmer	2	
Dr. Lane	4	2
Capt. Hunt	2	2
Mr. Dent	2	
Mr. Smith	3	3
Mr. Tracy	2	
Mr. Warendorff	2	
Mr. Charless, Sr.	2	2
Mr. Charless, Jr.	2	
Mrs. Beebe	1	
Mrs. Maund	2	
Mr. Huff	4	2
Mr. Huff	2	
Mr. Hamtramck	2	
Mr. Keyte	3	2
Mrs. Essex	1	1
Mr. Holmes	1	
Mr. Wheelright	1	
Col. McCrea	1	1
Mr. McGraw	1	
Mr. Nute	1	
Capt. Clark	1	
Col. McNeil	1	
Lieut. Vanhorn	1	
Capt. Brant	1	1
Mr. Simmons	1	
Mr. Meginnis	1	
Mr. Coulter	1	
Mr. Bass	1	
Capt. Mason	1	
Capt. Harney	1	
Mr. Warbutton	1	1
Mr. Skinner	1	1
Col. Chouteau	2	2
Mr. Chouteau	2	
Mr. Paul	7	2
Mrs Spalding	2	2
Mr. Ruland	2	2
Mr. Kennerly	1	
Mr. Aug. & W. Kerr	2	
Mr. Graham	1	
Mr. Rule	2	2
Mr. Lindell	1	
Mr. Mullanphy	2	1
Mr. Jones and Smith	3	
Mr. Shaw	1	
Dr. Hagan	1	
Mr. Hays	1	
Mr. Collin	2	2
Mr. Powell	2	
Mr. Lane	2	1
Mr. Thomas	1	
Mr. Clemens	2	1
Mr. Von Phul	2	2
Capt. Noel	2	
Mr. McCaslin	2	1
Mr. Dauberman	1	
Mr. Billon	2	
Capt. Riley	1	
Dr. Gale	1	1
Maj. Green	2	2
Mr. Allen	2	
Mr. Hunt	1	
Mr. Tracy	1	
Mr. McGunnigle	1	
Mr. Keyte	1	
Mr. Russell	1	1
Mr. Ford	1	
Mr. Marsh	1	1
Lieut. Rapey	1	
Capt. Wickliffe	1	
Lieut. Richardson	1	
Lieut Minor	1	1
Capt. Spencer	1	1
Lieut. Gwynne	1	
Lieut. Kingsbury	1	
Lieut. Williams	1	
Totals	179	60
	60	
Attended	119 persons.	

into the main building and partook of a repast consisting of all that the country could afford, and served up in the best possible style. After supper the dancing was recommenced, and was kept up until six o'clock in the morning, when the company dispersed, pleased and satisfied, for not one adverse occurrence took place to mar the pleasure of the occasion.

"In those days it was customary to have two grand national balls during the winter, one on the 8th of January to celebrate the battle of New Orleans, the other the 22d of February, Washington's birthday. But none of the festivities of former times had equaled this one, and it is doubtful if any festival since then has surpassed it in pleasure and enjoyment."

Such assemblies, and those of an older day, held at the Hammond house, or Chouteau's, or Soulard's, or O'Fallon's, or Christy's, or Rector's, or Cabanné's, or Lucas's, or Sanguinet's, or the old Riddick mansion, Judge Luke Lawless' hospitable home, are easier to imagine than describe. The guests were people distinguished then, or afterwards to be distinguished. Jefferson Davis courted his first wife, Miss Knox Taylor, sister of Gen. Dick Taylor, in the old Christy mansion. Here you might have met, at one and the same king's ball, Gens. Scott and Gaines and Atkinson, Henry Clay and Tom Benton, the two Chouteaus, Manuel Lisa, Wilson P. Hunt, and Henry, the fur-traders, and H. M. Brackenridge, Lord Morpeth, the Earl of Dunmore, and Charles St. Vrain; John Scott, Rufus Easton, and Charles Delassus. John Scott, a great lawyer, would have been noticeable anywhere, with his long white cue of hair hanging gracefully down upon his shoulders, or else clubbed and tucked up with a comb. A man whose conversation would interest you even in a fit of the toothache,—a suave, courteous, peppery gentleman of the old school, who bowed and complimented and swore, as might be expected from the son of a planter of "the slashes of Hanover," who always carried dirk and pistol in his pockets, and was always ready to give and receive a challenge. As for the ladies, they were worthy to receive the attentions of such men as we have named,—many more of whom might be named. Charming, witty, gracious, no men wearied of them and flew to the card-table for rest and relief. On the contrary, their charm had an element of fascination in it, so that it never ceased to attract. Octogenarian dames, who were young then, and of whom to-day, or a few years back, but the feeble shadow, the piping treble of a voice and the snuff-box remained, could still draw young men to their side, to listen with pleased attention to their animated cackle about the good old times. What grace, animation, vivacity was theirs as they glided to and fro across the waxed floors, in the flaring light of candles, or paced up and down the piazzas, with a soldier or a statesman at their elbow, chattering English with the least delightful suspicion of an accent. How fresh and strong they seemed next day, after dancing all night long, and ready, if you called upon them, to take a breezy gallop to Florissant or Bellefontaine, or walk through gardens and pleached alley-ways of orchards, till they brought you to the romantic coverts and dells and pleasing shades along the margin of Chouteau's Pond.

That was a society of the best elements, built solid as the walls of those old mansions which they adorned, —walls of plaster and rubble, or squared blocks of limestone, three feet thick. We do not see such walls nowadays, nor such piazzas, doors, windows, cupboards, and wood-work as those houses contained, —tall mantels, deep cornices and wash-boards, and chair-boards and panels, all cut and grooved by hand. Those good old times have quite passed away; those charming home-circles are broken up, never to be restored in their primitive shape, in which all were neighbors and friends, and every domicile gave you open access and friendly welcome. Door-locks and safes for plates were not; even the thieving Indian and prowling negro never went beyond the pig-pen and the hen-roost to plunder. But there is a common consent that they were "good old times" indeed. As a writer has said,—writing, too, from his heart,—"We have never seen the man yet, come from what part of the world he may, who knew St. Louis sixty or seventy years ago, and was welcomed and received by the kind-hearted, generous, and noble people, honest, upright, and unsuspecting as they were, but what was touched by the friendly greetings of cordial welcome. Talk to one of these ancient visitors now, who knew St. Louis in those primitive days of purity and happiness, and his heart swells and his eyes fill with emotion at the recollection of the generous kindness and unselfish hospitality extended to him by its people."

CHAPTER XIII.

ST. LOUIS LAND TITLES.[1]

THE professional examiner of land titles is content to go back, in his researches, to the grants made by the three governments which have respectively, at different periods of the past, had dominion over and

[1] This clear, complete, and satisfactory chapter on St. Louis land titles was written expressly for this work by Henry W. Williams, Esq., attorney-at-law and examiner of titles in this city. No person in the city is more thoroughly acquainted with the history and the law of the subject here treated, or more

claimed the ownership of the soil upon which the city of St. Louis now stands.

From a utilitarian point of view, it is not necessary to go behind those grants, the law regarding them as the origin or source of the title, nevertheless it may be interesting—to the historian at least—to make some references to the period which antedates the dominion acquired by those governments, and briefly examine as to the methods of acquisition.

But little more than three centuries ago the soil of this continent—save perhaps those portions occupied by the Aztecs and the Zuñis—was wholly without individual ownership. There was not a claim to dominion or sovereignty, save that of the native tribes over so much of the territory as they chanced for the time being to occupy.

The use of land for cultivation and all other purposes was as free to the individual as the waters of the lakes and rivers, or the air which they breathed. Grants and patents, deeds and mortgages, inclosures and boundaries were unknown.

The natives roamed at will, locating their frail habitations "wheresoe'er their fancy led" throughout the land. They were wholly unfettered by the restraints that are attendant upon civilization. No "game laws" prohibited their slaughter of the animals with which the forests abounded; no edicts prohibited the capture by seine or net of the finny tribes which swarmed in the lakes and rivers; no prosecutions threatened them for killing, at any season of the year, the grouse and quail which abounded in all the wide prairies; no fears of warrants for trespass, resulting in damages and incarceration, restrained their wanderings at will; no prospective actions in ejectment marred their enjoyment of the land occupied by their wigwams.

All this, however, was destined to a mighty change. The existence of the New World having been discovered by adventurers from the Old, the three great powers of Europe—France, Spain, Great Britain—and others of lesser note, in their lust for power and greed for dominion over the entire surface of the globe, were each and all eager to appropriate to themselves as much of the new territory as they could possibly manage to acquire. Acting upon the theory that the savages were heathens and had no rights which Christian people were bound to respect,—or, at least, that it would confer upon them a great blessing to introduce Christianity and civilization among them,—they proceeded, in order to avoid conflicts among themselves, to establish a rule which should be recognized by all in their strife for the acquisition of the newly-discovered domain. It was, therefore, mutually agreed that "discovery" gave title or sovereignty and dominion to the government by whose subjects or by whose authority it was made, as against all other European governments, a doctrine which was happily satirized, or at least ridiculed, by a poet of the Revolutionary period who wrote,—

> "For the time once was here (to the world be it known)
> When all a man sailed by, or saw, was his own."
>
> —Freneau.

Under this rule the nation whose subjects made a "discovery" claimed not only the exclusion of all other Europeans, but the sole right of establishing settlements upon it, and of acquiring the soil from the natives. As they were all interested in asserting that right, each wanting a share of the immense spoil, they were of course unanimous in assenting to it; hence the spoliation of the heathen by means of discovery and conquest became legitimate, and was dignified as a principle embodied in the "Law of Nations."

This having been established, the nations whose subjects had made discoveries proceeded to assert their claims to sovereignty and dominion by making grants and charters to individuals and companies in lavish profusion. The result was the occupation and settlement of America by the rival powers, and a succession of wars and conquests which covered the continent with blood, and caused the expenditure of an enormous treasure. All these wars, the march of discovery, the movements of conquerors and adventurers, the making and breaking of treaties, the strange perils of the wilderness, have been sufficiently detailed in various portions of this work. We have traced the course of adventure and occupation down to the actual settlement of St. Louis and its final transfer to the United States. It remains to trace as distinctly the history of land titles in individuals, how they originated, what causes tended to make them doubtful and disputed, and how they have finally attained their present firm and satisfactory basis in St. Louis.

The cession of Louisiana gave to the United States its sovereignty and dominion over all that territory, and

competent to discuss them in an effective and comprehensive manner. We regret that the introductory portions of Mr. Williams' chapter, relating to matters more fully treated already in their proper order in other parts of this work, required to be omitted here; we should have been glad to show how well this pleasing and accurate writer can enliven an otherwise dull and dry subject from the store-house of history and poetry at his command. As it is, the reader will find that the entire complicated subject of our land titles is clearly unfolded before him in chronological and historical order, so that all the apparent difficulties which tend to repel the layman from studying such matters disappear at once under the skillful treatment.

we have been at some pains to show at length by what a clear and indisputable chain of titles we hold these possessions. But there was still outstanding the Indian title.

On page 144 of vol. i. of Monette's "History of the Valley of the Mississippi," the *procés verbal* by which Cavelier de la Salle formally took possession of the vast territory which he called Louisiana is set out at length, and it contains a statement that such possession was taken with the consent of sundry Indian tribes.

That the unsuspecting natives gave his party a friendly welcome, as visitors, there can be no doubt; but that they had the faintest idea that they were making a formal surrender of their forest homes and hunting-grounds to the strangers is beyond belief, even though recited with all the formality of a well-attested *procés verbal*. The colonists from the Old World met with but very little opposition in obtaining their footholds either in North or South America, and once established the work of acquisition was easy. By treaties, when a few trinkets would secure the surrender of the large bodies of land which they coveted, and by exterminating war when peaceful modes of accomplishing their purposes failed, they and their descendants have very nearly fulfilled to the letter the prophetic wail which one of the most distinguished of American poets attributes to the despairing native:

"They waste us; ay, like April snow
In the warm noon, we melt away;
And fast they follow as we go
Toward the setting day,
Till they shall fill the land, and we
Are driven into the Western sea!"

—Bryant.

For years they bravely struggled for the retention of the right which they held by patent from the God of nature to roam their hunting-grounds at will. They had no historian of their own to chronicle the incidents of their unavailing resistance; but the narratives of their enemies, the conquerors, are of a character to arouse strong sympathy with the natives, and too often to excite indignation against their foreign enemies. The pages of the Spanish historian De Solis, and of English and American histories, prove that the struggle for the retention of the land of their nativity was, in early days, heroic, long, and bloody. Nor has it yet ended; they are not yet "driven into the Western sea," but "civilization" and "manifest destiny" are both on their trail. There soon will be "no one left to mourn for Logan!"

To the honor of the French pioneers it must be repeated that their relations with the savage tribes were more peaceful, friendly, and just than those of other nations. They sought and gained the confidence and friendship of the natives, and, with comparatively few exceptions, their intercourse was of a peaceful and mutually beneficial character. The French padre, or "black gown," was usually welcomed and respected. The French trader was, as a rule, kindly received. This was especially the case with the honored pioneers who founded and carried on the "Indian trade" at St. Louis, and at the trading-posts which they established among all the tribes.

It is traditional to this day that the name of Chouteau was a passport to protection and favor among all the Western tribes.

When the United States government acquired dominion it wisely adopted the peaceful and proper methods of acquisition of the Indian title by treaty. In two of these treaties reference is made to previous cessions made to the English, French, and Spanish governments, but those former treaties, if made, are not now accessible. Nearly all the tribes have in due form ceded their rights to the United States,—in some instances, however, as a sequel to a fierce and bloody, but of course an unsuccessful war,—and usually for a ridiculously small compensation, in comparison with the extent of territory ceded. Treaties have been made with the Osages, the Sacs and Foxes, the Sioux, the Weas, the Piankeshaws, the Kickapoos, the Winnebagoes, the Menomonies, the Shawanese, the Kanzas, the Iowas, and the Illinois, which it is believed cover nearly all of the northern part of Louisiana, as it was acquired by the United States.

It follows therefore—although there are some delicate ethical questions involved, although the title-papers in some cases are fearfully stained with blood, in many cases are tainted with fraud and sadly lacking adequate consideration—that under the rulings of Vattel, and especially of that "higher law" known as "manifest destiny," the title acquired from France and confirmed by the Indian tribes must be pronounced good in "Uncle Sam."

We now return to the year 1764 to ascertain what grants of "legal" or "equitable" titles were made by the French or Spanish governments during the period of their dominion.

French Grants.—It has been said Laclede reached St. Louis on the 15th of February, 1764, with the men for his colony, and proceeded to lay out a town. In the following year quite a large addition to the colony was made by French people from Illinois, who, warned by the fate of the unfortunate exiles from Acadia, had no desire to become subjects of Great Britain, that power having commenced to take pos-

session of the country east of the Mississippi. Among the new-comers was M. Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, who was the first person to exercise civil and military command in St. Louis, and the first person who made grants of land in that city.

His life and his excellent character are fully set forth elsewhere in this volume.

Three months after taking command of Fort Chartres Capt. Sterling died, leaving the office of commandant of that post vacant. In this state of affairs —doubtless at the request of the garrison—St. Ange returned to Fort Chartres and resumed the command, holding the position until the arrival of Maj. Frazer from Fort Pitt, to whom he resigned his charge and returned to St. Louis. It is stated in Peck's "Annals of the West" that "prior to his departure (from Fort Chartres), with a fatherly care and benevolent intent, St. Ange instituted for those he left behind in Illinois some wise and salutary regulations regarding titles to their lands."

It has been generally supposed—and has been so stated in some of the more recent histories of that period—that St. Ange assumed command at St. Louis, implying that he did so without authority; but a comparison of dates and a reasonable degree of inference would seem to indicate that he was duly commissioned to act as commandant of the post, with all the powers incident thereto under French laws and ordinances.

The grant to Laclede, Maxent & Co. was made in 1762. Laclede selected the site of his principal trading-post in 1763, and began to build St. Louis on the 15th of February, 1764. It was probably known to the commandant at New Orleans that St. Louis had been selected as a trading-post, and that it would be a favorable location for a military establishment charged, as usual, with control of civil affairs. In the summer of 1764, as elsewhere stated, M. Neyon de Villiers left Fort Chartres, followed by many of the inhabitants, rather than dwell under the detested flag of that nation. It is stated that he had known some time previously the cession of the country to Great Britain. He left Fort Chartres in command of M. de St. Ange, to be delivered up to the English on demand.

As it is not probable that De Villiers deserted his post without orders, it is a reasonable inference that he was duly authorized to leave and to transfer his command to St. Ange. It is also reasonable to suppose that St. Ange was at the same time authorized, on being relieved by an English officer, to proceed to St. Louis, and establish and take command of a post at that place, it not being known even at New Orleans until October, 1764, that the west bank of the river had been ceded to Spain. If such orders were given,—and of this scarcely a doubt can exist,—St. Ange was fully authorized to take command at St. Louis, and he of course had the right to hold that position until the Spanish official came to relieve him, precisely as he held Fort Chartres long after the cession and until he was relieved.

This view of the case is confirmed by the fact that there are documents among the "archives" of the post which prove that the Governor-General at New Orleans recognized him as commandant of the post, by virtue of which office he was a "sub-delegate," and in that capacity had authority to make grants of land, subject to the approval of the Governor-General.

As St. Ange delivered up Fort Chartres on the 10th of October, 1765, to Capt. Sterling, and resumed the command after that officer's death, remaining until relieved by Maj. Frazer from Fort Pitt, it is manifest that he did not finally take command at St. Louis until the spring of 1766.

The records show that he proceeded without delay to discharge the duties devolving upon him, as on the 27th of April, 1766, he made the first land grant that ever was made affecting property at St. Louis. That grant was made to Joseph Labuxière (Labuscière) (Livre Terrien, No. 1, page 1), being for a lot in St. Louis, having a front of three hundred feet on Rue Royale (now Main Street), by one hundred and fifty feet deep to the river, said lot being now known as Block 13 of the city. (The time has been, if not now, when the proceeds of the sale of that block of its ground and twenty-nine similar blocks that might be selected in its vicinity would amount to more than the sum paid by the United States for the acquisition of the whole of the Louisiana Territory as it existed in 1803.)

St. Ange remained in command until May 20, 1770, when he was relieved by the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, Don Pedro Piernas. His administration had given entire satisfaction. He was not only a brave soldier and a wise and skillful commander, but possessed sterling qualities as a civilian. During the four years of his service in St. Louis he won the confidence, esteem, and affection of the entire people, and laid the foundations of and steadfastly maintained an excellent system of civil government. He died at St. Louis, and was buried, according to the church register, on the 27th of December, 1774, in the cemetery of the church. The entry gives his name and title as "Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, captain of the Swiss Battalion of Louisiana," from

which it would appear that he retained under Spain the same military rank which he had acquired as a soldier of the French king.

The system of making and recording grants of land adopted by St. Ange was in no wise complicated. All concessions are short and simple in form, merely stating that on the day named, on the application of ———, "we have conceded, and we do concede to him (describing the land), under the conditions of settling it within one year and a day, and that the same shall remain liable to the public charges.

"Done the same day and year.

(Signed) "ST. ANGE.

"LABUXIÈRE, *Notary.*"

Spanish Titles.—The Spanish successors in office of St. Ange (with the dates when the "archives" of the post were turned over to them) were as follows:

Don Pedro Piernas, May 20, 1770.
Don Francisco Cruzat, May 19, 1775.
Don Fernando De Leyba, June 14, 1778.
Don Francisco Cruzat, Sept. 24, 1780 (second term).
Don Manuel Perez, Nov. 25, 1787.
Don Zeñon Trudeau, July 21, 1792.
Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, Aug. 29, 1799.

All of these officers, except Delassus, pursued the St. Ange method of making and recording grants or concessions of land, except that they were somewhat more formal in reciting the official titles of the granting officer. The records of all the grants made are contained in six small books of cap-paper with leather covers, and constitute what is commonly known as the "Livre Terrien," sometimes called the "Provincial Land Book." It does not appear that any surveys of the grants were made until 1770, when, at request of a number of the inhabitants, Lieutenant-Governor Piernas appointed Martin Duralde surveyor of the colony of Illinois.

He surveyed a large number of common-field lots, as they were called, being long narrow strips of land lying side by side, having a common front line, called the "traite quarré," on which they had a front of from one to four arpens (the arpent being equal to one hundred and ninety-two feet six inches, English measure) by a depth of forty arpens; each tract being described by the designation of the common field in which it was located, the number of arpens front and depth, and the names of the adjoining proprietors.

It is traditional that the reason for making the grants in that manner was that the owners of the fields might, when cultivating their respective tracts, be near to each other for mutual protection against attacks by the Indians.[1]

There were several common-field inclosures, designated as follows: The "St. Louis Prairie," which adjoined the city on the west; the "Grand Prairie," west of the "St. Louis Prairie;" the "Prairie Desnoyers," southwest of the town and from two to three miles distant, surveyed at a later date by Pierre Chouteau; the "Cul de Sac" or "Cul de Sac of the Grand Prairie," lying between the "Grand Prairie" and the "Prairie Desnoyers," the three at one time, according to the testimony of Mr. Pierre Chouteau, having one common inclosure; the "Little Prairie," south of the old town, and the "White Ox Prairie," some four miles north. Each of these common fields was inclosed and the fences kept up at the expense of the owners of the several field lots, each owner building and maintaining the fence at the front and rear ends of his lot, and each contributing his quota of the expense of building and maintaining the fences along the outer line of the two side boundaries.

No plats of said surveys were made, at least none appear of record. The certificates of survey (by Duralde) were recorded in Livre Terrien No. 2, and the surveys were made in the years 1770–72.

The town lots were not separately surveyed. They are represented upon a plat made in 1780, but the lines of that plat were not strictly followed in all cases by the United States government surveys; the variations, however, did not materially affect the rights of claimants.

There were also grants made known as "out-lots,"—that is to say, lots which were not in the town as laid out, nor in the common fields, but occupying intervening spaces between the same, or located adjoining them on the outer limits.

A large tract of land southwest of the town, containing 4510.48 arpens, equal to 3837.03 acres, according to the United States surveys, was held by the inhabitants as a common for pasturage, cutting wood etc.

Outside of all these there were grants of larger bodies of land for plantations or farms, one of them being for a league square, equal to 7056 arpens.

It does not appear that the government derived any revenue from sales of land. All the smaller grants were gratuitous. Larger grants were made, some of them in consideration of services rendered,

[1] But the custom is old French; the shape dictated by the saving in fencing. Each lot-holder got a lot forty arpens long, but had only to fence two arpens, one at each end, and contribute his proportion of two forty-arpens long fences.

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and some of them to aid in the establishment of enterprises which were alleged to be for the public good.

All the grants made by commandants or Lieutenant-Governors (as sub-delegates) were inchoate or incomplete titles, regarded as property, and as such were held and transferred; but by Spanish laws and regulations they required a survey, and the sanction or approval of the Governor-General of the province at New Orleans, to make them complete legal titles.

Of the large number of grants so made in Upper Louisiana only thirteen were completed in the manner prescribed by those laws so as to vest an absolute legal title in the grantee. A translation of a complete grant under the Spanish laws is given in 8 Howard, 314.

It was issued on the 29th of May, 1802, by Juan Ventura Morales, intendant *ad interim*, and not by the Governor-General.

In this connection, therefore, it should be noted that Don Antonio de Ulloa was commissioned on the 2d of May, 1765, to take possession of Louisiana, but was prevented by the rebellion of the inhabitants against submission to his authority. On the 29th of October, 1768, Don Alexander O'Reilly, lieutenant-general of the army, was commissioned "to proceed to New Orleans, take possession, and chastise the ringleaders of the rebellion."

On the 16th of April, 1769, he was commissioned as Governor and Captain-General of Louisiana, and specially vested "with power to establish, in respect of military force, police, administration of justice, and finances, such a form of government as would effectually secure its dependence and subordination, and promote the king's service and the happiness of his subjects." He arrived at New Orleans with a large military force, and took possession without opposition. On the 18th of February, 1770, he issued his "regulations," among which (No. 12) he directs that all grants of land shall be made or approved by the Governor-General.

On the 24th of August, 1770, the Marquis de Grimaldi informed Don Louis de Unzaga, who succeeded O'Reilly, that the king had approved and confirmed the regulations and instructions of Governor O'Reilly. On the 22d October, 1798, a communication was forwarded to De Lemos, then Governor of Louisiana, and to Morales, then intendant *ad interim*, informing them that "the king has resolved, for the sake of the better and more exact observance of the eighty-first article of the royal ordinance for intendants of New Spain, that the exclusive faculty of granting and distributing (*conceder y repartir*) lands of every class shall be restored to the intendancy of that province.

From this it will be perceived that the power to make or to approve grants of land was vested in the Governor-General from Feb. 18, 1770, to Oct. 22, 1798, and in the Intendant-General from and after the last-mentioned date. That power, as we have seen, was not exercised in Upper Louisiana save in thirteen cases; hence, as to all the other grants or concessions, the titles held by the inhabitants had not been perfected.

In the treaty of San Ildefonso, Oct. 1, 1800, by which Spain ceded the province of Louisiana to the French republic, there was no stipulation made as to the protection of the rights of the inhabitants to property, but the king in his royal proclamation given at Barcelona, Oct. 15, 1802, announcing the retrocession, expressed the hope that the government of the French republic "would protect the inhabitants in the peaceful possession of their property," and "that all grants of property of whatever denomination made by my Governors may be confirmed, though not confirmed by myself."

The treaty of April 30, 1803, by which France ceded the province to the United States, contained the following clause, written (M. Marbois states) by Napoleon himself:

"Article 3. The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess."

All the rights of individuals claiming lands in Upper Louisiana, excepting only the thirteen complete titles above referred to, were inchoate, requiring survey and patent from the former governments to make them perfect, and it was optional with those governments to make them complete or not.

The Congress of the United States, fully recognizing the principle that an inchoate title to land is property, and should be held sacred (even independently of treaty stipulations), proceeded to make provision for ascertaining and confirming all claims which could be properly substantiated as lawfully emanating from the former governments.

The first act of Congress after taking possession of the province of Louisiana, approved March 26, 1804, divided the same by the thirty-third degree of north latitude, all south of that line constituting the "Or-

leans Territory," and all north of it the "District of Louisiana." By an act approved Feb. 28, 1806, the "District of Louisiana" became the "Territory of Louisiana." In the act of June 4, 1812, it is called the "Territory of Missouri," and by proclamation of Aug. 10, 1821, it became the "State of Missouri."

The act of 1804 declared all grants of land and every act and proceeding towards obtaining any grant or title to lands subsequent to the treaty of San Ildefonso (Oct. 1, 1800) to be null and void; provided that nothing in this section shall be construed "to make null and void any *bona fide* grant made, agreeably to the laws, usages, and customs of the Spanish government, to an actual settler on the lands so granted for himself and for his wife and family; or to make null and void any *bona fide* act or proceeding done by an actual settler, agreeably to the laws, usages, and customs of the Spanish government, to obtain a grant for lands actually settled on by the person or persons claiming title thereto, if such settlement in either case was actually made prior to the 20th day of December, 1803." Further provides that such grant shall not secure to the grantee more than one mile square, and such further quantity as the Spanish laws and usages allowed for the wife and family."

The subsequent legislation greatly modified this; grants made prior to 10th of March, 1804, the day when St. Louis was delivered to the United States, being recognized as valid.

1805, March 2d.—"An Act for ascertaining and adjusting the titles and claims to lands in the Territory of Orleans and District of Louisiana" provides that persons who were residents on 1st of October, 1800, and had obtained from French and Spanish governments, during the time either of said governments were in possession, any duly registered warrant or order of survey for lands to which the Indian title had been extinguished, and which were on that day actually inhabited and cultivated by such persons, or for his or her use, shall be confirmed, etc.

Also that to every person being the head of a family, or twenty-one years of age, who had prior to 20th of December, 1803, with permission of Spanish officer, made actual settlement on a tract during the time the government making such grant had actual possession, and who, on 20th of December, 1803, did actually inhabit and cultivate said tract, the same shall be granted to him.

Provides also for the appointment by the President of a recorder of land titles, and that notice of all claims to land shall on or before the 6th of March, 1806, be filed with him, together with title papers, a plat of the land claimed, etc., which title papers shall be recorded. If claimant neglects to comply with these provisions, all his right to be forever barred.

Provides also for the appointment by the President of two persons, who, with said recorder of land titles, shall be constituted a board of commissioners, with power "to hear and decide in a summary manner all matters respecting claims, etc., and to decide in a summary way, according to justice and equity, on all claims filed with the recorder in conformity with the provisions of this act, which decisions shall be laid before Congress, and be subject to their determination thereon. "Provided, however, that nothing contained in this act shall be construed so as to recognize any grant or incomplete title bearing date subsequent to the 1st day of October, 1800, or to authorize the commissioners to make any decision thereon."

Requires the commissioners to make a full report to the Secretary of the Treasury, to be laid before Congress.

1806, April 21st.—An act supplementary to an act entitled "An Act for ascertaining and adjusting the titles and claims to land within the territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana" provides that actual settlement shall be considered as having been made by permission of the proper Spanish officer.

That the persons claiming a tract not exceeding six hundred and forty acres, if otherwise embraced in the provisions of the amended act, shall be confirmed, although not twenty-one years old when claim originated.

Extends the time for filing notice of claim with recorder of land titles to the 1st of January, 1807, etc.

1807, March 3d.—"An Act respecting claims to land in the territories of Orleans and Louisiana" repeals that part of the act of March 2, 1805, which provides that no incomplete title shall be confirmed unless the person to whom the warrant or order of survey had been granted was, at the time of its date, either the head of a family or above the age of twenty-one years.

Provides that persons who, on the 20th of December, 1803, had for two consecutive years prior to that day been in possession of a tract of not more than two thousand acres, and who were on that day resident in the territory of Orleans or Louisiana, and had still possession of the tract, should be confirmed in their titles to said tract of land.

Section 4 provides that the commissioners "shall have full powers to decide, according to the laws and established usages and customs of the French and Spanish governments, upon all claims to lands within their respective districts, where the claim is made by

any person or persons, or the legal representative of any person or persons, who were on the 20th of December, 1803, inhabitants of Louisiana, and for a tract not exceeding the quantity of acres contained in a league square, and which does not include either a lead-mine or a salt spring, which decision of the commissioners when in favor of the claimant shall be final against the United States, any act of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding.

Section 5 extends the time for filing notices of claims and title papers with the recorder to the 1st of July, 1808.

Section 6 provides that the commissioners shall transmit to the Secretary of the Treasury and to the surveyor-general transcripts of their final decisions made in favor of claimants, "and they shall deliver to the party a certificate stating the circumstances of the case, and that he is entitled to a patent for a tract of land therein designated, which certificate shall be filed with the proper register or recorder within twelve months after date, and the register or recorder shall thereupon (a plat of the tract of land therein designated being previously filed with him or transmitted to him by the officer acting as surveyor-general, in the manner hereinafter provided) issue a certificate in favor of the party, which certificate being transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury, shall entitle the party to a patent, to be issued in like manner as is provided by law for the issuing of patents for public lands lying in other Territories of the United States."

Section 7 makes provision for surveying the claims.

Section 8 directs that the commissioners shall report their opinions on all claims which they do not confirm, and how they are to be classified, etc.

Action of the Board of Commissioners.—Under the foregoing legislation, the President appointed John B. C. Lucas and Clement B. Penrose, and they, with Frederick Bates, recorder of land titles, constituted what is now known as the "old (or first) board of commissioners" for the adjustment of land claims. They commenced on the 8th of December, 1808, and terminated their labors on the 15th of January, 1812, having issued one thousand three hundred and forty-two confirmation certificates, each of which entitled the claimant or his legal representatives to a patent which would vest in him or them a complete legal title.

It is proper here to note that, although the board of commissioners were empowered to issue confirmation certificates which should be final against the United States, and although the act does not say that patent shall be issued, it has repeatedly been decided by the State and Federal courts that the "legal title" did not pass until the issue of a patent.[1]

The commissioners rejected a large number of claims, many of which would have been confirmed by them but for the stringent rules and restrictions prescribed by Congress.

There were also hundreds of claims for town lots, out-lots, common-field lots, etc., which were not acted upon by the board because they did not come within the scope of the legislation which defined and limited their powers.

Satisfied that those claims were meritorious and ought to be confirmed, Clement B. Penrose, one of the commissioners, and Thomas F. Riddick, clerk of the board, prepared communications, one to the Secretary of the Treasury, the other to the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, stating the general facts in regard to such claims, recommending them for confirmation, and indicating the character of the further legislation that was requisite. Their suggestions were accepted, and the following act was passed to carry them into effect. Its importance demands that the first, second, and eighth sections be given *verbatim*:

1812, June 13.—"AN ACT *making further provision for settling the claims to land in the Territory of Missouri.*

"SEC. 1. *Be it enacted, etc.*, That the rights, titles, and claims to town or village lots, out-lots, common-field lots, and commons in, adjoining, and belonging to the several towns or villages of Portage des Sioux, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Ferdinand, Ville à Robert, Carondelet, Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid, New Bourbon, Little Prairie, and Arkansas, in the Territory of Missouri, which lots have been inhabited, cultivated, or possessed prior to the 20th of December, 1803, shall be, and the same are hereby, confirmed to the inhabitants of the respective towns and villages aforesaid, according to their several rights or rights in common thereto; *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to affect the rights of any person claiming the same lands, or any part thereof, whose claims have been confirmed by the board of commissioners for adjusting and settling claims to land in the said Territory. And it shall be the duty of the principal deputy surveyor for the said Territory, as soon as may be, to survey, or cause to be surveyed and marked (where the same has not already been done according to law), the out boundary lines of the said several towns or villages, so as to include the out-lots, common-field lots, and commons thereto respectively belonging. And he shall make out-plats of the surveys, which he shall transmit to the surveyor-general, who shall forward copies of the said plats to the commissioner of the general land office and to the recorder of land titles. . . .

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all town or village lots, out-lots, or common-field lots included in such surveys which are not rightfully owned or claimed by any private individual, or held as commons belonging to such towns or villages,

[1] Burgess *vs.* Gray, 15 Mo., 220; Aubuchon *vs.* Ames, 27 Mo., 93; Le Beau *vs.* Armitage, 47 Mo., 138; Smith *vs.* Madison, 67 Mo., 695; Landers *vs.* Brant, 10 How., 374; Burges *vs.* Gray, 16 How., 48; Maguire *vs.* Tylor, 8 Wall, 657. These decisions have had an important bearing upon questions of title.

or that the President of the United States may not think proper to reserve for military purposes, shall be and the same are hereby reserved for the support of schools in the respective towns or villages aforesaid; *Provided*, That the whole quantity of land contained in the lots reserved for the support of schools in any one town or village shall not exceed one-twentieth part of the whole lands included in the general survey of such town or village."

SEC. 3 provides that the claims to donations of lands in virtue of settlement and cultivation embraced in the report of the commissioners, which were not confirmed because possession to settle by Spanish officers had not been proven, or because the land claimed, though inhabited, was not cultivated on 20th December, 1803, shall be confirmed, in case it shall appear that it was cultivated prior to 20th December, 1803, and cultivated in eight months thereafter. Also, that when it shall appear by the report or records of the board that claims have not been confirmed merely on the ground that the claim was for more than eight hundred arpens, every such claim to the extent of eight hundred arpens shall be confirmed.

SEC. 4 directs recorder of land titles to make extracts from the books of the commissioners of all claims directed by the preceding section to be confirmed, and forward same to general land office. Also to furnish surveyor with description, etc., and when surveyed to issue certificate of confirmation, which shall be transmitted to the commissioner of the general land office, and if he shall be satisfied that it has been fairly obtained, patent shall be granted in like manner as is provided by law for other lands of the United States.

SEC. 5 directs certain public lands to be surveyed, and also such lands as have been confirmed by the board of commissioners, when the same have not already been surveyed under the authority of the United States, etc.

SEC. 6 provides that the recorder of land titles shall furnish to the surveyor descriptions of lands confirmed, etc.

SEC. 7 allows to persons who are actual settlers and have not filed notice of their claims with the recorder of land titles until the first of December, 1812; if not then filed, claims to be ever after barred.

SEC. 8. "And be it further enacted that the said recorder of land titles shall have the same powers and perform the same duties, in relation to the claims thus filed before the first day of December next, and the claims which have been heretofore filed but not decided on by the commissioners, as the board of commissioners had by former laws, respecting claims filed prior to the first day of July, 1808, except that his decisions shall be subject to the revision of Congress. And it shall be the duty of said recorder to make to the commissioner of the general land office a report of all the claims which shall be thus filed before the first day of December next, and of the claims which have been already filed but not decided on by the said commissioners, together with the substance of the evidence in support thereof with his opinion, and such remarks as he may think proper, which report, together with a list of the claims which, in the opinion of said recorder ought to be confirmed, shall be laid by the commissioner of the general land office before Congress at their next session for their determination thereon."

The passage of this more liberal act of Congress enabled the village claimants of town lots, out-lots, common-field lots, and commons to present their claims, which they proceeded to do, and as by far the larger portion of said claims were based upon the grants made by St. Ange and the Spanish Lieutenant-Governors who succeeded him, the inhabitants of St. Louis appointed a committee to represent them, who addressed to the recorder of land titles the following communication:

"Nov. 28, 1812.

"TO FREDERICK BATES, ESQ., *Recorder of Land Titles in and for the Territory of Missouri:* SIR,—For the benefit of all parties interested, please to record the registered concessions of Livres Terrien Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, on file in your office.

"Thomas F. Riddick.	Geo. Sarpy.
Pierre Chouteau.	Julius de Mun.
Alex. McNair.	Bernard Pratte.
Wm. C. Carr.	B. G. Farrar.
Chas. Gratiot.	John McKnight.
Augt. Chouteau.	Cabanné."
M. P. Leduc.	

The recorder of land titles entered at once upon the discharge of his arduous task. In the progress of his work it was discovered that further legislation by Congress was required, and the following act was passed:

1813, March 3.—SEC. 1 provides that persons who had filed a notice of their claims shall have until Jan. 1, 1814, to produce evidence in support thereof.

SEC. 2. Recorder to have same powers and perform the same duties in every respect, in relation to the claims whereof notice has been filed as aforesaid, as the board of commissioners would have had or should have performed, etc., except that his decision shall be subject to the revision of Congress.

SEC. 3 makes it the duty of the recorder to report to the commissioner of the general land office, which report shall be laid before Congress, etc.

SEC. 4 provides that certain claims that have been reduced in quantity by the board of commissioners shall be confirmed to the extent of the full quantity claimed, not to exceed six hundred and forty acres.

SEC. 5 requires survey to be made of such claims and the plats of survey returned to the recorder of land titles, whereupon the recorder shall issue a certificate, which shall be transmitted to the general land office, and if the commissioner is satisfied that it was fairly obtained, patent shall be granted, in like manner as is provided by law for other lands of the United States. . . .

Still further legislation was deemed necessary, and the following act was passed:

1814, April 12.—SEC. 1 provides that persons claiming by virtue of incomplete French or Spanish grants or concessions or any warrant or order of survey which was granted prior to 20th of December, 1803, for land in Orleans Territory, or before 10th of March, 1804, for lands in Missouri Territory, being then resident in the province of Louisiana, or at the time the same were made, and whose claims have been filed with the recorder of land titles, and are embraced in the report of the commissioners or register or recorder for the district in which the lands claimed are situated, in every case where it shall appear that the concession contains a special location or had been located prior to the dates mentioned "by a surveyor duly authorized by the government making such grant, such persons shall be and they are hereby confirmed in their claims."

SEC. 2 provides that every person or persons claiming land by right of donation under former laws, whose claims are con-

tained in the report of any board of commissioners or the report of the . . . recorder of land titles, made or hereafter to be made, which claims shall appear not to have been confirmed, merely because the tracts claimed were not inhabited on the 20th of December, 1803, such persons shall be and they are hereby confirmed in their respective claims; provided, etc. . . .

SEC. 3 provides for survey of the lands confirmed by this act, on the return of which recorder shall on application make out a certificate of confirmation, directed to the commissioner of the general land office, and if he is satisfied therewith then "patents shall be granted in like manner as is provided by law for the other lands of the United States."

SEC. 4 makes it the duty of the principal deputy surveyor to survey the lands confirmed by this act, on receiving order of survey from the recorder of land titles, etc.

SEC. 5 grants pre-emption right to certain parties who have actually inhabited and cultivated, etc.

Report of Recorder Bates.—On the 2d of February, 1816, having completed the work assigned to him, Recorder Bates, as required by the eighth section of the act of June 13, 1812, made his report to the commissioner of the general land office, by whom it was submitted to Congress. It is headed as follows:

"Report of opinions of the recorder of land titles for the Territory of Missouri on claims entered under the act of 13th June, 1812, and proven before Jan. 1, 1814, as provided by act of 2d March, 1813; comprehending also the claims in the late district of Arkansas, which by act of 2d August, 1813, were permitted to be entered until the 1st of January, 1814, and proven until the 1st of July, 1814, together with the extensions of quantity provided by the fourth section of act of 3d March, 1813, and confirmations under the act of 12th April, 1814."

It shows that two thousand five hundred and fifty-five claims were presented and acted upon, of which number eight hundred and one were rejected, seventeen hundred and forty-six confirmed, and eight confirmed conditionally. The confirmed claims were classified, and reported under the following heads:

1. "*Confirmation of village claims under act of Congress of the 13th June, 1812*"..... 586 claims.
2. "Grants of the late board, extended by virtue of the fourth section of the act of Congress of March 3, 1813"..... 236 claims.
3. "Confirmations of concessions, orders, or warrants of survey, principally under act of Congress of 12th April, 1814"..... 387 claims.
4. "Grants of claims founded on settlements under the several acts of Congress, commencing with that of 13th of June, 1812, and ending with that of 12th of April, 1814"..... 514 claims.
5. "Claims of William Russell"..... 23 claims.

This claimant filed 309 claims, all of which save 23 were rejected.

Confirmation of the report of Recorder Bates, 1816, April 29.—"An Act for the confirmation of certain claims to land in the Western District of the State of Louisiana and in the Territory of Missouri.

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all claims embraced in the reports of the recorder of land titles, acting as commissioner for ascertaining and adjusting the titles and claims to land in the Territory of Missouri, dated November 1, 1815, and February 2, 1816, where the decision of the said commissioner is in favor of the claimants, shall be and the same are hereby confirmed, to wit, confirmations of village claims under the act of Congress of the thirteenth of June, eighteen hundred and twelve; grants of the late board of commissioners, appointed for ascertaining and adjusting the titles and claims to land in the Territory of Missouri, extended by virtue of the fourth section of the act of the third of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen; grants and confirmations under the several acts of Congress, commencing with the act of the thirteenth day of June, eighteen hundred and twelve.

"SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That in all cases not provided by law for patent certificates to issue, every person and the legal representative of every person whose claim to a tract of land *is confirmed by this or any former act*, and who has not already obtained a patent certificate for the same, shall, whenever his claim shall have been located and surveyed according to law, be entitled to receive from the . . . recorder of land titles in the Territory of Missouri . . . *a certificate stating that the claimant is entitled to a patent for said tract of land by virtue of this act*; for which certificate the officer issuing the same shall receive one dollar; *and the certificate shall entitle the party* TO A PATENT for the tract of land, WHICH SHALL ISSUE *in like manner as is provided by law for patents to issue for lands purchased of the United States.*"

On the same day when the foregoing act was approved, to wit, April 29, 1816, another act was also approved which provides that "a surveyor of the lands of the United States in the Territories of Illinois and Missouri shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be . . . to cause to be surveyed the lands in said Territories, the claims to which have been or may be confirmed by any act of Congress, which have not already been surveyed according to law, and generally to do and perform all and singular the duties required by law to be performed by the principal deputy surveyor for the Territory of Missouri."

Decisions of the Courts as to the effect of the Acts of 1812 and 1816.—From the earliest decisions of the Supreme Court of Missouri down to the latest, it has uniformly been held that the act of 1812 was a confirmation *proprio vigore*, in "words of present grant," "requiring no patent to vest the legal title" in the confirmee. The Supreme Court of the United States has concurred therein in several decisions.

In view of the decisions as to the effect of the confirmations by the old board of commissioners under the acts of 1805, 1806, and 1807, hereinbefore referred to, it is difficult to comprehend upon what theory the widely different decisions relating to the acts of 1812 and 1816 are based. The act of 1807 provides for the issuing of a patent, hence it is clear that Congress intended to pass the legal title in that manner. As the act of 1816, which is simply a supplement to the eighth section of the act of 1812, also requires that a patent shall issue, whence the distinction?

Reference to one of the most prominent of the decisions as to the effect of the acts of 1812 and 1816, for they must be considered together, may throw some light upon the subject.

In Guitard *vs.* Stoddard, 16 Howard, 510, it is said as follows.

"The laxity of the legislation in the act of 1812 is painfully evident when the fact is declared that the large and growing cities of the State of Missouri have their site upon the land comprehended in this confirmation. . . . Congress afforded no means of authenticating the rights, titles, and claims of the several confirmees. No board was appointed in the act to receive the evidence, nor to adjust contradictory pretensions. No officer was appointed to survey or to locate any individual right. All the facts requisite to sustain the confirmation—what were village or town lots, out-lots, common-field lots, or commons, what were the conditions of inhabitation, cultivation, or possession to bring the claimant within the act—were referred to the judicial tribunals."

Turning to the eighth section of the act thus severely criticised, it will be seen that the recorder of land titles was appointed with all the powers (except of confirmation) of the old board of commissioners for the express purpose of investigating the identical "village claims" described in the first section of that act. Under that appointment the recorder had full power to authenticate the rights, titles, and claims of the several confirmees, to "receive the evidence," and "to adjust contradictory pretensions, to determine what were village or town lots, out-lots, common-field lots, or commons," and "what were the conditions of inhabitation, cultivation, or possession to bring the claimant within the act.

The report of the recorder of land titles shows that he performed all those duties in respect to those identical village claims, his report thereon being headed "Confirmation of Village Claims under the Act of Congress of June 13, 1812," and embraces five hundred and eighty-six of those claims. Congress, by the act of 1816, confirmed the same claims by precisely the same description, and provided that when surveyed a patent certificate and patent should issue to the claimants. Another act was passed at the same time, or was approved on the same day, appointing an officer "to survey and to locate every individual right," thus supplying every requisite of proper legislation for the supposed lack of which Congress is censured. The conclusion, therefore, must necessarily be that only the first section of the act of 1812 was under consideration, and that if the provisions of the eighth section and the act of 1816 had also been considered the decision in Guitard *vs.* Stoddard would have been in harmony with the decisions as to the acts of 1805, 1806, and 1807.

Nearly all the claims, however, have been duly located and surveyed, and all such claims are now to all intents and purposes patented by the following act of Congress:

1874, June 6.—"An Act obviating the necessity of issuing patents for certain private land claims in the State of Missouri and for other purposes.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That all of the right, title, and interest of the United States in and to all lands in the State of Missouri which have at any time heretofore been confirmed to any person or persons by any act of Congress, or by an officer or officers, or board or boards of commissioners acting under and by authority of any act of Congress, shall be and the same are hereby granted, released, and relinquished by the United States, in fee-simple, to the respective owners of the equitable titles thereto, and to their respective heirs and assigns forever, as fully and as completely, in every respect whatever, as could be done by patents issued therefor according to law."

Hunt's Confirmations.—It having been ascertained that parties were in possession of lands which, although possessed under the former government, had never been confirmed or surveyed, Congress passed the following:

1824, May 26.—"An Act supplementary to an act passed on the 13th of June, 1812, entitled 'An Act making further provisions for settling the claims to land in the Territory of Missouri.'

SEC. 1 provides that it shall be the duty of the individual owners of town or village lots, out-lots, and common-field lots in, adjoining, or belonging to the several towns of Portage des Sioux, St. Charles, St. Louis, etc., whose lots were confirmed by the act of 13th June, 1812, to proceed within eighteen months to designate said lots by proving before the recorder of land titles for said State of Missouri the fact of inhabitation, cultivation, or possession prior to 20th of December, 1803, and the boundaries and extent of each claim, so as to enable the surveyor to distinguish the private from the vacant lots appertaining to said towns and villages.

SEC. 2 provides for survey of the vacant land for schools at the expiration of the time allowed for proving claims.

SEC. 3 provides that the recorder shall issue a certificate of confirmation for each claim confirmed, and furnish a list of the same to the surveyor.

Theodore Hunt was then recorder of land titles. He proceeded to examine the claims, took testimony as to occupation, cultivation, etc., and made up the list required by the act, which embraced claims to the number of nine hundred and fourteen.

Confirmations of July 4, 1836.—It appearing that a large number of claims had not been confirmed under the previous legislation, Congress passed another act as follows:

1832, July 9.—"An Act for the final adjustment of private land claims in Missouri."

SEC. 1 provides "that it shall be the duty of the recorder of land titles in the State of Missouri, and two commissioners to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to examine all the unconfirmed claims to land in that State heretofore filed in the office of said recorder according to law, founded upon any incomplete grant, concession, war-

rant, or order of survey issued by the authority of France or Spain prior to the 10th of March, 1804, and to class the same so as to show, first, what claims in their opinion would in fact have been confirmed, according to the laws, usages, and customs of the Spanish government and the practice of the Spanish authorities under them at New Orleans, if the government under which such claims originated had continued in Missouri; and, secondly, what claims in their opinion are destitute of merit," etc.

SEC. 2 provides that the office of the recorder shall be open for the purposes of such examination for two years from the date of the organization of the board, and no longer: that the board shall make reports to the commissioner of the general land office, "to be laid before Congress for their final decision upon the claims contained in such first class."

1833, March 2.—"An Act supplemental to the act entitled 'An Act for the final adjustment of land claims in Missouri.'"

SEC. 1 extends the provisions of the act to which this is supplementary so as to "embrace in its operations every claim to a donation of land in the State of Missouri held by virtue of settlement and cultivation," etc.

SEC. 2 extends the time for taking the testimony to two years from the date of this act.

Messrs. Lewis F. Linn, Albert G. Harrison, and F. R. Conway (recorder of land titles) constituted the board. They made a report upon claims numbered from one to one hundred and forty-two, inclusive, as belonging to the first class, which was submitted to Congress Jan. 18, 1834, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Messrs. James S. Mayfield and James H. Relfe were appointed commissioners in place of Messrs. Linn and Harrison. They made their report, which embraced claims numbered from one hundred and forty-three to three hundred and forty-five, inclusive, as of the first class, and claims numbered from one to one hundred and fifty-two as of the second class.

All the reports were submitted to Congress Dec. 10, 1835, and an act was passed confirming those of the first class, as follows:

1836, July 4.—"An Act confirming claims to land in the State of Missouri and for other purposes."

SEC. 1 provides "that the decisions in favor of land claimants made by the recorder of land titles in the State of Missouri, and the two commissioners associated with him by virtue of an act entitled 'An Act for the final adjustment of private land claims in Missouri,' approved July 9, 1832, and the act supplementary thereto, approved March 2, 1833, as entered in the transcript of decisions transmitted by the said recorder and commissioners to the commissioner of the general land office, and by him laid before Congress at the two last and present sessions, be and the same are hereby confirmed, saving and reserving, however, to all adverse claimants the right to assert the validity of their claims in a court or courts of justice." Provided, however, that nothing in this act contained shall apply or be in confirmation of the claim of Don Carlos D. Villemont for a tract of land at Point Chicot; and provided also that nothing in this act contained shall apply to or be in confirmation of the following claims: (Here follow the names of the seventy-eight claimants, with the quantity claimed by each.)

SEC. 2 provides that other lands may be located in lieu of any part of the land confirmed that may have been sold or otherwise disposed of by the United States.

SEC. 3 provides that such locations shall be entered with the register of the proper land office, who shall issue his certificate, and on transmission to the commissioner of the general land office patents shall be issued, etc.

New Madrid Locations.—For the relief of those who suffered by the earthquakes at New Madrid in 1812, Congress passed an act, approved Feb. 17, 1815, authorizing persons owning lands in the county of New Madrid, as it existed on the 10th of November, 1812, in cases where said lands had been materially injured by said earthquakes, to locate the like quantity of land on any of the public lands of the Territory of Missouri the sale of which was authorized by law.

Upon proof of such injury, the recorder of land titles was required to issue a certificate to the claimant, authorizing him to locate the quantity of land therein specified, and the surveyor for said Territory was required to survey the same and to return a plat of said location to the recorder, together with a notice in writing designating the tract claimed and located and the name of the claimant, which notice and plat was required to be recorded in said recorder's office.

It was made the duty of the recorder to transmit a report of the location so made to the commissioner of the land office, and to deliver to the claimant a certificate stating the circumstances of the case and that he was entitled to a patent for the tract therein designated. Upon that certificate patent was required to be issued, in like manner as provided by law for other public lands of the United States.

The act further provided that the title to the injured lands should revert to and become absolutely vested in the United States.

The sympathy and generosity of Congress manifested by this act was almost entirely lost or thrown away so far as the sufferers were concerned, and was perverted almost entirely to the profit of speculators.

There were 516 certificates issued, only 20 of which were located by the sufferers or original claimants. Three hundred and eighty-four of those certificates were purchased or obtained in some manner by land speculators residing in St. Louis. One of them claimed 16 of them, another 19, another 13, another 9, another 19, another 21, another 16, another 20, another 19, another 13, another 10, another 26, another 33, another 40, and others from 1 to 5 each.

The prices paid for those claims by the speculators, as disclosed by the records, does not exceed $10,000, though they cover nearly 200,000 acres of land, the minimum price of public land at that time being

$1.25 per acre. One of those claims for 160 acres was sold by the New Madrid sufferer for $25; another, same number of acres, for $30; one for 640 acres for $75; another, for same number of acres, for $100.

Very few of the claims were sold for better prices than these, and the greater part of them at much less rates. Thus the charity of Congress almost entirely failed to benefit the sufferers, but this was not the worst of the evils resulting from the passage of that act. It gave rise to fraud, perjury, and forgery to an alarming extent. There were no less than one hundred and forty-two claims set up by persons falsely and fraudulently representing themselves to be the assignees or legal representatives of the sufferers, having nothing whatever of record to support their claims, yet they were permitted to prove up the injury to the New Madrid land, relinquish the title to the same to the United States, and to receive their certificates of location.

A letter written by the clerk of the county court and *ex-officio* recorder of New Madrid County to the recorder of land titles, dated Aug. 16, 1825 ("American State Papers," title Public Lands, vol. iv. 609), presents a case which may be regarded as a "sample brick." It shows that a claim for a certificate of location was made before the recorder of land titles by one George Tenelle (who had eighteen other New Madrid claims) for two hundred and forty acres, which he claimed as assignee of Elisha Jackson, producing documents to that effect, and also proof, under oath, that the land had been materially injured by earthquakes. He obtained his certificate, and relinquished the injured land to the United States. It was then entered on the books of the land office as public land subject to entry. In 1825 it was entered by one Evans or Ogden, who proceeded to take possession. It then transpired that Jackson had sold the land in 1796, that the purchaser had constantly lived on it until he died in 1819, that one of his heirs had lived on it until it was claimed under the entry at the land office, and, further, that it was a valuable farm, which had never been injured by the earthquakes!

The St. Louis speculators proceeded to locate their certificates, almost without restraint, upon the lands in and adjacent to the city regardless of the claims of the holders of grants under the former government. Even the land now known as the "Stoddard addition," a choice residence portion of the city, embracing sixty-six of the present city blocks, which was originally granted to one Mordecai Bell, sold by him to Maj. Amos Stoddard (the first American commandant), and duly confirmed to him, was entirely covered by New Madrid locations. A long and tedious litigation ensued, resulting in the establishment of the Stoddard title.

It would require a huge volume instead of a chapter to detail the litigation caused by these New Madrid certificates. The courts, both Federal and State, have declared them void as against the early grants and confirmations, and the shadow of their cloud now hangs over only a few localities.

School Lands.—As heretofore stated, the act of 13th of June, 1812, provided that all lands not rightfully owned or claimed by private individuals or held as commons included within the out-boundary of a survey, which said act required to be run "so as to include the out-lots, common-field lots, and commons belonging to the town," should be reserved for the support of schools; *provided*, "that the whole quantity of land contained in the lots so reserved in any one town or village shall not exceed one-twentieth part of the whole lands included in the general survey of such town or village."

By the act of Jan. 27, 1831, the lands so reserved were relinquished by the United States, "to be sold or disposed of or regulated for the said purposes in such manner as may be directed by the Legislature of the State."

Here again is perceived the curse inflicted upon the city by the New Madrid speculators. They had sufficient influence to procure the approval of a survey made in 1840 of said out-boundary in such manner as to leave out the "Grand Prairie," "Cul de Sac" and "Prairie Des Noyer" common fields, notwithstanding the law required them to be included in such survey, and a survey had been made in 1838 by the same surveyor which correctly included said common fields.

The first-mentioned survey (of 1840) contained 7701.66 acres, which entitled the schools to 385.08 acres (one-twentieth of the whole), provided that quantity not rightfully claimed by individuals could be found. Only 290.05 acres of vacant land could be found within the out boundary as surveyed in 1840, and that quantity was surveyed and allotted to the public schools, being made up of scattered, detached parcels wherever a vacant lot or portion of a lot could be found. Had the survey of 1838 (which was in strict accordance with the law requiring such survey to be made) been approved, its area would have exceeded fifteen thousand acres, the schools would have been entitled to seven hundred and fifty acres, and vacant lands would have been found more than sufficient to have given the schools its full quota.

Efforts were made by the school board to have this great wrong remedied. The only persons adversely interested were New Madrid speculators, and unfortunately they had sufficient "influence" to defeat the application for a correct survey, thus thwarting the charitable designs of Congress in favor of our public schools, as well as those in favor of the New Madrid sufferers.

Township School Lands.—It was provided in the act of March 6, 1820, under which Missouri was admitted into the Union, that section sixteen in every township (or if sold, other lands) should be granted to the State for the use of schools.

This became operative upon the admission of the State into the Union. The section thus donated in Town 45 north, Range 7 east, is very near the centre of the city as now incorporated. The original six hundred and forty acres were reduced by conflicting grants and confirmations to about sixty acres, from the sale of which, and from compromises with the owners of conflicting claims, the commissioners appointed by the State to manage the property—Messrs. William Glasgow, Jr., and William C. Taylor (the latter now deceased)—realized the net amount of $343,701.44.

In 1853 and 1854 several suits were brought by said commissioners against persons holding under old grants and confirmations, all of which, save one, were decided in the higher courts against the school claim. The case excepted has recently, in the language of the court, been "launched upon its third voyage for the discovery of error."

Confirmations under Act of 1866.—Notwithstanding that Congress had afforded every opportunity for all persons to perfect their titles, there were quite a large number of lots in St. Louis which had not been duly confirmed and surveyed, hence another act was passed as follows:

1866, June 12.—"An Act authorizing documentary evidence of titles to be furnished to the owners of certain lands in the city of St. Louis"

provides "that the District Court of the United States may on proper decree declare released, granted, relinquished, and conveyed by the United States in fee-simple and in full property all the right, title, and interest of the United States in and to any lot, tract, piece, or parcel of land within the city of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, to the person or persons having the best claim or claims to the same," etc.

Under this act one hundred and nine decrees have been issued.

Various other acts have from time to time been passed by Congress, ratifying or confirming claims made under former acts, and also the claims of individuals to particular tracts, but it is unnecessary to refer to them, all that is of general interest being embodied in the foregoing summary of the legislation.

As a matter of course, a very large amount of litigation has heretofore resulted from so much legislation and the conflicting claims brought into existence thereby.

Nevertheless, at the present time the legal principles involved have been so thoroughly settled by our courts, and the conflicting claims so far settled by compromise or court decisions, that only a very few localities are now in dispute.

The facilities for examining titles with accuracy and dispatch are equal to if not superior to those of any other city in the Union, and persons desiring to purchase property can readily satisfy themselves that their investments in that direction will be perfectly safe.

CHAPTER XIV.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

SELDOM has government changed hands so easily and quietly as when Upper Louisiana ceased to be a Spanish or a French possession and became a part of the territory of the United States. The inhabitants of St. Louis made no demonstration. They were apathetic, indifferent, ignorant, possibly, of what was happening, or had the art to conceal their feelings. Charles Gratiot was almost the only man in St. Louis of French blood who took an interest in the proceedings, and he was a man of exceptional intelligence and information, a Republican and a Protestant. He had besides taken a large and liberal interest in American affairs from the period of the Revolution, and was, from his residence in Cahokia at the time of the war, a citizen of Virginia. Tradition relates that the news of the cession of Louisiana reached St. Louis on "a bright, sunshiny day in August." When the ceremony of transfer took place, March 10, 1804, Charles Gratiot's portico was the scene of the proceedings, and it is said that as one flag descended and the other was run up the flag-staff, the gentle Delassus wept, while Charles Gratiot called for three cheers in honor of the standard of his adopted country.

Capt. Stoddard, in taking possession of the government for the United States, obeyed the instructions sent him from Washington, and made few or no changes. He wished the people to feel that there was no dynastic revolution, but simply one Governor had succeeded another in due course; that, as the ancient French formula had it, "*le roi est mort, vive le roi.*"

He retained practically all the officers who were in service under Delassus, and one of these, Marie P. Le Duc, secretary to the province, was kept in office for several years, and in fact until Missouri became a State. He was finally appointed judge of the county court, and held that position for wellnigh twenty years.[1] One reason for the instructions of President Jefferson to Capt. Stoddard to make no changes in the conduct of affairs was that legislation by Congress was expected for the regulation of the Territory, and until that was had and peaceable and undisturbed possession was assured, it was thought best to have a merely military occupation. In Louisiana it had been a subject of serious complaint that Governor Claiborne, ignorant as he was of the laws, language, and manners and customs of the people over whom he had been placed, should be suddenly invested with all the powers at once of Governor-General and intendant, thus making an irresponsible and despotic proconsul out of a republican magistrate. He did not, in fact could not, exercise any such unlimited power with discretion, and the mistake made in the case of Claiborne was avoided in the case of Stoddard, who was charged practically with no duties at all, save those of preserving order.[2]

On the 26th of March, 1804, Congress passed an act to organize the newly-acquired Territory, dividing it into two parts, one to be called the "Territory of Orleans," the other "the District of Louisiana." This, a very unpopular measure at the time, completed the final severance of Missouri from Louisiana. The act forbade the continuance of the slave-trade, and submitted the character and quality of French and Spanish land grants to the United States courts, besides introducing the United States land office system of the day. "The District of Louisiana" was not otherwise interfered with, except that, as regards its civil needs, it was annexed temporarily to the Territory of Indiana (or the Indian Territory), of which Gen. William Henry Harrison was at the time Governor, with his headquarters alternately at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia, and he and the three judges of that Territory were authorized to act as a council, or legislative body, to enact such needful laws as might be required by the exigencies of the time, while these judges were further directed to hold two courts each year in St. Louis. The further legislation of Congress in regard to Missouri, previous to the passage of the enabling act providing for a Constitution and the admission of the State into the Union, had better be surveyed in this place and in one single group. It does not occupy much space upon the records. March 3, 1805, an act changing the name of the "District of Louisiana" to "Louisiana Territory," the Governor to be appointed for three years and the secretary for four years, the legislative power to be invested in the Governor and three judges. This act went into force on July 4, 1805. It grew out of the recommendations of President Jefferson in his message to Congress in December, 1804, and led to a very earnest debate in Congress, in the course of which it was vehemently urged that Louisiana, both the Territory and the District of New Orleans, were without the vestige of a republican form of government, and that the guarantees of the treaty of cession, as regarded the rights and liberties of the inhabitants, had not been complied with.[3]

[1] Marie P. Le Duc was born at the town of St. Denis, France, in 1770, and came to St. Louis during the administration of Carlos Delassus. His abilities were marked, and almost immediately brought him into prominence. He was a member of the First Constitutional Convention of Missouri, and during almost all his residence in the State was filling some official station.

[2] There was so much dissatisfaction in Louisiana that the Spanish ex-authorities secretly made it the basis of new intrigues, and Laussat, the French prefect, wrote home to his government that the people of Louisiana were only waiting for Bonaparte's triumph to return to their ancient allegiance. Claiborne was surrounded by bad advisers, he said, and Wilkinson, "who has long been known here in the most unfavorable manner, is a rattle-pated fellow, full of odd fantasies. He is frequently drunk, and has committed a thousand inconsistent and impertinent acts."

[3] In the course of this debate—the bill being in charge of John Randolph—it was urged that the French settlers did not understand the principles of a free government, and were not capable of administering their own affairs. Singularly enough, this position was maintained by the persons of French descent who happened to be in Congress, notably Mr. Huger, of South Carolina, who deeply offended the people of Louisiana by using language afterwards misconstrued to signify that they were no better than slaves and negroes, and by Mr. J. B. C. Lucas, who was in Congress for his first term as the representative of Western Pennsylvania. This gentleman supported the Territorial policy; his position was that of the ex-prefect Laussat,—that the people of the new Territories were without experience; the Spanish government had "made it its policy to keep them entirely disconnected with public affairs, which it has accustomed them to consider with indifference and even with a sort of abnegation." Mr. Lucas held that the treaty of cession only bound the United States to secure to Louisiana as large a portion of liberty and as full an enjoyment of their rights as they would have been permitted to possess under the government of France or Spain. More than this had been done, for the privilege of the *habeas corpus* had been extended to them. Mr. Lucas did not believe in theoretical legislation, and, without reflecting or wishing to reflect on the people of Louisiana, "he would say that they were not prepared for a government like that of the United States." They had not been consulted about the cession: it was a bargain made over their heads, and, "as a proof that this act had not been received with approbation by them, it must be borne in mind that when they saw the American flag hoisted

The next act was that of June 4, 1812, at which time "the District of Orleans" was erected into the State of Louisiana. It enacted that

"The Territory heretofore called 'Louisiana' shall hereafter be called 'Missouri.' The Governor shall be appointed by the President for three years, and must reside in the Territory; the secretary for four years, also to reside in the Territory. The General Assembly shall consist of the Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Representatives, the representatives to be elected by the voters for two years, every five hundred inhabitants to be entitled to one representative, until they number twenty-five, then the ratio to be regulated by the General Assembly. For the first election there shall be thirteen elected, for which purpose the Governor shall divide the Territory into thirteen precincts, previous to October 1st next. These first representatives will meet in St. Louis on the first Monday of December, 1812. They shall nominate eighteen persons to the President of the United States, who will appoint nine of them as members of the Legislative Council. And the Governor shall convene the first General Assembly at St. Louis, as soon as may be convenient after the appointment of the Legislative Council. Afterwards, the General Assembly shall meet once in each year at St. Louis, on the first Monday of December. A delegate to Congress shall be elected by the people at the election.

"This act to go into effect on the first Monday in October, 1812.

"HENRY CLAY, *Speaker House of Rep's.*
"WM. H. CRAWFORD, *Pres't Senate pro tem.*
"Approved) "JAMES MADISON, *President.*"

There is but one more act to record, that of April 29, 1816, which provides for one member of the "Legislative Council" from each county, to serve for two years, and the "General Assembly," to sit once in two years, on the first Monday in December.

The law of March 26, 1804, was enacted to go into effect October 1st of that year. Gen. Harrison and the three Indiana judges, Thomas Terry Davis, Henry Vandenburgh, and John Griffin, met in Vincennes and adopted the laws which they thought necessary to carry out the act of Congress and for the immediate government of the district; among others, one dividing it into five sub-districts, each of which was to have a commandant or Lieutenant-Governor. These districts were St. Louis, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid. Courts of Quarter Sessions were established for each district, and each was to have its sheriff and recorder, appointed by the Governor. This action superseded Capt. Stoddard, whose term of office ended with Sept. 30, 1804. The next day, October 1st, Gen. Harrison and the Indiana judges came to St. Louis, opened court, and installed a new Governor or commandant for the sub-district. This was Col. Samuel Hammond, of Virginia, who built a house in the American style, and entertained royally until July 4, 1805, when the act of March 3d of that year superseded him by making Gen. James Wilkinson Governor of the whole Territory. Hammond was simply Deputy Governor, under Governor Harrison, of the District of St. Louis.

"The Court of Quarter Sessions" was to hold four terms every year in St. Louis, meeting on the third Tuesday in March, June, September, and December. The first session in St. Louis was an Oyer and Terminer, held Dec. 18, 1804, the place of meeting being the tavern of Emilien Yosti. The sheriff was James Rankin, and the justices present were Auguste Chouteau, Jacques Clamorgan, David Delaunay, and James Mackay. Charles Gratiot was presiding justice of this court, of which Edward Hempstead was acting deputy attorney-general *pro tem.*[1]

In the room of the French they shed tears. Was it not a proof that they were not so friendly to our government as some gentlemen imagined? There is no doubt but that after they have experienced the blessings of a free government they will wonder at their having shed tears on this occasion; but they must, in the first instance, feel these blessings." This conservative position of Mr. Lucas, and his knowledge of the French character and language, led Mr. Jefferson to appoint him to fill one of the judgeships created under the act, and henceforth his fortunes became allied with those of St. Louis.

[1] Edward Hempstead was the first delegate in Congress from Missouri Territory, and a man whose services to the community can never be forgotten while the power of grateful recollection survives. He and Thomas F. Riddick procured from Congress the legislation upon which the existing school system of St. Louis rests, and from which so much of its income has been derived. Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, once member of Congress from the Galena district of Illinois, and late Minister to France, who is closely connected with St. Louis people by marriage, and by sympath, also, has given such a complete and faultless sketch of Mr. Hempstead's life, in an elaborate address upon the subject before the Missouri Legislature, that he has left no more to be said. A few extracts from that address are all that will be needed here:

"Edward Hempstead, born at New London, Conn., June 3, 1780, was the son of Stephen Hempstead, who served most gallantly in the Revolution from the battle of Lexington onward. He was sergeant in Nathan Hale's company when the British executed that martyr as a spy. He came to St. Louis in 1811 and died there, esteemed by all.

"Mr Edward Hempstead received a classical education under the tuition of the Rev. Amos Bassett, in the town of Hebron, Conn. He early began the study of law in his native State, first under Sylvester Gilbert, Esq., and finished under Enoch Huntington, Esq. He was licensed in 1801, and commenced practice in Connecticut. From there he removed to Newport, R. I., where he became a partner of the Hon. Asher Robbins, afterward a distinguished member of the Senate of the United States from that State. After remaining two years at Newport, though he had gained a good reputation at the bar and the avenue to a complete success seemed open to him, he determined to seek a home west of the Mississippi. Louisiana had then been purchased from France, and with prophetic vision he saw that

"'Westward the star of empire takes its way.'

"For a young man with no resources but his own character and abilities to leave staid New England to settle in a country

William Sullivan was appointed constable for St. Louis, and a house was rented from Jacques Clamorgan for a jail; rent, fifteen dollars a month, and one hundred and thirty-three dollars and forty cents spent for repairing and fitting it up. The sheriff summoned a grand jury, the first one St. Louis ever had, and the following are the members of this body: Antoine Soulard, Bernard Pratte, Thomas F. Riddick, Wilson

half-way across the continent, and just acquired from a foreign nation, was the conception of a stout heart and inspired by a great ambition.

"He left Newport, R. I., in June, 1804, and traveled on horseback (at that day almost the only conveyance west of the Alleghany Mountains) to Vincennes, in the Territory of Indiana, where he arrived in due time. Finding that the civil laws of our government had not yet been extended over Upper Louisiana, he remained at Vincennes until the fall of that year (1804), when he accompanied the Governor of Indiana Territory, Gen. William H. Harrison, to St. Louis, who visited that district or portion of Upper Louisiana to organize the civil government, courts, etc. This province had just before that time been attached by act of Congress to the Territory of Indiana for governmental and judicial purposes. Mr. Hempstead's arrival at St. Louis was but a few months after the formal transfer of the sovereignty of Upper Louisiana from France to the United States had taken place.

"Mr. Hempstead first settled at St. Charles, on the Missouri River, where he opened an office and practiced his profession for about one year. Here he devoted himself to the acquisition of the French language, and to the study of the French and Spanish laws. Though his residence at St. Charles was only a brief one, yet during that time he was appointed to hold several offices of high trust and importance connected with the courts. In the fall of 1805 he removed to and established himself at St. Louis, the seat of Upper Louisiana. There he at once entered into a most extensive and laborious and successful practice of his profession, not only in the courts of law, but before the tribunal established for the purpose of adjusting land claims and titles derived from the Spanish and French governments in Upper Louisiana. Thoroughly studied in this branch of his profession, he was rewarded with corresponding success. He not only practiced in the courts of St. Louis, but in the adjacent districts on the west side, and those in the 'Illinois country,' as it was then called, on the east side of the Mississippi River. In 1806 he was appointed deputy attorney-general for the districts of St. Louis and St. Charles, in the Territory of Upper Louisiana. In March, 1809, he received from Governor Meriwether Lewis the appointment of attorney-general for that Territory, which he accepted and held until 1812, and the duties of which highly important office he performed with eminent ability, firmness, and efficiency.

'I quote from a memoir of Mr. Hempstead, written by his friend, Col. Benton, in 1818: 'Soon after his settlement in St. Louis, Mr. Hempstead married into one of the most respectable families of the place, but left no surviving issue. His private life was an example of all that is desirable in the character of husband, father, and neighbor. In that of son and brother he has had but few parallels. No sooner did he find himself established in his new residence in Missouri than his filial affections went in search of his parents and relatives, whom he had left in Connecticut when setting out to lay the foundation of his own fortunes in a country so remote and so little known. He brought them to Missouri, established his aged parents in a comfortable home, and extended the assistance of a father to his brothers and sisters. Traits of this kind display the heart; they show the material of which it is made, and speak a higher eulogy than the tongue or pen of friendship can confer.'

"The act of Congress of June 4, 1812, provided for the representation of this new Territory of Missouri in Congress by one delegate. Governor Howard ordered an election for delegate on the second Monday of November, 1812.

"At this election Edward Hempstead was elected delegate to Congress. On the 4th of January, 1813, he took his seat, as shown by the following entry in the journal: 'Monday, Jan. 4, 1813, Edward Hempstead, returned to serve as the delegate to this house from the Territory of Missouri, appeared, produced his credentials, was qualified, and took his seat.' A question arose whether the delegate thus elected could remain a delegate after the expiration of the Twelfth Congress on the 4th of March, 1813.

"The first official act of Mr. Hempstead was a motion to raise a committee of the house to inquire into the matter. Of that committee Mr. Hempstead was chairman. The practice of the House of Representatives of that date was different from that of the present time. Under the present rules and practice of the House of Representatives the Territorial delegates cannot sit on the committees of the house. On the 15th day of January, Mr. Hempstead introduced into the House certain resolutions, instructing the Committee on Public Lands to inquire into the expediency of legislation in regard to the adjudication of land claims, etc., in the Territory of Louisiana (then Missouri), and also instructing the same committee to inquire into the expediency of granting the right of pre-emption to actual settlers on public lands in the Territory of Missouri.

"On the 29th of January, 1813, Mr. McKee, from the committee appointed on the motion of Mr. Hempstead to inquire into the question of further legislation in regard to election of delegate from the Territory of Missouri, reported that no legislation was necessary, for the reason that the delegate having been elected for two years under the provision of the law organizing the Territory, he could hold his seat for that term—that is to say, from the second Monday in November, 1812, to the second Monday in November, 1814; that the delegate elected in pursuance of law and for the term of two years could not be deprived of his seat by any subsequent law.

"Mr. Hempstead appears to have been on other committees than the one I have referred to. He was on a committee to whom was referred the petition of Daniel Boone and the resolutions of the Legislature of Kentucky in his behalf, and made a report thereon.

"The second session of the Thirteenth Congress convened on the 6th of December, 1813, and Mr. Hempstead was present as delegate from the Territory of Missouri. He had given his attention to a subject of vast importance to the Territory that he represented. It was the question of the final adjustment of land titles upon the bill which had been presented in the House in accordance with resolutions therefore introduced by him. It was on this bill that he made what appears to be his only speech during his term of service. As reported in the 'History of Congress,' it is an able one. He treats of the questions presented with great clearness, evincing a thorough knowledge of his subject and of the questions of international law which were involved. He contended that the title to lands in Louisiana Territory, before Spain ceded it to France in 1800, should be recognized and confirmed by the United States: that the acts of the Spanish government in granting titles to lands in Louisiana Territory from the time of the cession to France in 1800, and up to the time France ceded it to the United States

Hunt, Jacob Harry, Joseph Brasau, Antoine Vincent, Silvestre Labbadie, Joseph M. Papin, Jean Baptiste Trudeau, Francis M. Benoit, Boyd Denny, Pierre Didier, Calvin Adams, Emilien Yosti, Yancient (Hyacinthe) St. Cur, Andrew Andreville, Benito Baskes (Vasquez), Gerome Hebert, Patrick Lee, Yacinte Egliz, Joseph Ortes, Louis Brazeau, and Joseph Perkins, twenty-four, which being severally called, there

in 1803, should be recognized and confirmed by the United States. France had never taken possession of the country ceded by Spain in 1800, but had left the latter country in the full exercise of its sovereignty up to the time of the cession to the United States in 1803. Former acts of Congress had cut off all of these grants made by the Spanish government, violating, as he contended, not only the treaty with France, but the well known principles of international law. Mr. Hempstead characterized this law as 'the violation of every principle either of law or equity; it declared that which had been legally commenced under another government to be null and void; it made void the lawful proceedings of a power in the just exercise of its sovereignty. Instances have often occurred where what had been lawfully begun, but not completed, has been sanctioned and acknowledged, especially when it depended on the performances of conditions which subsequent events had made it impossible to perform, but never could a lawful act be made unlawful. A right once vested could not, without any fault of the claimant, be either at law or in equity divested; such a principle changed the nature of things, and was therefore odious. Would,' asked Mr. Hempstead, 'the Spanish government have sanctioned the grants made by its officers? If so, they ought now to be sanctioned; without the solemn stipulations of the treaty to support it, policy alone would dictate such a course.' He appealed in behalf of his constituents. 'Liberality will secure the affections of those you have made a part of your family; it will root old attachments, while a more rigid plan will occasion distrust and dissatisfaction, and the change will be regarded as injurious. No national benefit can result from this rigor; a few acres of land to the United States are nothing, but taken away from individuals may cause distress and ruin. Many of them are strangers to your language and unacquainted with your laws; their affections ought not to be estranged when extending justice to them will secure their confidence.'

"Mr. Hempstead then showed the injustice of other laws which had been passed on this subject: 'They had been so amended and altered by so many different statutes that difficulties had been increased instead of diminished. It could not be denied that the people of this Territory were in a worse situation in that respect than others. It now remains for me, Mr. Speaker, to consider very briefly whether the present bill will do full and complete justice to the claimants. During the ten years of scrutiny and investigation, few have made improvements. Many families, despairing of obtaining their equitable claims, and tired of the uncertainties attending their titles, have abandoned a country which cannot prosper without the fostering aid of the government, and if the delay of justice has not in all cases been equal in its consequences to an absolute denial of it, still it has caused much distress and injury. The present bill will quiet the apprehensions of most of the claimants, and although it will neither satisfy nor do justice to all, yet it will restore that confidence which has been much impaired, and will do what the national faith is pledged to do.' The act of Congress which Mr. Hempstead had introduced, and so ably and strenuously advocated, became a law on the 12th day of April, 1814. It was a law of transcendent importance to the people of the Territory of Missouri, for it confirmed the incomplete Spanish grants or conceptions, or any warrant or order of survey for lands lying within the Territory of Missouri prior to March 10, 1804,' which was the date when the sovereignty of France over Upper Louisiana passed to the sovereignty of the United States. The act also provided for giving to the settlers of Missouri Territory the right of pre-emption to public lands, a beneficent act which extended the principle which had been applied to other Territories.

"Mr. Hempstead's name does not further appear in the proceedings of this session of Congress, which adjourned on the 18th day of April, 1814, to meet on the last Monday of the following October. Mr. Madison, however, called an extra session of Congress to meet on the 19th of September, 1814. Mr. Hempstead seems not to have taken his seat at this extra session of Congress, and probably for the reason that the term of two years for which he was elected would expire in about six weeks after the meeting of the said extra session.

"Mr. Hempstead, having successfully accomplished the objects for which he was sent to Congress, declined a re-election, and returned to the practice of his profession, and to the performance of all the duties of a good citizen. In this latter capacity he showed his disposition to be useful to his country by accepting inferior stations after having retired from the highest which the vote of his fellow-citizens could confer on him. He went on several expeditions to protect the frontiers from the Indians during the war which followed, and afterward served in the General Assembly of the Territory, of which he was elected Speaker in the popular branch."

This, however, is by no means the sum of Mr. Hempstead's services, nor the greatest of them. The public schools of St. Louis hold property worth a million and a half of dollars, and yielding an annual income of over fifty thousand dollars. This is due to Mr. Hempstead and Mr. Thomas F. Riddick. The latter began to urge the matter upon Congress before the act organizing the Territory was passed, and Mr. Hempstead secured the favorable action of that body by his personal influence and urgent appeals. The act of the Twelfth Congress, Chapter XCIX., by which this valuable interest was secured and perpetuated, recites that "the rights, titles, and claims to town and village lots, out-lots, common-field lots, and commons in, adjoining, and belonging to the several towns and villages of Portage des Sioux, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Ferdinand, Village à Robert, Little Prairie, and Arkansas, in the Territory of Missouri, which lots have been inhabited, cultivated, or possessed prior to the 22d of December, 1803, shall be and the same are hereby confirmed to the inhabitants of the respective towns and villages aforesaid according to their several rights in common thereto. . . . All town or village lots, out-lots or common-field lots included in such surveys which are not rightfully owned or obtained by any private individuals, or held as commons belonging to such towns or villages, or that the President of the United States may not think proper to reserve for military purposes, shall and the same are hereby reserved for the support of schools in the respective towns or villages aforesaid." This is the origin of the endowment of the St. Louis public schools.

Hempstead declining re-election, Rufus Easton succeeded him in Congress, and John Scott succeeded Easton.

"Mr. Hempstead was the friend and supporter of Mr. Scott, and entered warmly into the canvass in his behalf. In returning from St. Charles to St. Louis, a day or two before the election, which was on Monday, Aug. 4, 1817, he was thrown from

were absent four,—Joseph Brazeau, John B. Trudeau, F. M. Benoit, and Patrick Lee. The absent jurors were fined five dollars each. The court licensed John Boly to keep a ferry across the Maramec for three years, and laid down the following rates for ferry fees and constables' fees:

"Ferry rates: For a man, 25 cents; horse, 25 cents; cart and team, 50 cents; yoke of oxen, 25 cents; cow and calf, 25 cents; and the following rates over the Mississippi and Missouri: Man, 25 cents; man and horse, 62½ cents; wagons, $1 each; horse, 50 cents; cart and oxen, $1.50; first cow or ox, 50 cents; additional ones, 25 cents each; hogs and sheep, 12½ cents each; merchandise, 12½ cents 100 pounds; marketing, 6¼ cents; constables' fees, serving a writ, 37½ cents; a summons, 25 cents; an execution, 25 cents.

(Signed) "CHARLES GRATIOT.

"RUFUS EASTON, *Prothonotary*."

There was at first no post-office at St. Louis, but one was established some time before the regular frame of a government was fixed on; Rufus Easton, the clerk of the Court of Sessions, as above, serving as postmaster.[1] The mail was sent to Cahokia from St. Louis once a week. It was during this year that Lewis and Clark started on their expedition up the Missouri River, from which they did not return until 1806. They had performed a brilliant exploit, and they were not only *fêted*, but rewarded when they came back. Both Clark and Lewis, as will be seen, were appointed to prominent positions in Missouri, and the men likewise were compensated with liberal land grants by a special act of Congress to that end.[2]

In the primitive village of that day there were no paved streets, and locomotion was sometimes difficult. The only road from the river in 1804 was Market

his horse and received what was supposed to be a slight injury on his head. He was able, however, to continue his journey home, and afterwards to attend to his usual business. The injury he received was, however, far more serious than was at first supposed. In arguing a cause in court on the 9th of August he was stricken down with congestion of the brain, the undoubted result of his being thrown from his horse; falling senseless, he lingered until half-past twelve o'clock Sunday morning, when he expired. I copy a mournful entry made by his venerable father, Stephen Hempstead, in his diary, dated Aug. 9, 1817: 'Went into St. Louis this afternoon and found my son Edward in a fit of apoplexy and not able to speak. Every medical aid was used to restore his system again, but to no purpose. He continued until 12.30 o'clock, and expired in the bloom of life, at the age of thirty-seven years and three months.' His funeral took place on Monday, the 11th of August, on the farm of his father, five miles from town, which now constitutes the Bellefontaine Cemetery. I copy another entry made in the same diary, dated Monday, August 11th, in relation to the funeral: 'The funeral was attended by a very numerous collection of people of every description, whose faces were uniformly wet with the tears of sorrow for their departed friend. The neighbors in the country were generally collected at my house for the funeral. Mr. Giddings made a prayer and committed to the grave the remains of a beloved son, cut down suddenly in the prime of life and usefulness, a great loss to my family, but much greater to the Territory and public in general.'"

The following obituary notice appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of Aug. 16, 1817: "Died on Sunday night last, after a short illness, Edward Hempstead, Esq., counselor and attorney-at-law, and formerly a delegate from this Territory to Congress. In the dear relation of husband, son, and brother, the deceased is believed to have fully acted up to his duty. The sorrow of his widow and relations offered the most eloquent expression of his worth. On Monday the corpse of the deceased was attended to the place of interment (at the plantation of his father, Stephen Hempstead, Esq.) by a greater number of respectable citizens than we have ever witnessed here on a similar occasion."

[1] *Letters from Gideon Granger, Postmaster-General under President Jefferson, to Judge Rufus Easton, of St. Louis:*

"WASHINGTON CITY, March 16, 1803.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have just received yours of the 17th of January, together with sundry communications in regard to the Territory of Louisiana, which I have forwarded to the President of the United States at his seat. Congress has created your Territory into a new government of the first grade. It goes into operation on the 4th of July next. The President has appointed James Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the United States, Governor of the Territory. He is one of the most agreeable, best informed, most genteel, moderate, and sensible Republicans in the nation. Dr. Browne, of New York, is appointed secretary, upon the special and single recommendation of Aaron Burr; J. B. Lucas, of Pennsylvania, chief justice; *my friend Rufus Easton one of the assistant judges, the other judge I know not.*" . . .

April 4, 1805. "SIR,—Yours of the 25th is received; you can not be allowed anything for letters sent, or office rent; for a desk you will be allowed to charge this office ten dollars.

"Yours affectionately,

"GIDEON GRANGER.

"HON. RUFUS EASTON,

"*St. Louis, Territory of Louisiana.*"

These letters are quoted from "The Bench and Bar of Missouri."

[2] The following is the record of one of these warrants in favor of Patrick Gass, an old soldier of several wars, resident of West Virginia, and who wrote a very interesting, homely book of his own personal adventures and reminiscences, including his account of the Lewis and Clark expedition

"No. 6. Pursuant to an act of Congress, passed the 3d day of March, 1807, entitled 'An Act making compensation to Messieurs Lewis and Clark and their companions,' Patrick Gass is entitled to three hundred and twenty acres of land, to be located, agreeably to said act, at the option of the holder or possessor, with any register or receiver of the land office, subsequent to the public sales in such office, on any of the public lands of the United States lying west of the Mississippi, then and there offered for sale, or may be received at the rate of two hundred dollars per acre in payment of any such land.

"Given at the War Office this 6th day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seven.

"HENRY DEARBORN,

"*Secretary of War.*

"Registered, H. G. ROGERS.

"Recorded Nov. 15, 1808, M. P. LEDUC, *Recorder*."

Street, quarried out rudely through the limestone rock. This was rather a footway than a road, and was of more service to the inhabitants in enabling them to get water than in any other respect. The river was relied upon principally for water, and there were but few pumps and wells, owing to the difficulties presented by the bed-rock underlying the city. Where there were no springs and spring branches, the river was almo. the sole source of supply, though there were some pu ps, and a few years later St. Louis supported a pump-maker.[1] It was this general use of the river water which induced the inhabitants to build so close to the banks.

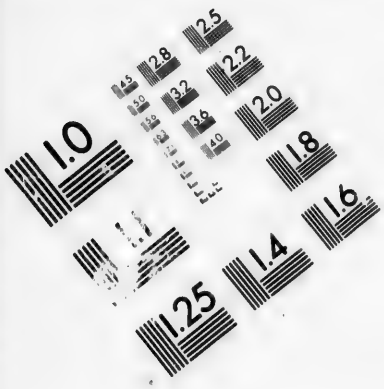
"The water was hauled up from the river in a barrel laid across two sapling poles, which served for shafts, called a drag. After a time a few wells were sunk, back on the second and third streets, but as they had to bore through the limestone bed-rock of the village in their excavation they cost much money, and but few undertook them. Col. Chouteau, who lived on his block almost sixty-five years, had made two attempts at different parts of the same; one of them was unsuccessful, the other after going to the depth of one hundred feet, at great cost, procured a little water, but a very inadequate supply. Besides, it was only in the summer-time that a little cold water was needed for drinking purposes, there being then no ice put up, but the river water was universally preferred, as more wholesome and palatable."

The fuel of the townspeople was either such as could be got from the different prairie edges and commons, or else drift-wood brought down the Missouri and lodged against the different bars and islands in the river near the town. In every case it was dead-fall wood. The people used no green wood at that time; and later, when they began to look to Carondelet for their supplies, they got all seasoned wood. The gathering of drift-wood from the river was quite an industry among the poorer inhabitants. It was cut and split into cord-wood, dried and seasoned, and then retailed in small lots through the town. Coal was not used as fuel until after the incorporation of St. Louis, and then none was dug either in Missouri or Illinois. It was brought on rafts from a distance, often from as far as Pittsburgh, and in 1825 was sold, by *the cord*, for from one dollar and twenty-five cents to one dollar and fifty cents. The French families preferred charcoal, as they do in France to-day, and the smiths used no other fuel. Charcoal-burning was a regular industry among the French rural classes around St. Louis.

The act of March 3, 1805, reorganizing the government and Territory, did not go into effect until July 4th, and up to that day Harrison was still Governor and Hammond his deputy and acting commandant. Wilkinson, however, knew that Jefferson meant to commission him as Governor of the newly-organized Territory, and he was on the spot in St. Louis quite early in the year. He had a house in the village, and kept great state as commander-in-chief. In the spring he received a visit from Aaron Burr, then his confidential friend and intimate. Burr wished to go to Louisiana to consult with Daniel Clarke and Casa Calvo about his mysterious plans and projects, and Wilkinson not only gave him letters to them, but, to expedite the voyage, fitted out his ten-oar barge and sent him down the river gayly with a sergeant and ten men for escort and oarsmen. Burr reached New Orleans June 26, 1805. Ten days later Wilkinson was Governor of Missouri, or "Louisiana District."

Under this act (the effects of which are fully discussed elsewhere) the district of Upper Louisiana was separated from Indiana, with Wilkinson Governor. A Superior Court was created for the district, the judges being John B. C. Lucas, John Coburn, and Rufus Easton. This court sat in St. Louis, and these judges, with the Governor, all of them appointed by the President, constituted the Legislature of the Territory or district. Before the government under Wilkinson was organized, however, the Court of Common Pleas had had another session, its March term. At this there were eight justices present, Charles Gratiot presiding. The judges additional to those already named were Alexander McNair from St. Louis, and Richard Caulk, James Richardson, and John Allen from the country. Rufus Easton had been commissioned attorney-general for the district. John B. Belan was licensed to keep a ferry across the Missouri at St. Charles; same ferry rates allowed him as had been established before by the court. There was a special session of this court on April 15, 1805, to regulate licenses, its functions indeed being those of a levy court or board of county commissioners, in addition to its jurisdiction in jail delivery and the commission of the peace. It was determined that each ferry across the Mississippi should pay ten dollars a year license; that at St. Charles, ten dollars; that at Hensley, across the Missouri, six miles above St. Louis, five dollars. The license for billiard-tables was put at one hundred dollars each (the French citizens must have rebelled at this), and taverns five dollars. It was provided that shaved deer-skins were a legal tender for taxes at the rate of three pounds to the dollar in the winter months (October to April), but in the other months the payments must be made in cash. On April 29th

[1] His name was Victor Hab. John Mullanphy refused to pay his bill of seven dollars for boring a pump-stock, and Hab sued him. Mr. Darby, who tells the story, was Mullanphy's counsel. However, Mullanphy owned a brewery, and this pump was for service about the tubs and vats and not to bring up water.



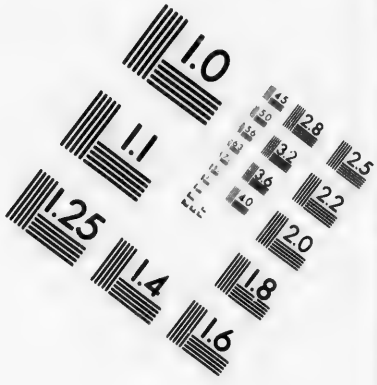
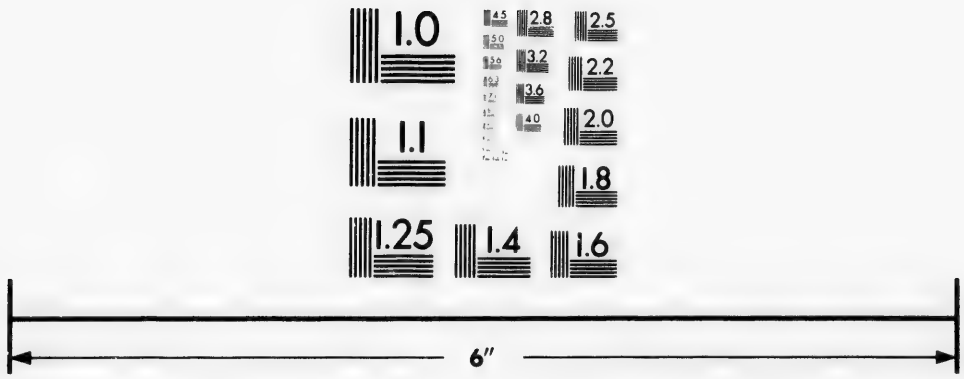
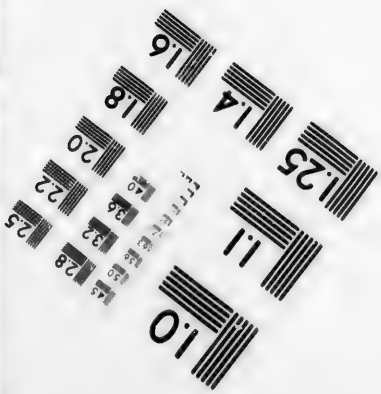
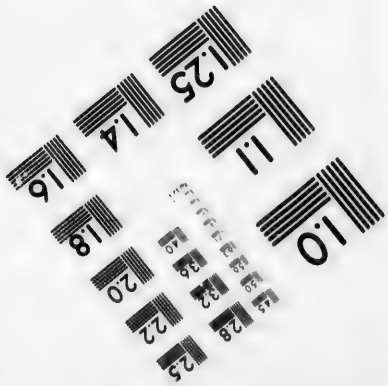


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there was another special session, at which Calvin Adams, André Andreville, and William Sullivan, of St. Louis, were licensed to keep tavern. At this session Sheriff Rankin was fined six dollars for "insolence and contempt of court." He appears also to have been removed, for when the June term arrived Josiah McLanahan presented his commission as sheriff, and Edward Hempstead was deputy attorney-general. It was also announced in court that the new Governor and judges for the Territory of Louisiana were expected to "arrive" on July 4th. Lucas and his associates did not in fact arrive until September.

Joseph Browne, who had served with Wilkinson and Claiborne in New Orleans, was appointed Secretary of the Territory. There was not much done by the Governor and his judge-legislature during that year. Lucas had other work to do besides his work on the bench and in the Legislature. Here his first associate was Return Jonathan Meigs, one of the Indiana judges, and prominent in Territorial organization with Harrison and others in the Northwest. Afterwards his associate was Otho Strader. He was also a commissioner of land titles, in association with Clement B. Penrose and James L. Donaldson, the board transacting much important business in 1806. In the mean time, acting in their legislative function, the Governor and the judges provided for an attorney-general for the Territory, to be appointed by the Governor. They separated the "Arkansas District" from New Madrid in 1806, June 27th, and provided for a "General Court" to be holden in St. Louis twice a year, May and October terms. After that date Wilkinson went South, to look after Burr and find a convenient opportunity to betray him, and in his absence Secretary Browne acted as Governor,—in fact, Wilkinson never resumed the Governorship, though appointed for three years (under the act of Congress), and the secretary for four years. Wilkinson did one good thing before he left. Jefferson was anxious to conciliate the French people of Louisiana and St. Louis in every way, and it was in pursuance of his wishes in this respect that Wilkinson recommended and the President appointed some of the sons of the leading French inhabitants to positions in West Point and the United States army. Charles Gratiot's son, afterwards Gen. Charles Gratiot, of the engineer corps, was one of these appointees, and a son of Auguste Chouteau was another. A son of Louis Lorimier, commandant and Indian agent at Cape Girardeau, was likewise appointed. In connection with the judges, provision was made for a clerk of the General Court,—a sort of Supreme Bench, or Court of Appeals, meeting twice a year. In 1807, when Frederick Bates had become secretary and acting Governor, the Legislature, consisting of Bates, Lucas, and Strader, adopted an important general judiciary act, reconstructing the courts and conferring new powers upon them. This act, bearing date July 3d, provided that the Governor should appoint for each district of the Territory five judges of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to hold office for four years. Two judges were to constitute a quorum capable of holding court, and there were to be three terms per year in each district,—in St. Louis, the first Monday in March, July, and November. A Court of Oyer and Terminer and general jail delivery was also established, consisting of one of the judges of the General Court (of Appeals) and a justice of the Common Pleas for each district. The Quarter Sessions was given jurisdiction in all criminal cases save those which involved the penalty of death. These could only be tried in a General Oyer and Terminer, presided over by one of the General Court judges. There was to be one clerk for each district, appointed by the Governor. The General Court, or Supreme Court of Record, sat twice a year at St. Louis, meeting on the first Monday of May and October.

On July 4, 1807, the court-legislature took steps to have the districts divided into townships, and commissioners were appointed for that purpose. The next year, Meriwether Lewis being Governor, and Judge John Coburn sometimes acting as a legislator in conjunction with his colleagues Strader and Lucas, an "act concerning towns" was passed, under which St. Louis was first incorporated. Under the provisions of this act, two-thirds of the voters in any of the villages applying therefor could be incorporated by the Court of Common Pleas, the court reserving to itself the right to appoint two commissioners to superintend the election of five trustees to serve for one year. At this same session of the Legislature an act was passed to lay out a road from St. Louis to Ste. Genevieve, thence to Cape Girardeau, and thence to New Madrid. Acting Governor Browne had appointed Joseph W. Garnier clerk of the General Court Oct. 28, 1806.

While the Legislature was shaping the courts in this way, the Common Pleas had not been inactive. At December term, 1805, James L. Donaldson, a Baltimorean, was commissioned attorney-general of the Territory. The court agreed with Emilien Yosti to rent from him, for the next year, three rooms in his tavern for a rent of one hundred and seventy dollars. At the March term, 1806, we find Joseph Browne presiding justice, with Chouteau, Delaunay,

and Mackay associates. Browne had been commissioned presiding justice by Wilkinson. This Governor had also commissioned Andrew Steel as prothonotary of the court. The court had asked and obtained leave of the Governor to make use of the military guard-house (the old stone Martello tower) in the fort on the hill as a jail until a better one could be provided. James Smirl was, in 1806, licensed to keep a ferry across the Maramec at the mouth of Defend Creek, for ten dollars a year, and a road was ordered to be built from Carondelet to that point. There was a special term of the Quarter Sessions Oct. 8, 1806, at which Jacques Clamorgan, Bernard Pratte, and William Christy attended. Jeremiah Conner was now sheriff, and he protested to the court

"that the jail of said district in its present state is insufficient to secure prisoners, either those committed on criminal process or those committed on civil, as has been proved by the breaking of the prison twice within a short period back. He therefore prays this honorable court to take such measure in the premises as the necessity of the case and the safety of the district requires.

"The court having considered the same, and being convinced that the safety of the district requires that a guard be called of the militia of this district, for the purpose of securing the prisoners confined in the jail, do order that the commanding officer of the militia of this district be required to furnish a guard sufficient for the purpose above specified, until the jail be made sufficient to secure the prisoners, and that a copy of this order be sent to the commanding officer aforesaid without delay.

"Court then adjourned *sine die*."

At the December term of the court this year William Christy was licensed to keep tavern, and paid twenty-five dollars fees,—perhaps he paid for five years in a lump. The court, tired of inadequate accommodations, "ordered the houses in the garrison to be repaired for the use of the courts, and that a stove and wood should be furnished the jail." At the March term, 1807, secretary and acting Governor Browne made William Christy clerk of the Quarter Sessions, and the court granted a license to Nathaniel Carpenter to keep a ferry across the Mississippi opposite St. Louis, at twenty dollars per annum. At the June term, Silas Bent produced a commission from Frederick Bates (new secretary and acting Governor of the Territory), appointing him presiding justice of the Common Pleas. This was the first public act of Bates. Bent was also licensed to keep the "old ferry" to Cahokia, below the town, at twenty-five dollars. On July 1, 1807, the courts were reorganized, with Bent, chief justice; Chouteau, Pratte, and Labeaume, associates; Thomas F. Riddick, clerk; and Jeremiah Conner, sheriff. Bernard Pratte and Riddick were the commissioners assigned to divide the several districts into townships, and the taxable inhabitants of St. Louis township were returned at 257; St. Ferdinand, 205; Bonhomme, 126; and Joachim, 141.

The Court of Common Pleas now did not do much outside of regular business of the bench, equity, and the like, but its justices were associated with the judges of the General Court in several important cases in Oyer and Terminer. At the March term, 1809, Judge Bent presiding, the Secretary of the Territory returned into court a survey and plat of that part of the St. Louis and Genevieve road which lay in St. Louis County, and it was approved, and the road ordered to be "cut out." (Appropriate term for a road surveyed in great part through the primeval forest.) The licenses granted were, for taverns, at eighteen dollars each, to Rezin Webster, Joseph Leblanc, Charles Busro (Bosseron), Batiste Lebeau, Elijah Smith, André Andreville, and Emilien Yosti; Samuel Solomon to keep his ferry across the Mississippi at St. Louis for fifteen dollars, and Batiste Belan at St. Charles, twenty dollars.

On Aug. 14, 1809, there was a special term of Oyer and Terminer. A year before there had been a trial of two Indians for murder, but the court had acquitted them upon the ground of want of jurisdiction. They were now to try a white man for the same capital crime. On Monday, June 26th, at Lang's Mill, in Bonhomme township, St. Louis Co., John Long, the younger, shot and killed with a rifle George Gordon, his stepfather. The crime was a premeditated one, the assassin lying in wait. The court met on Monday, August 14th, J. B. C. Lucas presiding; Silas Bent and Auguste Chouteau, associates; Edward Hempstead, bearing the commission of attorney-general from Capt. Meriwether Lewis, now Governor of the Territory. The grand jury at once brought in an indictment against Long, and he was tried on the following Monday. The jury which tried him consisted of John Brown (of Coldwater), foreman; Daniel Hodges, Alexis Lalande, Antoine Barèda, Jacques Clamorgan, Michael Honoré, Benjamin Jilkinson, Thomas R. Music, Joseph Moore, Henry H. Shreeve, Peter Primm, and Joseph Philipson. They brought in a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree, and the fact Lalande afterwards admitted on oath that he could neither speak nor understand a word of English did not prevent Long from being sentenced to be hung, and the sentence from being duly executed on Saturday, Sept. 16, 1809, —the first man ever hung in St. Louis, although the town had been in existence forty-five years. In 1811 there was another Indian tried for murdering his wife, but Henry Brackenridge successfully defended

him upon the ground of no jurisdiction, the Indians, in offenses against one another, being *feræ naturæ* in the contemplation of the law.

At the November term of the Court of the Common Pleas, 1809, under the rule of law granted this court by the Governor and judges of the general term acting as a legislature, a petition of sundry inhabitants of the town of St. Louis, asking that said town within certain specified limits should be incorporated, was received and examined. The court finding the petition to be signed by two-thirds of the taxable inhabitants residing in the said town, ordered the same to be incorporated, and the metes and bounds to be surveyed and marked, and a plot filed for record in the clerk's office. Under the charter so granted the town was to have five trustees, who were to act as commissioners in municipal concerns, and the court appointed David Delaunay and William C. Carr to be commissioners to supervise the election of the first five trustees.

This petition must have borne the names of about two hundred persons, for the assessors, more than a year before, had returned two hundred and fifty-seven taxables in St. Louis, the total number in the county being seven hundred and twenty-nine. These assessors were Bernard Pratte and Thomas F. Riddick, officially styled "Commissioners of Rates and Levies." The rates and levies are curious in themselves. We have already, in a previous chapter, given an assessment return of taxables and their estates for the year 1811. We present herewith a return of receipts and disbursements for the years 1807, 1808, and 1809,—a complete account of revenue and expenditures, as exhibited in the audited report of Jeremiah Connor, sheriff, collector, and treasurer of the district of St. Louis:

"*Jeremiah Connor, Collector and Treasurer of the District of St. Louis, in account current with said district.*

Dr.		Cr.	
To amount of tax-list for 1806, reserving to myself the right of receiving credit for taxes of insolvents and defaulters when the same can be accurately ascertained...	$1561.42	1807, June 1, by amount of disbursements for district, as per account and vouchers furnished, passed board commissioners and assessors this day.....	$1504.65
To amount of tax-list for 1807 with the above reservation.	1522.13	1808, June 22, by 20 per cent. for Territory on $1160, on amount of licenses for merchants, taverns, and ferries from July, 1806, to this date.....	232.00
To amount of tax-list for 1808 with the above reservation.	1060.71	" June 22, 20 per cent. from Territory on $2149.28, taxes collected for 1807 and 1808.....	429.85
1806, July 8, to amount of license money for merchandise, taverns, and ferries from 18th October, 1805, to 8th July, 1806.....	731.25	" June 22, 10 per cent. to collector on $1286.37, taxes collected for 1806.....	128.63
1808, June 23, to amount of license money for merchandise, taverns, and ferries from July, 1806, to date.....	1160.00	" June 22, 8 per cent. to collector on $1719.42, on district taxes, 1807 and 1808.....	137.55
1809, Feb. 1, to cash received from Bernard Pratte, Esq., treasurer.....	230.94	1807, June 1, 10 per cent. to same on $1358, amount of licenses for merchandise, taverns, and ferries from 18th October, 1805, to date.....	135.80
		1808, June 22, 8 per cent. to same on $518, for licenses on merchandise, taverns, and ferries from 1st June, 1807, to date.....	41.64
		" July 5, cash paid Bernard Pratte, Esq., treasurer, as per account passed.....	1342.37
		" July 6, cash paid Bernard Pratte, Esq., treasurer, as per account passed.....	397.00
		" Nov. 9, cash paid Bernard Pratte, Esq., treasurer, as per account passed.....	520.00
		" Nov. 10, cash paid Bernard Pratte, Esq., treasurer, as per account passed.....	188.00
		1807, Sept. 1, compensation as sheriff in lieu of such fees as are chargeable to the district from 18th October, 1805, to Sept. 1, 1807, at $50 per annum.....	93.46
		1809, July 1, by balance of taxes remaining uncollected for 1806, 1807, and 1808, including delinquencies by insolvents and defaulters.....	708.61
		" July 1, amount of auditor's certificate accompanying this and redeemed by said collector and treasurer.....	351.17
		" July 1, balance in collector's hands, to be accounted for when required.....	55.32
	$6266.45		$6266.45
1809, July 1, to amount on creditor side for taxes uncollected for the years 1806, 1807, and 1808 of date this day.....	$708.61		
" July 1, to amount of certificate of auditor on creditor side of this day.....	351.00		
" July 1, to amount of cash on hand on creditor side of this day.....	55.32		
	$1114.93		

"I have examined the above account, and find that Jeremiah Connor, Esq., is chargeable with eleven hundred and fourteen dollars and ninety-three cents, by and in favor of the district of St. Louis, on the accounts existing between him and the district prior to the 1st of January, 1809, and it appears that sum was due to the said district at that date.

"SILAS BENT,
"*Auditor for the District of St. Louis.*

"Nov. 1, 1809."

The figures are not formidable,—less than $2000 a year collected as revenue. The tax-lists for the three years aggregated only $4084, of which $708.71 was unpaid, net $3376. The receipts from licenses for merchandise, ferries, and taverns were $1891 for two years, so that nearly as much revenue came from licenses as from direct taxation. The economies of administration, in the light of the modern scale of expenditures, are simply bewildering. The idea of a sheriff, tax collector, and treasurer serving so cheaply as Mr. Connor did, and a court hiring three rooms in a tavern for $180, when it made a single billiard-table pay $100 for its license! This, however, was the rule in everything in the affairs of this still primitive people, who did not tax themselves severely because the public expenses were small. Appropriation bills were not too small, however, to be closely scrutinized and carefully audited, and we find the Territorial Legislature of 1815–16, sitting in St. Louis (William Clark, Governor; James Caldwell, Speaker of the House, and John Rice Jones, president of the Senate), tacking to their appropriation bill the proviso that "No moneys shall hereafter be drawn out of the Territorial treasury except by the order or warrant of the Territorial auditor and for which appropriation is made." At this time the pay of the entire Territorial judiciary (Circuit Court judges) only amounted to $2400 a year. Joseph Charless did all the public printing, including the laws, for $300. (In 1808 he had printed the first edition of the laws of the Territory of Louisiana, the first book ever printed in St. Louis, a volume of three hundred and seventy-two pages.) That session the Legislature rented two rooms from Madame Susannah Dubreuil to sit in, paying her $105 rent, and Peter Chouteau, Jr., rented it a furnished room for its sessions for nine days, only charging $27,—$3 a day. John S. Russell furnished the Territory with two dozen chairs for $69,—$2.87½ each.

Property, however, was not very high yet, and people could not have stood up against any very heavy taxation. An old deed, a curiosity in itself, as illustrating the obsolete forms of ancient conveyancing, proves this. It is given to secure title in a sale of a lot on the northwest corner of Pine and Main Streets, and is translated from the original French, as follows:

"Know all who these presents shall see, that we, Charles Bosseron, and Thérèse Brazeau, my wife, on the one part, and Louis Letourneau, *dit* Lafleur, and Marie Bissonette, my wife, on the other part, have stipulated and do rest agreed upon the conditions, exchange, and trade as it is hereafter mentioned, to wit: That we, Charles Bosseron, and Thérèse Brazeau, my wife, make over to the said Letourneau, *dit* Lafleur, all our rights and claim upon a certain lot of ground acquired by us of Master Jemien Beauvais at the date of the 30th of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seven, such as it is, together with the house thereon, and in the same manner as we acquired it of the said Jemien Beauvais, reserving nothing thereof; and we promise to warrant the said lot unto Louis Letourneau, *dit* Lafleur, against any disturbance in general whatsoever, intending that the said Louis Letourneau, *dit* Lafleur, his heirs and legal representatives, shall enjoy the same as a property with full title. And we, Louis Letourneau, *dit* Lafleur, and Marie Bissonette, in consideration of the trade hereinabove mentioned, do make over to the said Bosseron, his heirs and legal representatives, all our rights of property on a certain lot of ground situated in the town and district of St. Louis, Territory of Louisiana, sixty feet front by one hundred and fifty feet in depth, which lot is bounded on the south by a cross street, on the north by Pierre Ladoucer, on the east by the great street, and on the west by Louis Provenche, upon which is located an old post-and-mud house, and which lot we sell and make over to the said Bosseron, reserving to ourselves nothing thereof, and intending that he shall enjoy the same as a property to him, his heirs and legal representatives, belonging, and so that neither we, nor our heirs, may ever act contrary thereunto; and we warrant unto the said Bosseron, his heirs and legal representatives, the said lot and house, against every debt, hypothecation, and other incumbrance generally whatsoever, and the said lot to relinquish in consideration of the trade hereinabove mentioned; and in consideration further of the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars in deer-skins, at the rate of two and a half pounds to the dollar, which we acknowledge to have received to our satisfaction, and for which sum we acquit the said Bosseron, and give him full and complete discharge. In faith of which we have signed and fixed our usual marks to this contract, in presence of two witnesses.

"(Signed) his
"LOUIS ⋈ LETOURNEAU DIT LAFLEUR.
mark
her
"MARIE ⋈ BISONETTE.
mark
"THÉRÈSE BRAZEAU [Seal].
"CHARLES BOSSERON [Seal].
"Done in duplicate, and signed and sealed in presence of
"ANTOINE DANJEN,
"PIERRE LADOUCER."

The acknowledgment was before Bernard Pratte, and is similar in diction to the acknowledgments of the present day.

It is said that old Madame Lafleur (Marie Bissonette) would not sign this deed and abandon her dower-rights in her old homestead until Charles Bosseron had agreed to give her and had made actual delivery to her of eighty pounds of coffee,—fragrant and mild coffee of Santo Domingo, such as the French *habitans* delighted in, but which now, alas! is no longer more than a tradition upon the most fertile and the most neglected of islands.

On Oct. 11, 1809, Governor Meriwether Lewis killed himself, in the Chickasaw country, while following the "Tennessee trace" on his way to Washington. He was subject to melancholy, was suffering at the time from malarial fever, and appears to have had

a presentiment of his death before leaving St. Louis. At any rate, before starting upon his journey, he executed the following very full power of attorney,—a deed of trust, in fact, which made it unnecessary for him to leave a will:

"Know all men by these presents, that I, Meriwether Lewis, of the town of St. Louis and Territory of Louisiana, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and do nominate, constitute, and appoint William Clark, Alexander Stuart, and William C. Carr, all of the same place, my true and lawful attorneys, for me, and in my name to satisfy, pay, and discharge all debts and demands which I may owe or which may be presented to them against me, of the accuracy and justness of which they or a majority of them shall be satisfied; and generally to arrange, adjust, and liquidate all demands, both for and against me, during my absence from the said Territory, and the same when so arranged, ascertained, or liquidated, to receive and grant receipts and acquittances therefor in my name, or to pay and discharge and to accept and take receipts and discharge therefor in my name. To effect which purpose more fully and completely, I do hereby authorize and empower my said attorneys or a majority of them to sell and convey by legal deed all or any part or parts of my property, real or personal, within the said Territory of Louisiana, and therefor to execute a deed or deeds to the purchaser or purchasers, either at public or private sales, as my said attorneys or a majority of them may think most conducive to my interest, hereby ratifying and confirming whatever my said attorneys or a majority of them shall do or cause to be done for me in the premises.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal, at the town of St. Louis, this nineteenth day of August, eighteen hundred and nine.

"(Signed, sealed, and delivered),

"Meriwether Lewis [Seal].

"Jeremiah Conner,

"Samuel Solomon.

"Recorded this 18th day of December, 1809.

"M. P. Leduc, *Recorder*."

Lewis was the successor of Wilkinson (with the interregnum during Wilkinson's absences, when the affairs of the executive were administered by the Territorial secretaries, Joseph Browne and afterwards Frederick Bates). He was succeeded by Benjamin Howard, who came to St. Louis in 1810.[1] William Clark was Governor after Howard received his command in the army, and he continued in office until Missouri was admitted as a State in the Union and elected its own Governor.

As soon as the Territorial Legislature had passed the law concerning towns, in 1808, July 23d, an election had been held for trustees for St. Louis, and Auguste Chouteau, Bernard Pratte, Edward Hempstead, and Pierre Chouteau and Alexander McNair were elected. This was decidedly premature, as the court did not grant a charter to the town until more than a year afterwards, and the trustees did not go into office in fact until January, 1810.

It is unfortunate that the little of these old court records which has come down to us is fragmentary and defective. The record appears sometimes to be touching upon the edge of a romance, or about to disclose a series of facts and figures of value in politico-economical respects, when, presto! the curtain drops, and the subject is dropped with it. To seek to supply the lacking record by an exercise of the imagination is as useless as the task of the poet who tried to call up "him who left half told the story of Cambuscan bold." We know that the courts, General and Superior and Circuit, as well as Common Pleas, sat in St. Louis from 1804 to December, 1806, in the house of Emilien Yosti, southwest corner of Main and Locust Streets, and that after that, for at least ten years, they occupied different rooms in the old stone house in the "garrison" "on the Hill." The jail was just in front of this, in the old stone martello tower in the fort, which had before that been used as a guard-house for the confinement of both Spanish and United States soldiers. The first jail was in an old stone house belonging to Jacques Clamorgan, at the upper end of Main Street, but this was so insecure, and so many prisoners escaped from it, that a part of the militia had to be called out to aid the sheriff in doing guard duty. Then it was that Wilkinson, always generous, lent the old guard-house tower to the town for a jail. He could do this the more easily because he was already removing his garrison to his newly-bought cantonments at Bellefontaine. When that removal was completed, the officers' quarters, the old stone house in the fort, became vacant, and the courts asked and received permission to convert it into a court-house.

We know that these courts contained many eccentric characters, for example, Judge Beverly Tucker, of the St. Louis Circuit Court, resident of Florissant, who established his law-office in the hollow of a sycamore-tree, with a knot-hole for a window, and with

[1] Benjamin Howard was a man of prominence in a day of giants. He was born in Lexington, Ky., the son of a pioneer, John Howard, who had moved to Boonesborough, the second settlement in that State, as early as 1774. John Howard was a Virginian, possessed an estate in Bedford County, and was himself a man of education, having been a pupil under the teaching of the famous Dr. Samuel Davies, afterwards president of Princeton College. Howard took an active part in the war of the Revolution, fought at Guilford Court-House, and was charged and left for dead on the field by Tarleton's troopers, who succeeded in giving him five wounds without killing him. He lived to be one hundred and four years old. His son Benjamin entered public life early, serving in the Kentucky Legislature in 1800, an almost immediate predecessor of Henry Clay. He was Governor of Indiana Territory, member of Congress from Clay's district in Kentucky, Governor of Missouri Territory, and general in the United States army, dying suddenly in St. Louis in 1814 while still in the service.

his books arranged honeycomb fashion on shelves inside and around the stump. But how little of this oddity do we get from the record of proceedings! We know the quick, impulsive character of these people of the West, and how some of their brightest and bravest men went upon the bench. No one could expect John Smith T. to efface himself because he happened to be a judge, as he indeed became. But very little of all this appears upon the records. The nearest approach to facetiousness we have found is in the fully-reported examinations of a witness suspected and brought up for contempt, and this it is worth while to give in full:

"1809, June 1st, Court of Oyer and Terminer, held by Judge John B. C. Lucas and Silas Bent.

"A case against one Samuel Nugent, for assault, came on for trial, but owing to the absence of one Nancy West, an important witness, the trial was deferred until the following day, and the sheriff ordered to bring in the witness on an attachment. On the next day the sheriff had his witness in court to purge herself of the contempt, when the following colloquy took place between the court and the witness:

"*Q.* What was your reason for disobeying the summons served on you to appear yesterday?

"*A.* I thought that having appeared once before the grand jury, and given in my testimony, that I needn't appear any more.

"*Q.* Did you know or did you not know the contents of that summons?

"*A.* I did not know the contents, and thought once appearing was enough.

"*Q.* Did the sheriff inform you of the contents of the summons?

"*A.* The sheriff served a summons on me.

"*Q.* Did any person advise you not to appear?

"*A.* No person advised me. When I went away from Mr. Kinney's, Mrs. Kinney asked me where I was going. I said I was going to Mr. Webster's but I didn't go to Mr. Webster's, but went away to some other place, and didn't return until evening.

"*Q.* Did you or did you not hear that Samuel Nugent was to be tried on yesterday for a capital crime, and that your testimony would be wanted?

"*A.* I did hear that Samuel Nugent was to be tried.

"*Q.* On what day did you hear that said Nugent was to be tried?

"*A.* I don't know.

"*Q.* Did you or did you not know that your testimony would be wanted when said Nugent should be tried?

"*A.* I had given in my testimony once, and I thought that that was enough.

"*Q.* Did you or did you not go away from Mr. Kinney's yesterday morning with an intention of avoiding the process of the court?

"*A.* If I had had an intention of keeping out of the way, I would not have come back in the evening.

"The court for the present postponed further examination, and ordered that Nancy West remain in the custody of the sheriff. The trial of Nugent then proceeded, and he being found 'not guilty' by the jury, was discharged.

"Nancy West was then called up a second time, and then saying she did not go away from Mr. Kinney's to avoid the process of the court, that she intended to return this day if her testimony should be wanted, that she had never been a witness before in a court of justice, and therefore felt an embarrassment,

"Therefore the court discharged her from the attachment.

"JOHN B. C. LUCAS,
"*Presiding Justice.*"

But Judge Lucas appears to much greater advantage in the lively pages of Mr. Darby, as, for instance, in Judge Peck's court, where, when he came forward at the judge's own suggestion, as *amicus curiæ*, to give an outline of proceedings such as held in the courts in St. Louis, matters of which Judge Peck had no knowledge, Mr. Lawless challenged his right to speak in the court at all, as he was not a licensed attorney at the St. Louis bar. Judge Lucas turned upon him (he himself had admitted Lawless to practice, not because of his acquaintance with the law, but as a friendless Irish exile) and said, "If the court please, I *am* licensed. I am licensed by the God of heaven. He has given me a head to judge and determine, and a tongue to speak and explain." Then this excellent scholar and gentleman did speak and explain his various qualifications and numerous public services, as well as his opponent's deficiencies and the mistaken cause of his animosity against him, concluding with, "May it please the court, I did not come to this country as a fugitive and an outcast from my native land. I came as a scholar and a gentleman upon the invitation of Dr. Franklin."[1]

On the 18th of June, 1812, war was declared by the United States against Great Britain, and the reception of the news in St. Louis was naturally the occasion of great excitement. A number of military companies were formed for the defense of the town, and some of them, it is said, fought against the Indians as part of the expedition under Gen. Harrison. Being so distant from the theatre of war, however, St. Louis was not seriously threatened by the British military operations, except from the disaffection among

[1] Lucas and Lawless hated one another, and they had reason to do so, for Lawless had been second to Thomas Hart Benton in the malignant duel in which the judge's son, Charles Lucas, was slain. This was an act which the Lucases never forgave, nor could they be expected to do so, for the manner in which Benton pursued Charles Lucas was malevolent in the extreme. Mrs. Hunt, Charles Lucas' sister, relates that she made her father change her place of residence after this duel for fear she might chance to encounter Col. Benton in some of her walks, and it is reported that among the last acts of the veteran senator's busy life was that of destroying all papers in his possession relating to the duel. The encounter made such a profound and painful impression upon the elder Lucas that he prepared a statement concerning the affair, as if he thought it incumbent upon him to vindicate his son's memory. This statement will be found elsewhere under the head of "Duels."

the Indians fomented by English agents. In Missouri there were a number of isolated murders by hostile Indians, but no regular invasion, owing to the failure of the English emissaries to excite the Missouri tribes. Their want of success was due in large measure to the close relations which had long existed between the St. Louis merchants and the tribes of the Missouri River, and only the more desperate savages could be induced to commit depredations on the whites. Near Florissant and Côte sans Dessein a number of murders were committed, and similar outrages occurred in other portions of the Territory; but neither at St. Louis nor in the immediate vicinity was any organized attempt made to murder or to pillage.[1]

Considerable loss, however, was inflicted on the merchants of St. Louis by the interruption of their trade of the Mississippi, caused by the Indian outbreaks, the value of the traffic of the Mississippi valley above the mouth of the Missouri in lead, furs, and peltry having amounted in 1812 to one hundred thousand dollars.

The following announcement appeared in the *St. Louis Republican* of July 26, 1808:

"It is with heartfelt pleasure we announce the patriotism displayed by the St. Charles troop of horse, a few days ago. They offered their services to accompany Gen. Clark up the Missouri, in order to protect and assist in the building of the intended fort at or near the Osage River."

On the 13th of July, 1812, Capt. William O. Allen, United States infantry, opened a recruiting rendezvous in Ste. Genevieve.

[1] . . . "In Missouri so well was the Indian character understood that there would have been very little trouble had not the English, on the declaration of war in 1812, according to their custom, sent their emissaries into the country of the savages and used every artful and mercenary motive to incite them against the Americans. Yet on the Missouri their efforts were nearly fruitless, only some of the reckless belonging to some of the tribes consenting to take part in the English cause. This was owing in a great measure to the fact that the whole trade of the Missouri was under the control of merchants in St. Louis, and the supplies furnished by them, which served at first as a qualification of luxury, by habitual continuance became a necessity. The Indians could no longer do without their powder, ball, guns, blankets, vermilion, etc., since they had been furnished so long with these articles that their natures appeared to have undergone a change, had adapted themselves to their uses and demanded a continuance. They were careful, then, not to commit themselves by any approved act of hostility towards the American government, and were not to be moved by the artful persuasions and presents of the British emissaries. Whenever it was known that any of the tribe had committed murder among the whites, they were immediately given up to the ruling chiefs, and this summary mode of expressing their disapprobation intimidated the young warriors, who were anxious on every pretext to sound the war-whoop and enter on the war-path."—*Edwards' Great West*, p. 307.

The President's proclamation declaring war against Great Britain was received in St. Louis early in July, and on the 11th a town-meeting was held, at which Charles Gratiot presided, and James B. Hull acted as secretary. At this meeting, "convened pursuant to adjournment and by public notice at the court-house," the following preamble, with the accompanying resolutions, were unanimously adopted:

"With sensations of profound satisfaction in the conduct of the constituted authorities of our country, with feelings in perfect unison with those of our brethren throughout the United States, we, the citizens of the town and district of St. Louis, hail the tidings announced from the seat of the general government on the 19th of the last month. The grand, the all-important crisis has at length arrived,—a crisis invoked by the ardent expectation, the longing wishes of an injured people, hallowed by the voice of patriotism and the pledges of honor. We are at war with the most powerful nation on earth, yet we rejoice! Posterity will consider as fabulous, contemporary powers will call it infatuation and insanity that a people should hail with acclamation and joy that event which is in general considered as the scourge of nations and the curse of God. In the history of our intercourse with England, however, we find the solution of this moral enigma, the analysis of this strange sensation. From British outrage and wrong, deep, damning, and discrediting, we derive motives for our acquiescence, reasons for our exultation. The proffered cup of reconciliation has been indignantly dashed to the earth. The voice of honest expostulation, nay, that of whining entreaty has been contemptuously spurned. Under circumstances of continued offense and degradation, aggravated by every refinement of cruelty and treachery, beset by artifice which it was impossible to evade, charged with an ambition that was never indulged, and with practices that were never countenanced, having our institutions belittled by derision and menaced by destruction, the gauntlet of warfare has been thrown down, and we rejoice that our government has taken it up. The sacred citadel of our nation's honor has been violated, the unwarrantable breach must be repaired, the foul stain must be wiped away ere our indignation ceases or our vengeance slumbers. The past wrongs of England from this day cease to recount. Against her future we hurl haughty defiance!

"In the spirit of this declaration, we consider that we owe to our beloved country to meet the dangers which menace its existence; that we owe it to the government of our choice and approbation to furnish our proportion of that support which may enable it to meet every emergency and chastise every insult; that we owe it to the shades of our murdered, and to the sufferings of our imprisoned fellow-citizens to avenge their deaths and their wrongs; that we owe it to ourselves and our children to preserve inviolate the charter of our liberties, and to transmit it as unsullied as unimpaired to posterity.

"*Resolved, therefore, unanimously*, That we warmly participate in the feelings, and highly approve of the proceedings of our government on this awful and important occasion. That we repose entire confidence in the Executive Magistrate of this Union. That, elevated as he is to the most enviable station of the world, enjoying and supported by the voice of a free and high-minded people, we entertain no doubt that he will terminate that gloriously which he has commenced so auspiciously.

"*Resolved, unanimously*, That since the appeal has been made to war, we do hereby offer whatever sacrifice may be required of us of blood and treasure to heal the wounded honor and regain the ravished rights of our injured country.

"*Resolved, further, unanimously,* That the thanks of this meeting and of this Territory are due to our enlightened, patriotic, and justly popular magistrate, Governor Howard. That we gladly recognize in him the capacity to discern and the zeal to execute his duty; and that we consider that it is to his judicious circumspection and vigilant forecast we are indebted for our security from the merciless savages hovering on our frontiers. That our confidence in his future plans of protection and defense is complete, and that our co-operation will be prompt, as we trust it will be successful.

"*Resolved, unanimously,* That as one object of this meeting was to devise some plan of protection, and to procure some munitions of war for the defense of the town, and having understood from the brigade quartermaster that our faithful and alert Chief Magistrate had himself taken the subject into consideration, and was maturing a plan for that purpose, our further attention to this subject is at present unnecessary, and that we hold ourselves in readiness to execute whatever he may project, to perform whatever he may recommend.

"*Resolved, unanimously,* That having learned that several companies of volunteers belonging to the State of Kentucky have generously offered their services to the Governor for the protection of this territory, the thanks of this meeting be offered to the said volunteers. The evils of our exposed situation are alleviated by the assurance that we have in our neighborhood hearts to feel for our possible sufferings, and hands to relieve them.

"*Resolved, unanimously,* That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the paper of this place, and in one of the gazettes of Lexington, Ky., and that a copy of them be transmitted by the chairman to the President of the United States.

"CHARLES GRATIOT, *Chairman.*

"JAMES F. HULL, *Secretary to the Meeting.*"

During the summer of 1812 St. Louis was seriously alarmed at the prospect of an attack by the Indians, and on the 26th of September the following announcement appeared in the *Gazette:*

"In our last we announced information received of the movements of the Illinois Indians, communicated by our spies. Upwards of four hundred moved to the borders of the Mississippi about twenty miles from this place, and a party of them crossed the river to the neighborhood of the village of Portage des Sioux, and shot and wounded a man and his wife, stole eight or ten horses, killed a cow, and took off the beef. In the interim our spies fell in with the trails of the main body on the east side, and shot two Indians.

"Governor Howard having placed the volunteers in such positions as to be able to act at any point, and Capt. McNair being stationed near, he crossed over to reconnoitre with forty-eight men, who having some spies in advance, discovered the number of the enemy too great to justify the pursuit, and the party returned and kept a good lookout. Capts. Musick and Price ascended the Illinois, and captured a number of canoes, in one of which was some of the beef the Indians stole from our side of the river. Upwards of seventy canoes escaped up the Illinois.

"Since the above was put in type we have received a letter from Dr. Farrar, who acts in the double capacity of surgeon and soldier, as follows: 'The country on the opposite side of the river swarms with savages; a party of them crossed over within a few miles of this place, and burned one house and robbed another. Fortunately none of the inhabitants were killed; sixty men are gone in pursuit.'"

On the 10th of October the following was published:

"Some days ago a body of Indians, supposed to be about four hundred, and believed to have had an English chief at their head, descended the Illinois in canoes within twenty-five miles of the mouth, left them and crossed over to the Mississippi, but a few miles distant, but fortunately the most of our troops in actual service had been drawn to the settlements which these savages intended to attack. Spies were kept out east of the Mississippi in Illinois Territory. They met the spies of the Indians, killed and scalped one, and wounded another. Our spies crossed to camp, and a party pursued, but found that the Indians had crossed the Illinois River. The armed boat at the mouth, commanded by Capt. Price, ran up the Illinois, and found that the Indians had embarked in canoes. The captain followed them so closely that they abandoned eight of them, and left some provisions. The river being too low he returned. The Governor upon the receipt of this news went immediately up, in the expectation of the Indians being near our frontier, and that our troops would be brought to bear upon them at once, but finding that they had gone he dispatched two hundred fine men under the command of Maj. Dodge, to cross the Mississippi high up, and endeavor to intercept those who retreated by water."

A dinner was given by a large number of citizens on the 21st of November, 1812, to Governor Howard, as a mark of their appreciation of his efficacy in the measures taken by him for the defense of the Territory. Maj. C. P. Penrose presided, and Maj. George Wilson was vice-president.

Many citizens of St. Louis besides Gen. Howard entered the army at this time. Conspicuous among them was John O'Fallon.

St. Louis has been fortunate in many respects; in none, perhaps, more fortunate than in her leading citizens, the men who, with loyalty, enterprise, and skilled judgment all equally unsurpassed, nay, unequaled, have united to direct the city's undertakings as if they were their own personal ventures. In such men, brief as is the chronicle of the city's life, St. Louis has been particularly rich,—so rich that when we come to select the one who should be crowned without cavil as the first citizen, doubt and embarrassment inevitably arise. St. Louis has had so many leading citizens that none can be declared conspicuously and in every particular the first, yet it seems likely that if a ballot were to be taken to-day, or could have been taken in 1860, in 1850, or in 1840, or in 1830 even; a majority of suffrages, indicative of the public esteem and the popular affections, would have fallen into the box bearing the name of Col. John O'Fallon. Nor would such a result from such a ballot have implied any injustice either to the Chouteaus or to John B. C. Lucas, or to the Gratiots, to Hempstead or Ashley, or Darby or Benton. The worth of all these citizens, their benefits to the community, the remarkable advantages it derived from

their generous, unselfish, and intelligent co-operation in the promotion of what was good for the city, and in the suppression of what might have been injurious, we believe to be well understood, and fully and heartily appreciated. As respects civic qualities simply, that rare co-ordination of intelligent purpose, strong will, and generous control of large means to a single end of the advancement of home interests upon straight and prudent lines, we suspect that the majority of persons who read and reflect will agree with us that John B. C. Lucas was the first citizen of St. Louis. But where Lucas compelled a general appreciation and a universal respect and esteem, O'Fallon went further and gained love and affection. The people were anxious to have him lead them because they trusted him; they were glad to see him lead because they loved him. The matter and substance of John O'Fallon's gifts to and work for St. Louis had a positive magnitude of their own not surpassed except by one thing, but that was the manner, the grace, the single-hearted purpose of the donation in every instance. He not only gave to but for St. Louis, and in no instance can it be justly said that in these beneficent acts was there a single recurrence of the afterthought, "I am giving back to John O'Fallon." On the contrary, no matter how full the pocket might be, the heart was always fuller.

John O'Fallon was born near Louisville, Ky., Nov. 17, 1791. His mother was Frances ("Fanny," as she was commonly known) Clark, youngest sister of Gens. George Rogers and William Clark. His father was an educated Irish gentleman of ancient lineage and high social standing in his own country and prominent official rank in that of his adoption,—a surgeon in the Continental army during the Revolutionary war and under Gen. Washington. From some memoranda made by Col. O'Fallon in 1836 and found among his papers after his death we extract the following: "My father, Dr. James O'Fallon, died in Louisville in 1793. . . . Previous to his death he prepared for his children the genealogy of his family. He was the son of William and Anne Eagan O'Fallon, of Ballyna House, and had two elder brothers, Malachi and Redmond. James O'Fallon was descended from Malachi O'Fallon, prince of the Desies, who, with O'Ryan of Idrone, commanded the Irish in the year 1170, the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion, and made the attack upon Earl Strongbow on his arrival at Waterford.[1] The O'Fallons afterwards moved to Roscommon, and were chiefs of an ancient territory called 'O'Fallon's Country.' My father was born near Athlone. . . . In the year 1790 he was married to Frances Clark." He left two sons, John and Benjamin, dying, as we have seen, in 1793, when his elder son was but two years old.

John O'Fallon was born at Mulberry Grove, near Louisville. The second son appears to have been born at Lexington, Ky. Not long after Dr. O'Fallon's death his widow married Charles M. Thruston, and upon his death took for her third husband her cousin, Dennis Fitzhugh, of the well-known Virginia family of that name. She survived all three of her husbands. As soon as John was old enough he was sent away to school at Danville, to an academy there which later became the nucleus of Centre College. The orphan boy was much and carefully looked after by his uncles, William Clark and Maj. Croghan. A son of the latter, who entered the army with O'Fallon and distinguished himself greatly by the defense of the fort at Sandusky against Proctor and Tecumseh, was at school with John O'Fallon.[2]

[1] Col. O'Fallon refers to Smith's "History of Ireland." But, in fact, O'Donovan, in his curious and valuable researches into Irish genealogy, traces the O'Fallons back to the memorable battle of Clontarf, in 1014 A.D., at which Brian Boru (ancestor of the O'Briens of Thomond, and king of Ireland) was slain. Among the chieftains who fought under Brian's standard against the Danes in that contest was Mothla, son of Faolan, chief of the Desii of Munster. Mothla led his father's clan in the fight, and afterwards they were called the O'Faelans or Phelans, later O'Fallons.

[2] There are some pleasing evidences in Col. O'Fallon's correspondence of the esteem and concern of these uncles for the two boys. We append a letter from each of these gentlemen to John while they were at school:

William Clark to John O'Fallon.

"LOUISVILLE, Aug. 25, 1807.

"MY BOY,—I received your two letters, the first as I was about setting out from St. Louis, and the last on the 12th of July, by yesterday's mail from the westward. I am much pleased to receive a letter from you, particularly when I observe in them the progression you are making in your education; you inform me that you are left quite alone, deprived of your relations, John, and George Croghan; this change was no doubt disagreeable to you at first, but by this time you most probably have found young gentlemen in whom you can confidently rely. Be cautious in the choice of your friends; let them be characters suited to do you both justice and honor. You are now of age, and look forward to a future day, and estimate the value of your respectable friends and a good education. You inform me that your studies are Latin, Greek, and geography. I shall leave your education to Mr. Priestly. My wish is for you to prepare yourself for some profession, which cannot be determined on at your present age. I shall send up the money due for your board and schooling by the first safe hand. Your Uncle George will send Kitt up for you in September, at which time I shall see you and have some conversation on the subject of your education.

"Your brother Benjamin, and Charles, William and George Clark, and a boy I brought with me from the Illinois will go shortly to Mr. Fay's school.

"Your relations in this quarter are well; your sister Ann has



school.

"Your relations in this quarter are well; your sister Ann has



Jno. O. Fulton

r sister Ann has

After John O'Fallon left school at Danville, his brother Benjamin went to St. Louis to school, under the guardianship of his uncle, William Clark, while John went to Lexington (in 1810), probably to "finish off" in the nascent college there. The letters of his brother to him here show a great affection between the two lads.[1] In the fall of 1811, John O'Fallon marched with the mourted volunteers from Lexington and Louisville under Joseph Hamilton Daviess to join in the campaign against the Indians. It was at this time that O'Fallon met Gen. Harrison, and made an acquaintance which probably shaped his destinies through life. In the desperate battle of Tippecanoe, in which Tecumseh was defeated and Col. Daviess and many another valuable officer killed, O'Fallon was severely wounded. He probably went from the battlefield to St. Louis, at least he was there in the early part of 1812. For some reason or other O'Fallon

had sore eyes; they are nearly recovered. Do not fail to write me frequently, and inform me every particular respecting your situation, and believe me to be your affectionate uncle,

"WILLIAM CLARK."

William Croghan to John O'Fallon.

"LOCUST GROVE, March 31, 1808.

"DEAR JOHN,—I am sorry it is not in my power to send another Horse for you and your cousins to Ride home, but I hope the three I send will Carry you home; they are Strong and Carry Double, and by Changing places and Horses it would not be tiresome to any of you.

"George Informs me the Vacation will take place to-morrow; to-morrow Evening James will be with you, that you may Start on Saturday Morning. We Shall expect to see you and your Cousins, George and William, on Sunday Evening. Don't disappoint us.

"I am with great esteem,

"Dear John, your affectionate uncle,

"W. CROGHAN.

"Mr. Fitzhugh Sends you Ten Dollars by James, which is with the money I send to George."

Maj. Croghan had the greatest esteem for John O'Fallon; read his letters during the war with close attention, and consulted the youth even about the most delicate matters. Thus, after the brilliant defense of Lower Sandusky, his son George, who appears to have been not more of a penman than his father, wrote no word about the proud achievement to the old gentleman. The latter, greatly worried, wrote to O'Fallon about it, saying that he feared there might be some reason for his son's silence, something discreditable to him in the action. If so, he wanted to know the truth. O'Fallon, to settle the matter, sent Col. Croghan his son's first official report to Gen. Harrison of the battle, and consequently that precious paper appears among the O'Fallon manuscripts. It is as follows:

"LOWER SANDUSKY, August, 1813.

"GEN[l] HARRISON: *D[r] Sir*,—I have the honour to inform you that the combined force of the Enemy, amounting to 600 Regulars & about a 1000 or 1500 Indians, under the immediate command of Gen[l] Proctor, made its appearance before this place early on Sunday evening last; and so soon as the General had made such a disposition of his troops as could cut off my Retreat, should I be disposed to make one, he sent Col[o] Elliott, accompanied by Maj. Chambers, with a flag to demand the surrender of the Fort, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of blood, which he should probably not have it in his power to do should he be reduced to the necessity of taking the place by storm. My answer to the summons was that I was determined to defend the place to the last extremity, and that no force, however large, should induce me to surrender it.

"So soon as the flag had returned a brisk fire was opened upon us from the Gunboats in the River & from a 5½ Inch Howitzer on shore, which was kept up with little intermission throughout the night. At an early hour the next morning three sixes (which had been placed during the night within 250 y[ds] of the Picketts) began to play upon us, but with little effect. About 4 o'clock P.M., discovering that the fire from all his guns was concentrated against the North Western angle of the Fort, I became confident that his object was to make a breach, and an attempt to storm the work at that point. I therefore ordered out as many men as could be employed for the purpose of strengthening that part, which was so effectually secured by means of bags of flour, sand, etc., that the picketting suffered little or no injury. Notwithstanding which the enemy, about 5 o'clock, having formed in close column, advanced to the assault of our works at the expected point, at the same time making two feints on the front of Capt. Hunter's lines. The column which advanced against the N. Wes[n] angle, consisting of about 450 men, was so completely enveloped in smoke as not to be discovered until it had approached within 15 or 20 paces of the lines; but the men being all at their posts and ready to receive it commenced so heavy & galling a fire as to throw the column a little into confusion; being quickly rallied, it advanced to the outer works & began to leap into the ditch; just at that moment a fire of grape was opened from our six-pounder (which had been previously arranged so as to rake in that direction), which, together with the musquetry, threw them into such confusion that they were compelled to retire precipitately to the woods.

"During the assault, which lasted about half an hour, an incessant fire was kept up by the enemy's artillery (which consisted of five sixes and a howitzer), but without effect. My whole loss during the siege and assault was one killed and seven slightly wounded. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners must exceed two hundred and fifty; one lieutenant-colonel, a lieutenant, and fifty rank and file were found in and about the ditch; those of the remainder who were not able to escape were taken off during the night by the Indians. Seventy stand of arms and several brace of pistols have been collected near the works. About three in the morning the enemy sailed down the river, leaving behind them a boat containing clothing and a considerable quantity of military stores. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates under my command for their gallantry and good conduct during the siege.

"Yours, with respect,

"G. CROGHAN,

"*Major 17th Inf., Com'd L. S.*"

[1] We are in the debt of Mr. Benjamin O'Fallon, of St. Louis, Col. O'Fallon's son, for the opportunity of examining a part of Col. O'Fallon's correspondence, from 1807 down to a short time before his death. This includes all his letters to his mother and Mr. Fitzhugh while he was in the army, together with his intimate correspondence with President Harrison and other public men, and this fund of original matter has enabled us to enrich the present sketch in a way which readers will appreciate.

was deeply hurt at some harsh treatment received by him at the hands of Col. Davless,—an injury which somehow he could not forget, and for which he seems to have been accorded the warm sympathy of his friends.

O'Fallon was now associated with his uncle, Gen. William Clark, the Indian agent for Missouri. He was sent on various errands of importance,—up the Illinois River to escort a band of Indians whom Clark was going to take on to Washington with him, and to Louisville and Pittsburgh by water to convey twenty thousand dollars' worth of deer-skins belonging to the United States. At this time already he had the army in view, and he writes (April 26, 1812) to his mother to say that "Governors Howard and Edwards have such confidence in my military turn of mind and other requisite properties thereto that they have forced me to permit them to apply for a captaincy for me in the new-raised army, assuring me that the present late period will not be out of season for me." The application was made, the war broke out, but O'Fallon's captaincy dwindled to an ensign's appointment (as from Kentucky) in the First United States Infantry. This was received Sept. 12, 1812.[1] The young man was greatly chagrined at being commissioned in so low a grade, the more so from the fact that his cousin Croghan received a captain's rank. He was compensated, however, by the confidence in him shown by his fellow-officers, and by being received into Gen. Harrison's military family. O'Fallon had a large share in very important military events. Just as he went into active service the surrender of Hull had been supplemented with the disaster of Winchester at the river Raisin; the enemy and his Indian allies were across the frontier in every direction, and Harrison had a heavy task before him. O'Fallon went through the siege of Fort Meigs, and accompanied Harrison to Detroit, and to the battle of the Thames. After an interval at Newport Barracks and Lexington he returned to the frontier, and was in command at Malden (Amherstsburg) until the end of the war. Then he was sent to Mackinaw, and sent in his resignation from this fort.[2]

After the victory of the Thames, O'Fallon was very ill. However, he accompanied Harrison to Washington in December, and fancied that his general was going to be the coming man in the war. "The

[1] In January, 1813, Ensign John O'Fallon was advanced to the grade of second lieutenant, but in May, same year, he was honored by being made aide-de-camp and acting assistant adjutant-general during the siege of Fort Meigs; August, 1813, promoted to first lieutenant Twenty-fourth United States Infantry; captain Second United States Rifle Regiment, March, 1814; given command in Rifles in May, 1815, after the war; and resigned July 31, 1818.

[2] O'Fallon's letters give a good inside history of the war of 1812, so far as Harrison's operations are concerned. He was always a partisan of this officer, who made him his most confidential friend, but he undoubtedly shows that Harrison was very badly treated. In 1837, and again in 1840, the Democrats irritated the old general very much by impeaching his credit and courage, and circulating reports that he was not even on the field in the battles which had given him distinction. Many letters passed between Harrison and O'Fallon on this subject, and the latter came out in a public letter in 1840, of which we here give the secret history.

I.—*Gen. Harrison to John O'Fallon*—(*Private*).

"North Bend, Feb. 14, 1840.

"My dear Sir,—I think that Dr. Thornton will soon go on to St. Louis again, to endeavor to secure the land on the Mississippi.

"The object of this is of a different character. The friends of the administration, believing that their cause is desperate, are resorting to every and basest means to prop it up. A continued stream of abuse is poured upon me in their infamous papers; but it is not confined to them. What do you think of assertions made in our House of Representatives that I was not in the battle of the Thames, but having skulked somewhere, and not to be found, Col. Johnson made all the arrangements for the fight, won the battle, and then had magnanimity enough to let me have the credit of it, and that thus it comes that the histories make me the commander, when it was in fact Col. Johnson, I having not actually been in the battle? Finding that the more authentic documents are rejected, my friends in the Legislature have written to me for testimony from some living witnesses. I have named to them yourself, Col. Todd, Maj. Chambers, and John Spear Smith. A letter accordingly will be addressed to you from Moses B. Corwin, Esq., of the House of Representatives of Ohio, asking you questions calculated to show by your evidence what I did in relation to the arrangements for the battle and drawing up the army, and what Col. Johnson did, what was the position of the troops, the order of battle, and where I was with my staff during the conflict. As you were with me at Tippecanoe and Fort Meigs also, you may insert some remarks upon my conduct on those occasions. If rank cowardice is not attributed to me at both places it comes as near it as possible. The Speaker of the House doubted whether I had ever been in any danger in any battle in my life. As Mr. Corwin's letter cannot reach you by at least six days as soon as this, I wish you to prepare your answer immediately, and send it to him without waiting for his letter. You can begin by saying that, agreeably to his request, etc., and in a note inclosed to him inform him that the request was made through me. Time is of great importance, as it is necessary that the answers to these vile slanders should be made in the House where they were uttered, and the Legislature will not long continue its session.

"Bitter and humiliating as it is to be obliged to resort to such means (procuring testimony) to show that I was not a very recreant, the evil times in which we have fallen makes it necessary. You may give your letter to Mr. Corwin the shape of a deposition at the conclusion or not, as you please.

"I receive every day information from all parts of the Union stating the triumphant progress of our cause. Mr. Clay says that so great a change of public sentiment in so short a period was never known. Letters received from Mr. Webster and

general sentiment is," he wrote, Dec. 17, 1813, "that Wilkinson, Hampton, Lewis, and Dearborn should be so disposed of as to preclude their having a command of importance; and the eyes of all appear to be placed upon Gen. Harrison as the only officer in whom confidence can be safely placed. I should not be surprised if he should be the lieutenant-general spoken of as in contemplation." In less than a year Harrison

Governor Everett declare that I will receive from ten to fifteen thousand majority in their State.

"My wife is in bad health at this time. She joins me in best regards to you and Mrs. O'Fallon.

"Truly your friend,

"W. H. HARRISON.

"P.S.—I have heard your speech at the Tippecanoe Club highly extolled.

"COL. JOHN O'FALLON,

"Near St. Louis, Mo."

III.—*M. B. Corwin to John O'Fallon—(Public).*

"COLUMBUS, O., Feb. 17, 1840.

"GEN. J. O'FALLON:

"*Dear Sir*,—I am instructed you was in the battle of the Thames, and near the person of Gen. Harrison from the commencement to the termination of that engagement, and that you personally know what part Gen. Harrison took in it. It has been openly avowed on the floor of the House of Representatives in session here by members in their places that Gen. Harrison was at no time in the battle nor within ten miles of the battle-ground; that the entire plan of operations was projected by Col. R. M. Johnson; that he led the troops to the conquest, and that Gen. Harrison had no part nor lot in the matter. I am a member of the Legislature, and feel much solicitude on the subject. If what I have already heretofore understood in regard to that battle be correct, the operations so timely and emphatically proclaimed here by the enemies of Gen. Harrison are without foundation. Will you please have the goodness, my dear sir, on the reception of this, to give me a brief statement from the commencement to the termination of that battle, that the truth may be known and justice meted out to an honest and brave man?

"Respectfully your obt. servt.,

"MOSES B. CORWIN."

"JOHN O'FALLON, Esq."

III.—*Col. O'Fallon to M. B. Corwin.*

"ST. LOUIS, Feb. 26, 1840.

"HON. MOSES B. CORWIN:

"*Sir*,—Your favor of the seventeenth is just received, and I lose no time in giving it acknowledgment. You request me to communicate the information I possess in relation to the military conduct of Gen. Harrison at the battle of the Thames, the arrangements for the battle, the position of the troops, as well as of the general during the engagement, together with any other knowledge I have touching his military character.

"In reply I submit the following statement: At the battle of the Thames, Col. Charles S. Todd, afterwards inspector-general of the Northwestern Army, and myself were the regular aides-de-camp of Gen. Harrison. Majs. John Chambers and John Speed Smith were the volunteer aides. The battle, as is well known, took place on the right bank of the river Thames, near the Moravian village. A short distance from the place, and whilst our troops were in rapid pursuit of the enemy, Gen. Harrison received information from an advanced party that British and Indian forces had halted, and seemed to be awaiting us for battle. When within half a mile of the enemy, after the American forces were formed in the order of battle, Gen. Trotter's brigade in front, Col. Paul's regulars with the artillery near his right, Col. Johnson's mounted regiment on the left of Trotter as a reserve, and the residue of the Kentucky volunteers covering the left flank and rear, Col. Wood, of the engineer corps, who by order of Gen. Harrison had approached, unobserved by them, sufficiently near the front line of the enemy to ascertain their position and the order in which they were drawn up, reported that the British troops, in order to occupy the high ground between the river and the swamp parallel to it, were drawn up in extended or open order between these points, the Indians on their right occupying the swamp and ground beyond it. Gen. Harrison, without one moment's delay or the slightest embarrassment, formed his purpose. I was within a few feet of him when the report of Col. Wood was made, and he *instantly* remarked that he would make a novel movement by ordering Col. Johnson's mounted regiment *to charge the line of the British regulars*, which, thus drawn up contrary to the habits and usage of that description of troops, always accustomed to the touch, could be easily penetrated and thrown into confusion by the spirited charge of Col. Johnson's regiment. With a view to this intended charge, Col. Johnson's command was ordered to the front, supported in his rear as a reserve by Gen. Trotter's brigade. I know that all the arrangements and every movement of the troops during the battle were made by order of Gen. Harrison, whose position at the commencement of the action was just in rear of Col. Johnson's command, and mainly afterwards near the crotchet formed by the junction of Johnson's left with the Kentucky volunteers, drawn up on the edge and in front of the swamp, a position considered by all as the most exposed and dangerous within the lines of our army, and where the battle was warmly contested by the Indians until they discovered the surrender of the whole British regular force, the happy result of the novel and skillful movement most gallantly performed by Col. Johnson and his brave associates, but conceived, planned, and directed by Gen. Harrison, whose superior military judgment and ready skill neither needed nor received any aid.

"After the return of the army to Detroit, that brave veteran, that just, good, and pure citizen, the late Governor Shelby, on hearing read Gen. Harrison's report of the battle, remarked in my presence and with much emphasis that the report did him (Governor Shelby) more than justice, and that to Gen. Harrison alone was due the credit of the order of battle, the whole of the arrangements and plans which he (Governor Shelby) had contributed to carry out to the best of his abilities.

"At the commencement of the battle of Tippecanoe, when the first gun was fired at our advanced picket, I was at the tent of Gen. Harrison, who was then up at the fire. I had an opportunity to observe his manner: he was cool and collected, and every movement of countenance and every word he uttered at that trying moment—perhaps the most embarrassing in the life of a soldier—denoted the highest order of personal courage. He mounted his horse instantly and, accompanied by his staff, hastened in the direction of the line first attacked. A part of this line, unable to withstand the fierce and desperate onset of the Indians, the general met retiring within our lines in some disorder and confusion, closely pressed by the Indians, some of whom were in the midst of them. Gen. Harrison led in person a company of the Fourth Infantry to the breach; and such was the effect of his bold and fearless behavior, and so great was the confidence of his army in his ability to conduct them to victory, that his presence and voice at once rallied the retreat-

had resigned his command, unable to get along with the War Department! O'Fallon did not leave the service with Harrison, but, going off the staff, took active command of a company. This was better for him, and the following letter shows what a good field-officer he must have been:

"CAMP NEAR FRANKLINTON, OHIO,
"January, 1815.

"DEAR MOTHER,—I came here about four weeks since, and finding my company in a very exposed situation, possessing no other means of comfort but their tents and fires before them, on assuming its command I immediately proceeded to the selection

ing detachment, and they took position at a point equally exposed, where half of their number, if not more, were either killed or wounded. The battle commenced at three o'clock in the morning during a slight rain, and the attack became general within five minutes afterwards, and continued until the dawn of day, when by an almost general charge the Indians fled and broke before our bayonets. The dragoons afterwards proceeded to their village and burnt it. During the battle Gen. Harrison was seen wherever danger was most imminent, wherever the fight was the thickest. His aide, Col. Owen, was killed by his side, and almost at the same moment a ball passed through the general's hat, grazing his head. There was not a spot within our lines secure from the shot of the enemy. On this, as on every other occasion within my observation, Gen. Harrison's conduct was that of a brave and skillful commander,—always calm and cool in his manner, and wholly indifferent to his personal safety, possessing the peculiar faculty of at once discerning whatever was wanting, and of promptly applying the remedy. A single instant of vacillation or uncertainty of purpose, the slightest tremor of nerve or hesitation in mind in the critical and appalling periods of the battle would have been disastrous to his army. After the action there seemed to be a universal admission by the officers and soldiers of the army that there was not another officer in the battle capable of having prevented a defeat and general massacre. All seemed to regard Gen. Harrison as their deliverer from the Indian scalping-knife.

"According to my best recollection, Fort Meigs was cannonaded day and night, with but little intermission, for about eleven days. Shortly after its commencement, Maj. Chambers, of the British army, was admitted into the stockade, the bearer from Gen. Proctor of an invitation to surrender the garrison with the honors of war, on the ground that so small a force, about one thousand men, could not sustain themselves against *four times their number*, the estimated British and Indian force. Gen. Harrison at once rejected indignantly this proposition, replying to the insult in terms worthy of his high character. Both day and night during the siege Gen. Harrison was most active, observing every movement of the enemy, and evincing his usual coolness, dauntless courage, and his happy readiness to perceive and apply every incident to his advantage. He succeeded in accomplishing *every plan* and *movement* where his orders *were obeyed*. I recollect not one instance to the contrary. The detachment under Col. Dudley effected in part the object intended in driving the British troops from their position; but they disobeyed orders in not spiking the enemy's cannon, destroying their ammunition, and thereupon immediately recrossing the river to the main army. The two sorties on the south side of the river, and on the same day, planned and *executed* under orders from Gen. Harrison, were eminently successful, resulting in the objects designed, forcing the British to raise the siege of Fort Meigs. That conducted by the brave and accomplished officer, *then* Col. John Miller, now a representative in Congress from Missouri, intended to destroy a sunken battery that had annoyed us very seriously by enfilading our rear line of pickets, as well as to prevent the almost entire Indian force, then investing the fort on that side of the river, from co-operating with the British against Dudley's attack, made at the same time on the opposite side, considering the very great disparity between our force and that of the enemy, being as four

to one, was, I must be allowed to say, one of the most brilliant affairs of the last war.

"Gen. Winchester's movement to the river Raisin, where he was defeated, was in disobedience of Gen. Harrison's order, which required him to proceed to the rapids of the Maumee of the Lakes, and to remain there for further orders.

"I have extended my remarks beyond what I designed when I commenced, but you will perceive my object was to give a full and satisfactory answer to your interrogatories. I aver that on every occasion when Gen. Harrison commanded he ever disregarded personal danger and sacrifice in the performance of duty, exhibiting all the fine qualities of a dauntless soldier, combined with those of a talented, skillful, and able general. Why, at this remote period, when death has swept away so many memorials of Gen. Harrison's intrepidity and excellence, should the poisoned spirit of political envy attempt thus to tarnish the hard-earned laurels of the veteran soldier, who, in public as well as private life, has lived '*without fear and without reproach*'?

"This, sir, is what I have to say of Gen. Harrison. I doubt whether there is another living who has possessed equal opportunities with myself of forming a correct opinion of Gen. Harrison's military character. I served under him during the greater part of the period he was in active service, near his person, commencing with the Tippecanoe expedition and continuing to its termination; rejoining his army in the fall of 1812, at Franklinton, Ohio, where immediately on my arrival I became a member of his military family as secretary, in the winter of 1812 and 1813 was appointed his acting deputy adjutant-general, and in May, 1813, immediately after the siege of Fort Meigs, his aide-de-camp, which station I held to the close of his military service. And, in conclusion, I can safely say that I never in my life saw a braver man in battle, one more collected, prompt, and full of resources than Gen. William Henry Harrison.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

"J. O'FALLON."

O'Fallon was a shrewd observer, and a good military critic. He was first stationed at Franklinton, and his health seems to have suffered severely until he became acclimated to the service. Harrison made him private secretary as well as aide-de-camp, and this gave him great insight into what was going on. He writes from Franklinton that "the people here charge the most exorbitant prices for every article furnished either the public or soldier; every species of produce of any demand have risen 50 per cent. It appears as if they calculated to enrich themselves by the circumstance of this campaign." His connection with the quartermaster's department at once revealed to O'Fallon what was the fatal weakness of the army along the lakes,—the impossibility of rapid or sustained movements in consequence of the lack of supplies,—and he shows in his first letter that the transportation service was inadequate. He also notes the want of subordination and other disobedience of orders which led to Winchester's defeat and the massacre of his men, and to the annihilation of Gen. Clay's and Col. Dud-

of a suitable encamping position, whither I removed my encampment, and had chimneys erected before the mouths of the tents, in which condition we now are. It is probable that I shall remain here some weeks longer, if not the winter, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions at Detroit, from whence nothing of consequence has been received, of which I feel surprised, it having been my calculation that the safety of that place would have been menaced ere this. I am getting sea-

ley's forces coming to the relief of Fort Meigs. Jan. 17, 1813, he writes to his mother, "I find that a camp-life in tents agrees with me as well as with most of the officers, which is a source of great gratification to me, thus enabled to sustain a winter's campaign, which requires a degree of fortitude and resolution not easily calculated. I live with Gen. Harrison, who manifests a strong attachment to me, and expresses every confidence. Although now in a low station, do not feel uneasy about my future prospects,—their promotion depends upon the continuance of Gen. Harrison in the army. I think he duly appreciates my merits." In March he was in camp at Fort Meigs, which from the first was infested with Indians, so that it was not safe for any one to venture abroad. Capt. Croghan was now made major, and O'Fallon only raised to a third lieutenancy. He was deeply mortified. He said, "It is not reconcilable to my acute feelings to be placed in a rank below numbers whose qualifications, it is universally admitted, shrink before mine. Great have been my exertions to qualify myself for any rank that I might expect when my merit can be known. . . . In any event, your son pledges himself to regard the feelings and the high sense of honor entertained by his family and connections."

In the midst of the excitements and perils of the siege of Fort Meigs he finds time to write: "Dear mother, be composed and not over-anxious after the fate of your son, for thus far he can call to mind or conscience not one instance of remissness of duty. If he falls, assure yourself that it will be in an honorable manner. If fortune is so favorable as to preserve him, you may ascribe it to her." His letter giving the result of the siege is as follows:

"Franklinton, May 17, 1813.

"Dear Mother,—The enemy began to disappear from their batteries early on the morning of the 9th inst., having given us no annoyance after the action of the 5th inst., but were industriously employed from then till the 9th in removing their cannon and other property from their batteries to their vessels. We were informed by deserters that the Indians commenced their dispersion immediately after the action of the 5th, much disappointed and dissatisfied, not till then despairing of the reduction of Fort Meigs. They were induced to upbraid the British with the charge of making false promises in having assured them that the post would be an easy conquest, in which event the rest would fall without opposition, and yielding to them immense spoils. Our loss in the fort and several sorties is eighty killed and one hundred and ninety wounded, fifteen only having fallen within the fort. On the 11th, the day before we left the fort, a large detachment was sent across the river to examine the battle-ground of our unfortunate for the purpose of finding and burying the killed, and after a very careful search but forty-five bodies were found. Among them was that of Col. Dudley. Hence it is to be supposed that fifty killed is as correct a calculation upon that side as can yet be made. My conduct on the occasion, as far as I am able to judge, was highly satisfactory to the general. He has promised me the appointment of aide-de-camp as soon as Maj. Graham resigns, which will take place ere long. But for my low rank, I would now be one of his aides.

"I am in very great want of clothes, summer clothes, cravats, shirts, etc. My regards to Mr. Fitzhugh and family.

"Your affectionate son,

"John O'Fallon.

"Mrs. Fanny Fitzhugh."

The following is about the second siege of Fort Meigs:

"Camp Seneca Towns,

"Sixteen miles from Lower Sandusky,

"July 26, 1813.

"On the 22d inst. there arrived at Lower Sandusky, within thirty minutes of each other, two couriers, one from Cleveland, bringing information of the blockading of our fleet at Erie by the British fleet of the upper lakes, and one from Fort Meigs, announcing the investment of that place by the enemy, the garrison receiving the first notice of their situation by the Indians' attack upon the picket-guards while taking their post on the morning of the 20th. Another express arrived on the 23d that left the fort at twelve o'clock in the night of the 22d, who states that the Indians had fired considerably on that day into the fort, but without injuring materially any one; that the British had debarked from their boats, apparently in considerable force, on the opposite bank of the Miami. Gen. Clay writes as his opinion that there are not left more than two thousand British, and the number of Indians incalculable. If proper steps are taken for the safety of the fort by its commanding officers, the additional strength it has received in the accession of Col. Audubois' regiment should remove all apprehensions on that subject. Some Indians and white men, that were sent for the purpose, approached within half a mile of the fort on the 24th, where they saw signs of a number of Indians made by their walks around the fort, and heard frequent firing of small-arms. On the same day they heard the report of four cannon in quick succession. The general [Harrison], on the first information of the situation of Fort Meigs, removed to this place from Lower Sandusky, with all the troops that were there except what was necessary to give it a strong garrison, in the command of Maj. Croghan. This place is the same distance to Fort Meigs that Lower Sandusky is, and nine miles nearer to the settlements and that far more remote from the enemy. If the militia should turn out in sufficient numbers as to justify an attempt to relieve Fort Meigs, there is no position better suited to assemble, organize, and adventure from. Col. Owen's regiment is expected here this day, as well as Col. Ball's squadron of dragoons. Col. Johnson's regiment of Maryland volunteers has been sent for. We have here a considerable number of regulars. But with these several detachments we will be comparatively so much smaller than the enemy as to render it proper for us to continue upon the defensive, and await the arrival of reinforcements of militia and volunteers before we assume an offensive position. No artillery has as yet been discovered to be in the possession of the enemy, and the object of this enterprise, from their conduct since the investment, is the most problematical. Perhaps Fort Winchester, Wayne, or Lower Sandusky is the object of their attraction. If so, and the Ohio militia join us in sufficient number, Gen. Proctor will run no small risk on his return. We have about sixty friendly Indians here, some of whom the general has constantly out upon scouts in every direction, thus rendering the most essential service. There are several parties of them now out, some of whom must return this evening with more intelligence with respect to the movements of the enemy at Fort Meigs. July 24th, Capt. McCune, who went from here with a Frenchman and two friendly Indians with the purpose of getting into Fort Meigs, effected this object yesterday morning; left the fort last night with dispatches from Gen. Clay to Gen. Harrison, and this moment arrived, bringing the pleasing

soned to the region of this climate very fast, so as to resist the exposures that I have necessarily to sustain without being affected by them. I employ my hours very pleasantly, in bestowing upon my company my undivided attention. Its state of health is astonishingly good. Of one hundred and four men composing the company, I am satisfied there is not a man unfit to march; such a state of things, I am disposed to flatter myself, is produced by proper attention being given to their comfort, food, cleanliness, etc. I have the assurances of receiving the appointment of adjutant-general to this district; my attachment to my company has almost decided me not to accept. Feeling convinced that should I have the fortune I might reasonably expect, it will be my policy to continue in the line of the army. In active service, for the commandant of such a company as mine to do his part, distinction must ensue. As the winter has set in, and my company being in very good winter quarters, I would prefer continuing here until the first of April next, in which I think it probable that I will be gratified. If the army is increased, I will most probably be promoted, to effect which I know that efforts will be made at Washington. Being immersed in camp, and upon the frontier, have consequently nothing else to write you that concerns myself. I am very anxious to hear from you at home, and shall expect a letter from yourself or some of the family in a short time. Letters directed to me at this point, if not received here, would be sent after me. Remember me most affectionately to Mr. Fitzhugh, brothers and sisters and friends.

"Your affectionate son,

"JOHN O'FALLON.

"MRS. FANNY FITZHUGH."

Before the war ended, O'Fallon knew that he was one of four captains selected to remain in the peace establishment. When peace came he was in command at Amherstsburg (Malden). He was, however, sent to Mackinac; after that to Prairie du Chien and to Fort Crawford, on Green Bay. O'Fallon had made up his mind from the first not to stay in the army. The life did not suit him. He looked with yearning to domestic quiet and retirement. But pride and prudence both kept him from resigning without a certainty of income from elsewhere. He sought influence and support to get a civil appointment under government,—that of Indian agent or factor. He felt convinced that his real interests should make him resign his commission, but he was withheld by "a certain pride with which I have always more or less contended, and which I admit is a foolish one, but, nevertheless, it influences my nature not to yield to comparative humbleness." As an officer in the army, in other words, he was the peer of any one; as a civilian, his wealth would determine his position, and he was very poor. This was a sore subject with O'Fallon. "My pride," he wrote, "cannot brook dependence or apparent want. My situation must be as respectable and independent as those with whom I associate."

In August, 1818, Col. John O'Fallon resigned his commission in the army, there being no field to invite his military aspirations, and after that time turned his attention to the more solid business avocations of life, and always resided either in St. Louis or its vicinity. In 1821 he was engaged as contractor of the army, and traded extensively with the Indians. He was elected to the Legislature in the same year, and served with honor and usefulness in that body for four years, the last two years being a member of the Senate. Whilst at Jefferson City he took an active part in the passage of the celebrated loan bill.

It was while still troubled with his pride and his determination to associate with none except upon entirely equal terms that O'Fallon received the following letter from Maj. Zachary Taylor, U.S.A., afterwards President. It is very characteristic of the blunt, honest gentleman who called himself O'Fallon's friend through life:

Maj. Taylor to Capt. O'Fallon.

"LOUISVILLE, KY., 25th Oct., 1818.

"DEAR CAPT.,—I reached St. Louis the last of September, on my way to this place; I was greatly disappointed in not meeting you there. I was several days longer on the way than I calculated on, owing to the low state of the water, which prevented my reaching St. Louis ere your departure for Yellowstone, as you had set out only a few days previous to my arrival. I should have written you from that place, but hearing on my arrival there that my wife was very much indisposed, which I know will be a sufficient apology for my not doing so, I remained only long enough at St. Louis to procure a horse. I reached home in less than seven days; I was so fortunate as to find Mrs. Taylor nearly recovered, my children, relatives, and friends in good health. I have been with them near a month, and after so long a separation I have given myself entirely up to pleasure. I have seen all your relatives; they are all in good health with the exception of your worthy friend and neighbor, Maj. Croghan, who is rapidly declining, and I am fearful, unless a change for the better takes place shortly, he cannot stand it long. I have visited him several times since my return: the young ladies look quite enchanting; they are both single, nor do I know or hear of their having a single admirer at this time, at which I am much astonished. During each of my visits you were mentioned; you are a great favorite with the whole family, and rest assured, my friend, I did not fail on every occasion to do, so far as I was able, ample justice to your good and amiable qualities, but have no hesitation in saying that I fell very far short in doing them justice. The family informed me that they expected you in this winter, and in that case, if you do

intelligence of the safety of the fort and that the enemy, although yet around the fort in considerable force, have as yet done no injury to the garrison. The Indians keep up a firing on the fort from a point of safety nearer to it. Yesterday enemy's whole force was collected on this side of the river on the road to that place. A quarter of a mile from this they got up a sham battle to decoy our troops out of the fort; but fortunately the captain was able to apprise them that it was impossible that a reinforcement was approaching, and they baffled the enemy's designs. The troops are in fair health and spirits, and nothing should be apprehended.

"Your friend,

"JOHN O'FALLON."

not succeed, it will, so far as I am capable of judging, be your own fault: in my opinion, you belittle yourself if you think for a moment—if you ever think so—that you aren't a full match for any woman in Kentucky. I find very few changes in the matrimonial way among our acquaintances, with the exception of the three Miss Boothes. A number of deaths have taken place, which has greatly changed the neighborhood in this quarter in the course of two years. Louisville has greatly improved, and property has risen of every kind beyond my conception: town property and land in the vicinity of Louisville, in my opinion, rates much beyond its real value. I approve of your leaving the army. I think your prospects for acquiring wealth are flattering, and I sincerely wish they may come up to your most sanguine wishes. Gen. —— visited us shortly before I left there; he was quite astonished at the order in which he found the troops at the place; he appeared very much disposed to reconcile all differences. I treated him politely, but we parted as we met; he ordered me to this place to superintend the barracks for the Third Regiment, which duty I shall be employed on, I expect, for at least one year, at the expiration of which time I contemplate retiring to civil life. Col. Croghan is expected at his father's, on his way from New York to New Orleans, in the course of three or four weeks. The Doctor has lately gone to Philadelphia. I. Gwathmey and E. Anderson are to be married in a few days. Wishing you every success and happiness through life, I remain, dear sir,

"Very truly your friend,

"Z. TAYLOR."

O'Fallon, however, did not marry in Louisville nor among his kinswomen. His first wife was an Englishwoman, a sister to Wm. Stokes, a rich Englishman, who came to St. Louis in 1819 or 1820, with a fortune and a divorce case. The latter ate up his fortune and killed the man. O'Fallon married his sister in 1821, and helped him in all his troubles, finally administering on the insolvent estate after his death.

On March 15, 1827, Col. O'Fallon married his second wife, Miss Caroline Scheetz (Schütz originally), of Maryland. This lady, born in Baltimore, was a descendant on the mother's side of some of the leading old families of Maryland. Her mother was half-sister to Mr. Frederick Dent, Gen. Grant's father-in-law. Mrs. Scheetz's mother was a Miss Owings, her grandmother a Miss Laurence, and her great-grandmother a Miss Howard. The Laurences were a "first family" of Western Maryland, connected on the one side with the English "Wests" (the family of Lord De la Warr and the present British minister at Washington), and on the other with Jonathan Hager, from whom Hagerstown gets its name. The Owings, originally Welsh, settled in Anne Arundel County, Md., thence branched off into Frederick County, and thence all through the West. From the time of his first marriage Col. O'Fallon became a leading and prominent citizen of St. Louis. He made money rapidly, he gave it liberally; he gave his services and advice still more liberally, until his name became a synonym through the West for enterprise, liberality, and benefaction.

The local historian Edwards, writing eight years before his death, said,—

"Perhaps there is no man as much identified with St. Louis as is Col. O'Fallon,—not on account of his immense wealth, but for the useful purposes which he has made it to subserve the city and adorn it. With a charity unparalleled in its munificence, he has already bestowed more than a million of dollars to advance the cause of education and science, and to relieve the wants of suffering humanity. He gave the ground where St. Louis University now stands, and also the site where the first Methodist Church stood on Fourth Street, now occupied by Clarke's buildings. He gave the five acres of land on which the water-works of the city are erected, and endowed the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute with property valued at one hundred thousand dollars. He gave most liberally to Washington University, and built the dispensary and medical college over which Dr. Pope so efficiently presides. He gave fifteen acres of land to the 'Home of the Friendless,' and his private charities are 'legion.'

"Liberality, so rarely found in the possession of wealth, forms one of the dominant traits of Col. O'Fallon's character, and he once offered to make the city of St. Louis a present of a hundred acres of land, if Peter Lindell, Esq., would do the same, each one of the gifts to be laid out into two magnificent parks; but the condition of the offer was not acceded to.

"Col. O'Fallon was president of the Branch Bank of the United States Bank during its existence in St. Louis, and under his superior and honorable management it was wound up with the loss only of one hundred and twenty-five dollars, while tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands dollars were lost in the various places the branches were located, in consequence of the frauds committed by the unprincipled officers connected with them; and he was also agent for the United States Bank of Pennsylvania from 1836 to 1841.

"The possession of unbounded wealth, the high and responsible positions which he has filled in the military, civic, and business relations of life, have never generated pride and arrogance in his character and made him forgetful of his duties to his Creator and his fellow-beings. He was the first man who organized a Sabbath-school west of the Mississippi River, and is a regular attendant of the Episcopal Church. Unostentatious in his bearing, he can be approached by all, and his manner possesses much of that freedom and frankness which lend a charm to conversation, and is characteristic of the early settlement of the West.

"When Col. O'Fallon first saw St. Louis it was but little more than a village of log houses, containing but a few thousand inhabitants. Its commerce consisted only of the furs and peltries which were brought by the hunter and trader from the Missouri, the Mississippi, and the Illinois; and on their waters a few canoes and flat-boats were sufficient to carry all of the required trade. Col. O'Fallon has seen the Mound City through all of its progressive stages of advancement, from his first advent in 1812 to the present time, and has contributed more liberally to all public and private enterprise than any man now living. He has won the respect and love of every class of society, and in 1849, when the great fire threatened to reduce the whole city to ashes, such was his popularity and such his claim on public gratitude, that the firemen, knowing that some property must be destroyed, encircled his, and saved it on many occasions from the devouring element.

"Col. O'Fallon has been identified with the great railroad enterprises of Missouri, which like a network will soon thread

every portion of the State and develop its vast resources. At the first meeting of some of the prominent citizens to create a company to form the plan of the Pacific Railroad, Col. O'Fallon was chosen president, and after a charter was obtained from the Assembly of Missouri, he was nominated as a candidate for the presidency, but declined, and at the same time nominated Mr. Thomas Allen, who was duly elected.

"Col. O'Fallon was the first president of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, and also of the North Missouri. He was a director of the State Bank of Missouri, and subscribed liberally to the building of the Planters' House, and more recently to the building of the Lindell Hotel." Among his late contributions to the city of St. Louis was O'Fallon's Park, estimated now to be worth two hundred and twenty-three thousand one hundred and seventy-four dollars.

"The noble and generous-hearted John O'Fallon," as Mr. John F. Darby calls him, was "a great and good man, to whom St. Louis owes much." "He possessed," says Mr. Darby, "one of the most acute and vigorous understandings that any man was ever armed with. His quickness was not accompanied with the least temerity; on the contrary, he was as sure as the slowest of mankind. But his nobleness of heart was far above all the qualities of his mind. He was beyond all doubt the most open-handed and liberal man the city of St. Louis ever produced, the leader in every noble undertaking, and the foremost and largest contributor in every public enterprise. He sprang to every business man's assistance without waiting to be called upon. He has done more to assist the merchants and business men of St. Louis than any man who ever lived in the town."[1]

[1] Perhaps Col. O'Fallon was too liberal, too generous. We have the suspicion that adventurers sometimes imposed upon his forbearance and good nature, and this seems to be confirmed by the following letter, found among his papers, and written to him by one of his slaves:

Letter of J. C. Carter to his Master.

"St. Bt. 'Langmon,' Jany. 25, 1834.

"Colonel J. O.Fallan:

"*Dear Master*,—I shipped on this Bt. at Natchez to supply the place of the Sick who are now recovered and I leave the boat at the Mth. of Ohio. And on the 14 opportunity I shall start for St. Louis, Clinton, or Orleans. I hope that you and your family are in the pomp of health and my dying companion and I desire that if it is your wish that you will send her to me to the Mth. Ohio & my clothes that I may take her to the Rheumatism to recover her Orleans. I am in the pomp of the enjoyment of health and hope my dear Master that you will send me a pass to go on any boat. I will pay any sum to cure my wife Rumattick I hope that she is well at the present time. My dying respects to her that she is well and hearty perhaps my well beloved Master I may return home as quick as the moderate Case will admit, thank you dear Sir that you will send your unprofitable servant papers to pass as he has done. My Dear Master will you be so kind as to send Sally down to the Mth. of Ohio to of Ohio to Mr. Buds, that I may take my dear beloved to orleans to be cured of Rumatiz, and it shall cost you nothing.

"My bed and clothes I want and I will try to be home 1st March or last of April without circumstances should alter cases and I will try and make refuse for payment.

"Grand asylum of the universe
"May I be your sacrifice
"Your ill begotten Varlet
"And unprofitable servant
"I resp. your
"J. C. × Carter
(his mark)."

The local influence of Col. O'Fallon was at least equaled by what might be called his national influence. He was a well and widely known public man, and public men everywhere not only sought him, but seemed to like to consult him. Probably their feeling towards him was that with which he inspired Harrison when they were in the army together: "Whenever O'Fallon is on duty," he said, "I can sleep sound and secure." He was anything but a Democrat, but Benton wrote to and consulted him. At the time of the Missouri Compromise agitation Benton wrote to O'Fallon: "Missouri will be taken up on the 23d inst. I shall expect that she will come in, but some think otherwise. There is no doubt but that all the leaders of the restriction interest are for breaking up the Union, and are laboring to make this poor question the veil for their treacherous designs."

Gen. Harrison was always consulting Col. O'Fallon, and among his correspondence we find letters from Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, Gen. Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Edward Bates, Gen. Atkinson, Gen. Winfield Scott, Gen. Jessup, Col. I. A. Hamilton (son of Alexander), Gen. Anderson, Senator Lewis F. Linn, President U. S. Grant.[2] O'Fallon always had some public post, not of profit, but of honor and responsibility. He was the first adjutant-general of Missouri, commissioned before the State had a seal. He was director in half the companies in St. Louis. The United States appointed him visitor and examiner at West Point. He was always giving. We find among his papers a simple half-page announcement of Henry O'Reilly's, the electrician, that he owes O'Fallon five thousand dollars, money advanced. If O'Reilly's patent did not succeed, O'Fallon's money was gone; if it did succeed, the chances were not so certain that O'Fallon would get his money. Here is a voice from one of his benefactions,—they did not always speak:

[2] Gen. Grant's note is almost enigmatic in its brevity; it simply asks, will Mr. O'Fallon send check to pay a note due by other parties at O'Fallon's bank on a certain day, and which, presumably, they could not meet. To judge by the marks on the back of this letter the note was not satisfactorily settled at a late day.

"ST. LOUIS, March 18, 1846.

"COL. JOHN O'FALLON:

"SIR,—Under instructions of the Board of Trustees of the Fourth Street Methodist Episcopal Church, I have the pleasure of handing you the following resolution, passed unanimously by said board at their last meeting:

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Trustees of the Fourth Street charge, Methodist Episcopal Church South, express the high sense they feel of gratitude and admiration for the magnanimity and noble liberality of their friend, Col. John O'Fallon, seen in his continued beneficence to the church they represent, from its commencement to the present time, especially his last act of generosity (as communicated in his note to the Rev. Joseph Boyle), which is alike creditable to the name and nature of a public benefactor of his race.

"With sentiments of the highest regard, I am sir,

"Respectfully yours, etc.,

"JAMES C. ESSEX."

But sometimes they inspired others to speak with eloquence. Thus wrote to him in 1851 Abel Rathbone Corbin, Gen. Grant's brother-in-law: "Your late noble benefaction, an account of which was borne to us in recent St. Louis papers, has attracted much attention here [Washington], especially with Missourians. Such acts are creditable to a city having such citizens, as well as to the doer of the good deed. . . . From my heart I thank you for it, and hope and pray that God will bless you for it, and long spare your valuable life, and make you as happy as you have been active, wise, and useful. The fact is you have done so much for religion, scientific and public purposes that it is difficult to make out a list of beneficiaries; not a fire company, not a library association, not a church, not anything but appeals to the liberality of Col. O'Fallon in their hour of need. And as to individuals, public and private, who have in multitudinous ways been assisted by you, who can number them? I question whether you could do it yourself. I know a prodigious number myself during the seventeen years of my acquaintance with you, and yet I am conscious that but few, comparatively, fell under my observation. Some men you helped outright, like the sons of —— ——; for others, you liberally indorsed; and for others, you furnished lots on long time, that, by their increased value, they might retain half or two-thirds by selling the balance for the small sum due you. May all these good deeds rise up in your old age, and, like the fragrance of the well-preserved flower of summer, bless you with their sweet and grateful odor."

When Col. O'Fallon died, Dec. 17, 1865, a whole city, an entire State, mourned him. There was a general suspension of business, and many striking demonstrations of the respect, esteem, and affection in which the citizen was held whose long and useful life had just closed. At the funeral ceremonies at St. George's Church the mayor, members of the Council and city officers, the members of the Chamber of Commerce, the professors and students of the St. Louis Medical College, the directors of the "O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute," and other public bodies were present, with a vast multitude of sorrowing citizens, hundreds of whom were unable to obtain admission to the church.

The pall-bearers were Gen. Harney, Col. Turner, and Messrs. Robert Campbell, John F. Darby, Henry Shaw, George McGunnegle, Walker R. Carter, William McPherson, L. Levering, and H. I. Bodley.

The impressive funeral services prescribed by the ritual of the Episcopal Church were performed by the Right Rev. Bishop Hawks, assisted by the Rev. Drs. Schuyler and Berkley.

Some of the things which the venerable prelate said of John O'Fallon could not truly be said of many men. The munificence of his public charities, "lithographed in your very streets," was yet far exceeded by the extent of his private charities and benevolence. Said the bishop,—

"But one particular feature in this good man was this, a more forgiving man I never knew. You could not wrong him but he would blot it out. You could not do an injury so intense (and few men did it) but what that gentle nature of love and forgiveness would blot it all out; and then to those who acted strangely he became a benefactor in after-times, in lifting them up from their troubles and pointing them onward to the way of honor, usefulness, and duty. I speak, perhaps, to some who know these things, and who have felt this forgiveness in his nature.

"Of his childhood, we learn that he was never known to possess even one bad habit. He never made use of an oath in his life. He never went to bed without prayers, nor rose without them. Always a child pure in heart, he at last culminated in the upright, just, honorable, and truthful man.

"Then, again, there was this as regards Col. O'Fallon, that he was emphatically the architect of his own fortune. In early life he seems, in the bloom of manhood, to have been carried away with the tide of war in behalf of his country, and having nobly served that country on the field of battle, bearing on himself the scars received in that service, he then, finding himself unemployed, conceived that his country no longer required his services and retired to civil life. But he was always patriotic to the land that gave him birth, and therefore loyal to the government that protected him, and he lived and died actuated by a noble spirit of patriotism and loyalty for his native land.

"To the city of his adoption I say, his public memorial is everywhere around you. You see, then, how that correct principles, embodied at the home fireside, bred even in earliest childhood, how they give promise of future good, and finally bring out the nobility of manhood, and how in manhood they make the individual still more lofty in his conception of duty, and raise him higher and higher in the way of truth and duty, till by common sympathy they make him a leader, because Col. O'Fallon was a man to be a leader in all the walks of citizenship.

"Then, my beloved friends, another thing connected with this man was this: Most men who have gathered together the

accumulations of a life lie down and die, and all their life long cherish narrow feelings, doing nothing to elevate humanity, only leaving to posterity to know what they are by some memorials that follow them. But Col. O'Fallon was, to a large extent, his own executor. He waited not till death, but in his own life saw the great works of his own goodness multiply and bear fruit. He did not wait to die before he gave, but in his own long life, I say, he was himself carrying out his will, which will was executed largely by himself."

The danger from the Indians continued to increase, and a meeting of citizens was held on the 15th of February, 1813, to devise measures of defense. Maj. William Christy was nominated chairman, and William C. Carr secretary, and it was

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five persons be appointed to take into consideration the situation of the town of St. Louis, and report thereon to a subsequent meeting of the inhabitants.

"*Resolved*, That Col. A. Chouteau, C. B. Penrose, William Christy, B. Pratte, and B. G. Farrar be the committee.

"*Resolved*, That the said committee report on Wednesday next, at three o'clock P.M."

On the 17th another meeting was held, at which the following report was presented by the committee appointed by the meeting of the 15th:

"Your committee, in pursuance of the resolution entered into and your instructions given on the 15th inst., beg leave to report that they waited on the acting Governor of this Territory, and were informed by him that he had no official information as respected the reports in circulation of Indians and British embodying to attack this Territory, but that he had taken the precautions to have accurate information on the subject and expected to hear shortly; that he had no power to make any immediate defense for this town, not being authorized to draw for money, but had used every means in his power to protect the Territory, and hoped his arrangements would be effectual.

"Finding that we had nothing to anticipate from this source, we made application to the board of trustees of this town, expecting they might use their authority, if such they had, but our expectations were doomed to receive another disappointment. Their answer was 'that no power was by law vested in the trustees that would enable them to compel the inhabitants to erect or repair fortifications, or cause them to be erected or repaired.'

"We do not think it prudent to report the exact situation of the munitions of war, but beg leave to observe that after diligent search we have ascertained that we are amply supplied with lead, that the number of men and arms are respectable, that there are several great guns, but unmounted, that the quantity of powder and flints is very small, but that there is of these articles sufficient among Mr. Johnson's factory goods, which we have no doubt, in case of necessity on proper application, would be delivered to us.

"After having made every inquiry in our power, seeing the forlorn hope we have to expect from the authorities in this place of any aid, viewing that whatever protection the government may intend to provide for us will be so retarded from the distance that any troops are from us, and from other causes will render it impossible for them to afford us prompt assistance, that the recent deplorable events in a part of Gen. Harrison's army may have considerable influence on our safety, your committee make bold to give it as their unanimous opinion that there is sufficient danger to make it necessary that some immediate arrangement should be made for the defense of the town, and seeing the little hope we have of assistance from any quarter, it now, therefore, rests with the people to afford the Territory and town, our wives and children, from the merciless savages the best protection in our power.

"All of which we respectfully submit.

"AUG. CHOUTEAU,
"*Chairman.*"

The following resolutions were thereupon adopted by the meeting:

"*Resolved*, That it is the unanimous opinion of this assembly that the town of St. Louis ought to be fortified, or put in a state of defense as speedily as practicable, and in order that the objects embraced by these resolutions, equally dear and desirable to us all, may be the more conveniently effected, it is furthermore

"*Resolved, unanimously*, That a committee of seven be appointed, to be called and styled the Committee of Safety for the town of St. Louis, vested with absolute power not only to adopt and devise the best measures for our defense or fortification, but also to have the same carried into effect.

"*Resolved also, unanimously*, That as soon as those measures of defense or fortification shall be adopted and made known by the said committee to the citizens of this place, and those of its vicinity who may wish to be associated with them, the present assembly pledge themselves to support them and to aid in carrying them into immediate operation.

"*Resolved*, That the said committee shall apportion as justly and equally as may be, according to the property and means possessed by each person, the proportion of work that may be necessary for them to perform; and forasmuch as this is a free and voluntary association for objects common for us all, to wit the defense of our property and lives, and the protection of our wives and children, it is therefore

"*Resolved*, That if any person shall refuse or neglect to perform the portion of work requested of them as aforesaid, they shall and ought to be considered as enemies to their country.

"*Resolved*, That Col. A. Chouteau, George Wilson, Wm. Christy, François Gavol, Robert Lucas,[1] C. B. Penrose, and William Smith be and they are hereby appointed the Committee of Safety for this town of St. Louis.

"*Resolved, lastly*, That these proceedings be presented to the Committee of Safety, to each inhabitant of St. Louis and its environs for their signature.

"WM. CHRISTY,
Chairman.
"WM. C. CARR,
"*Secretary.*"

On the 6th of March the following orders were announced:

[1] Among the citizens of St. Louis who took an active part in the war of 1812 was Maj. Robert Lucas, son of John B. C. Lucas. He was educated at West Point, and after graduating from that institution received a commission as an officer in the artillery corps, but tiring of the inactivity of military life in time of peace he resigned from the army and engaged in trade. On the declaration of war with Great Britain, however, he immediately offered his services to the government, and at the head of a company of volunteers proceeded to the Indian frontier. He was subsequently promoted major, and died Feb. 6, 1814, at French Mills, St. Lawrence River.

"TERRITORY OF MISSOURI,

"GENERAL ORDERS, ST. LOUIS, March 1, 1813.

"The usual orders for the musters of the battalions in the spring will now be given. The threatened invasion of our settlements by the Northern Indians requires arrangements of another character. To repel and if possible to chastise these inroads, if they should be attempted, the acting commander-in-chief orders

"That the volunteer companies commanded by Capts. Dodge, McNair, Callaway, Ashley, Young, Hughes, Millard, Ramsay, and Rankin muster for inspection at their respective parade-grounds on Saturday, the 20th of the present month, and hold themselves thenceforth in readiness to be called into active service at a moment's warning.

"That no citizen-soldier may be ignorant of the manner in which the law requires him to be equipped, he is reminded that it is his duty to provide himself with a good musket, with bayonet and belt, or a fusil, two spare flints, a knapsack and pouch, with the box therein, to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges, or a good rifle, knapsack, powder-horn and pouch, with twenty balls and a quarter of a pound of powder.

"FREDERICK BATES.

"By order of the acting commander-in-chief.

(Signed) "WILL. C. CARR,
"Aide-de-Camp."

Governor Howard arrived at St. Louis in April, 1813, with an appointment as brigadier-general. He continued to act as Governor for a few weeks, until the expiration of his commission as such, and was succeeded by Governor William Clark, who arrived on the 1st of July. Gen. Howard, during the spring, collected some regulars and marched through that portion of the country which was threatened by the Indians. In the mean time the troops at the outposts had been concentrated and Fort Osage evacuated. Gen. Howard established Fort Clark, in the Indian country, afterwards the site of Peoria. At that time great apprehension of an Indian attack was felt at St. Charles, and also at St. Louis.

On the 26th of June it was stated that upwards of twenty horses had been stolen from the opposite settlements, near Shoal Creek, by the Indians. No murders, it was added, have been lately committed by them; the Rangers are on the alert, and we hope some of the savages will be discovered in their marauding excursions.

A block-house at Portage des Sioux was intrusted to the command of Capt. Lewis Bissell; and early in July, 1813, Capt. David Musick's company of United States Rangers had a skirmish with a party of Winnebago Indians "on the frontier of St. Charles, near Fort Mason on the Mississippi," in which John M. Duff, a soldier, was fatally wounded.[1]

[1] His remains were interred with military honors at St. Louis on the 10th, the following being the order of procession:

1. A guard from the regular troops of one sergeant and ten rank and file.
2. Military music with muffled drums.
3. The priest of the Catholic Church in his sacerdotal robes, with attendants.
4. The corpse, borne by four privates of Capt. Lucas' company, and supported by six pall-bearers from same company.
5. Two privates of the company of the deceased as mourners.
6. Capt. Lucas' company of volunteer militia, two and two.
7. The judges and officers of the Court of Common Pleas, then in session, two and two.
8. The members of the Legislature and Legislative Council of the Territory of Missouri, two and two.
9. Speakers and clerks of both Houses.
10. The adjutant-general of the militia of the Territory, and assistant adjutant-general of the troops.
11. The officers of the army in town.
12. The Governor of the Territory, and brigadier-general commanding the district.
13. Citizens, two and two.

On the 10th of September, 1813, Gen. Howard started from Portage des Sioux with a force of fourteen hundred men on an expedition against the Indians of the Illinois.

The following appeared in the *Republican* of November 13th:

"In the treaty which will, no doubt, shortly be held with the Illinois and Wabash Indians, every citizen in the Western country expects, and the Indians expect nothing less, than that they will lose every pretension to that tract of country which they formerly claimed as theirs by right of conquest from the Peorians, a warlike people who could, seventy or eighty years ago, boast of two thousand fighting men, but are now reduced to ten or fifteen heads of families, and reside near Ste. Genevieve."

In the spring of 1814, Capt. Bissell's regiment was ordered to the Northern frontier.[2]

[2] Capt. Lewis Bissell is one of the prominent figures in the early history of St. Louis, and for many years was closely identified with the interests of the city and State. He was born on his father's farm in Hartford, Conn., Oct. 12, 1789, and resided there until about nineteen years of age. On the 12th of December, 1808, he was appointed an ensign in the First Regiment United States Infantry, commissioned by President Jefferson, and was soon after ordered to the Western frontier. He left Middletown, Conn., in company with the late Gen. Daniel Bissell (then a colonel), the last week in February following. In twelve days they reached the then village of St. Louis. This was on the 10th of May, 1809, about two and a half months from the time of leaving Connecticut. After remaining a few weeks at the "Cantonment Bellefontaine," about eighteen miles above St. Louis, he started for his final destination, Fort Osage, about three hundred miles up the Missouri, then far into the Indian country, where he arrived by keel-boat some time in July. Here he joined his company, and performed garrison duty. In June, 1812, war was declared by this country against England, and in 1813 Fort Osage, the present site of the town of Sibley, was evacuated. The troops engaged in an expedition against the Illinois Indians, under the command of Gen. Howard, established the post of old Fort Clark, the present site of the city of Peoria. In that year Capt. Bissell received the appointment of regimental quartermaster. In the spring of 1814 his regiment was ordered to the

In May of the same year five barges manned with about fifty or sixty regular troops and about one hundred and forty volunteers left St. Louis for Prairie du Chien, under the command of Governor William Clark.

Northern frontier (Upper Canada), and it left Bellefontaine in the latter part of May, in keel-boats, arriving at Pittsburgh after incessant toil about the 1st of July. Here they left their boats and marched across the country to Erie, in Pennsylvania, where they took a government vessel and crossed the lake to the old British "Fort Erie," which Gen. Brown had captured on the 4th of July. Marching from thence to Chippewa, where Brown gained the battle on the 5th, Bissell's regiment crossed from Erie to Black Rock, and marched down to Schosser (just above Niagara Falls), where it arrived on the 25th of July, opposite where Gen. Brown's army lay, when it again crossed to the British side, a little above. It had scarcely commenced its march before the firing of Scott's brigade began, when the whole army—Bissell's regiment among the number—hurried into the conflict, which lasted from about five or six o'clock P.M. till midnight, when our forces were masters of the field.

Gens. Brown and Scott were badly wounded in this important battle, and the command devolved on Gen. Ripley. Bissel's regiment lost in killed and wounded one-fourth of its number, and he received a severe wound himself, though it did not disable him from performing duty. He continued to serve with distinction under Gens. Brown and Gaines till on the celebrated *sortie* of the 17th September he received public thanks on parade from the late Gen. G. M. Brooke for the manner of collecting and marching his regiment. His name was also honorably mentioned in the general order of Gen. Brown. Soon after this he was ordered to join Brig. Gen. Bissell as one of his staff, then with Gen. Izard, who commanded the army on Lake Ontario, and in a short time received the appointment of brigade major, which he held to the close of the war.

In 1815 the army was reduced to a peace establishment, and Capt. Bissell was retained a captain in the Third Regiment of infantry, having been previously promoted to second and first lieutenants, and subsequently transferred to the Eighth Regiment. He had command of the gunboat "Governor Clark" during the great council with the Indians at Portage des Sioux in 1815, and was subsequently placed in command of Fort Clark, where he resigned from the army in the spring of 1816, and engaged in the sutler's business with Col. O'Fallon at Bellefontaine. He remained here until 1819, when the "Yellowstone expedition" (consisting of the Eighth Regiment of infantry and the Rifle Regiment) ascended the Missouri River under command of Gen. Atkinson. He then engaged in the sutler's business at Council Bluffs (the site of the present city of Omaha), where, by order of the government, the expedition halted and built a fort. He remained at Council Bluffs until 1822, when he traveled about a year to improve his declining health, and in 1824 was married in Manchester, Conn., and again engaged in merchandising, which he continued there until 1830. He then returned with his family to St. Louis, having purchased a farm in the neighborhood of the city in 1823, to which he removed, and there remained until his death, the place subsequently being within the chartered limits of this city, and known as Bissell's Point. He married the second time in 1837.

Capt. Bissell was badly bruised at the "Gasconade bridge disaster" in 1855, being in the last car that took the fatal leap. He died in St. Louis on the 25th of November, 1868.

On the 21st of January, 1815, the following notice was published:

"The subscribers are anxious to raise an infantry company of young men between fourteen and eighteen years of age, to do duty when called upon south of the Missouri. Those who wish to join, first obtaining the consent of their parents, will apply to

"EDWARD CHARLESS,
"JOHN RUSS."

On the receipt in St. Louis of the news of Gen. Jackson's victory at New Orleans on the 8th of January, 1815, a Federal salute was fired, and the houses illuminated February 18th, and on the 2d of March following a solemn mass and *Te Deum* were celebrated in the Catholic Church, and a sermon was preached by Father Savigne. On the 11th of the same month the conclusion of peace with Great Britain was announced in St. Louis. After the close of the war the following persons were recommended (in August, 1816) as commissioners for the county of St. Louis, to take testimony in cases arising under the "Act authorizing the payment for property lost, captured, or destroyed while in the military service of the United States, and for other purposes," to wit, M. P. Leduc, Matthias McGirk, Joseph Charless, Joshua Barton, Henry S. Geyer.[1]

The organization of Missouri Territory, under the act of 1812, terminated the sessions and business of the old Court of Common Pleas. Rufus Easton was the first prothonotary of this and the preceding court, Thomas F. Riddick the second, and Andrew Steele the third. There were many other officers in and around the court, and a summary of its different appointments and the various officials connected with it will give the outline of no small part of its business and its functions. The presiding justices were Charles Gratiot, appointed by Governor Harrison, and serving from December, 1804; Joseph Browne, appointed by Governor Wilkinson, and serving from March, 1806; Silas Bent, appointed by Secretary and acting Governor Browne, and serving from June, 1807; and William Christy, appointed by Governor Howard, and serving from March, 1813. (But Mr. Christy was

[1] On the 1st of May, 1872, the death at Manchester of Maj. Charles Clarkson, "one of the oldest and most estimable citizens of St. Louis County," was announced. Maj. Clarkson was a native of Kentucky, and served with credit in the war of 1812. He subsequently removed to St. Louis County, and "devoted himself to the breeding of choice stock on his farm near Manchester." Gordon Robinson, another veteran of the war of 1812, died at the residence in St. Louis of his son-in-law, James W. Rosebrough, on the 11th of November, 1877. He was a native of Belfast, Ireland, but emigrated to the United States in 1797.

presiding judge of the Court of Missouri Territory, an entirely new organization, under a new act of Congress, which greatly enlarged the opportunities of the people for self-government.) The clerks of the Court of Common Pleas were (in addition to those named above, of whom Easton was Governor Harrison's appointment, as was Riddick likewise, and Steele was Wilkinson's appointment) were William Christy, appointed by Secretary Browne, and Thomas F. Riddick again, reappointed by Secretary Frederick Bates. The first sheriff, as has already been told, was James Rankin; the next was Josiah McClenahan, appointed by Governor Harrison and in office fifteen months; the third was Jeremiah Connor, Wilkinson's appointment; the fourth, Alexander McNair, afterwards the first Governor of the State of Missouri; the fifth, John W. Thompson, was appointed by Governor Clark; and the sixth, Joseph C. Browne, was also appointed by Governor Clark, but not until his predecessor had been six years in office.

The deputy attorney-generals were Edward Hempstead, from December, 1804, an appointee of Governor Harrison's; Rufus Easton, appointed by the same Governor, from March, 1805; Edward Hempstead, Governor Harrison's third appointment, from June, 1805; James L. Donaldson, December, 1805, by Governor Wilkinson; Edward Hempstead once more, May, 1809, by Governor Lewis; Thomas T. Crittenden, November, 1810, by Governor Howard; Robert Wash, November, 1811, by Secretary Bates; and David Barton, from March, 1813, appointed also by Secretary Bates.

William Sullivan was coroner and constable as early as 1804, by appointment of Governor Harrison, and he also served as jailor and jail warden. The tavern licenses granted between 1804 and 1813 show that local writers have regularly understated the number and the need for these places of entertainment. It must be remembered, moreover, that the charge for licenses to taverns increased from five dollars in 1804 to thirty dollars in 1813. The list is as follows:

Calvin Adams, April, 1805; André l'Andreville, April, 1805; William Sullivan, April, 1805; William Christy, December, 1806; Resin Webster, March, 1809; Joseph Leblond, March, 1809; Charles Bosseron, March, 1809; Batiste Lebeau, March, 1809; Emilien Yosti, March, 1809; Joseph Bissonnette, November, 1809; F. Jourdain Labrosse, July, 1810; Henry Capron, July, 1810; Charles Schewe and Frederick Weber, March, 1811; Lambert Lajoie (Sallé), March, 1811; Joseph Philibert, July, 1812; Michel Marli, July, 1812.

Ferries:

George Boly, December, 1804, Maramec; John B. Belland, March, 1805, St. Charles; George Smirl, September, 1806, Maramec; Nathaniel Carpenter, March, 1807, St. Louis; Silas Dent, June, 1807, Cahokia; Samuel Solomon, March, 1809, St. Louis.

Under the act of Congress of June, 1812, the people of St. Louis for the first time began to taste the fruits of something like "home rule." The President appointed the Governor and selected the "Legislative Council," but the House of Representatives was elective, and the Territory became entitled to its delegate in Congress. The first Territorial court met on the first Monday in March, 1813, with William Christy presiding. The associate justices were David P. Walker, Auguste Chouteau, and George Tompkins, and the grand jury had Horace Austin for its foreman, the members being Julius de Mun, John McKnight, James Irwin, Francis M. Benoit, Charles Davis, Peter Primm, Matthew Primm, Charles Sauguinet, Joseph Bush, John A. Bright, James Thomas, James Anderson, Benjamin Quick, Samuel Solomon, and Judathan Kendall. David Barton made his first appearance as deputy attorney-general.

The first act of the elective Legislature was to fix a standard of weights and measures, the next to provide for a census. A sheriff was to be appointed for each county every two years; the Court of Common Pleas was reorganized, with three judges for each county, appointed for four years each, and three terms to be held each year,—in St. Louis on the third Monday in February, the first Monday in June, and the third Monday in September,—the clerk, or prothonotary of the county, to be likewise recorder of deeds.

This Legislature further proceeded to incorporate the Bank of St. Louis, with a list of notable names, headed by Auguste Chouteau, as corporators. It set a regular day for elections, instituted county courts, arranged for judicial circuits, and provided for proceedings in appeal and equity. In subsequent proceedings of the Legislature, now fairly launched in business, the courts were further reconstructed, and in 1816 steps were taken to secure a suitable site and build a jail for the city and county. A market-house had been constructed some years before, engine companies started, and several municipal regulations established to prevent fires. One of the earliest lotteries in St. Louis was permitted to assist in raising three thousand dollars or under for the equipment of a fire company. Of this lottery, Auguste Chouteau, Wm. C. Carr, Theodore Hunt, Henry Von Phul, and Thomas F. Riddick were the commissioners. In the same year (1817) another lottery was instituted to provide money to build a Masonic Hall.

About the middle of July, 1815, Portage des

Sioux, in St. Charles, was the scene of some stirring and important events. At that time and place a large number of deputies or delegates from the Northwestern tribes of Indians met the commissioners of the United States government for the purpose of negotiating treaties of peace. The commissioners were Governor Clark, of Missouri Territory, and superintendent of Indian affairs west of the Mississippi River, Governor Edwards, of Illinois, and superintendent of Indian affairs in that Territory, and Hon. Aug. Chouteau, of St. Louis; Robert Wash being secretary of the commission, and Brig.-Gen. Dodge being present with a strong military force to preserve the peace and guard against surprise or treachery. One of the old citizens of St. Charles once consulted a lawyer as to whether he was entitled to bounty land under the laws of the United States, he having been engaged in the service of the government about two weeks at that time in driving a cart for some purpose. He well remembered the occasion of this conference, in connection with which his hauling was done. The time from July to October, 1815, was consumed in making treaties with the several tribes, treaties being made with the Pottawattamies, Piankeshaws, Sioux or Dakotahs, Mahas, Kickapoos, Sacs, Foxes, Great and Little Osages, Iowas, and Kaws. These treaties pacified these tribes for many years afterwards.

Among those who helped to promote the growth of St. Louis at this time by legitimate enterprise and honorable industry was Antoine Chenier, who was born at La Pointe Claire, Canada, on the 14th of April, 1768; the house in which he was born is still standing on a portion of the family estate. His ancestors were settled in Quebec in 1651. He was one of seven children, and was sent at the age of eleven years to the College of Montreal. On leaving school he engaged in active business, entering the Canadian fur company known as "L'Étoile du Nord." In later years Mr. Chenier often related many interesting incidents happening while he was trading with the Indians at Niagara Falls.

The spirit of adventure so characteristic of the Canadians prompted him to go West and explore its wilds. Arriving in St. Louis in 1795, he soon after entered the service of the leading Missouri fur-traders, and made many trips to the Rocky Mountains. He spoke fluently several Indian languages, and was a man of great influence among the savage tribes.

In 1806 he married Marie Thérèse Papin, daughter of Jean Marie Papin and Marie Louise Chouteau (sister of Pierre Chouteau).

Antoine Chenier's residence was on the north side of Market Street, between Main and Second. He was of a genial disposition, and his home was proverbial for its hospitality. He left seven children,—Antoine Leon Chenier (married to Miss Julia de Mun), Jules Chenier (married to Miss Josephine Lane), Mrs. Gen. Bernard Pratte, Mrs. Dr. Auguste Masure, Mrs. Joseph S. Pease, and Mrs. Gourd. Mrs. Pratte and Mrs. Gourd alone survive; the latter has been a resident for many years of Lyons, France.

Antoine Chenier was of a distinguished family, being descended from the Cheniers of France. This circumstance did not prevent his taking a lively interest in the prosperity of the infant settlement of St. Louis. It is related that in the early history of the place, when not one brick had been placed upon another in the form of a human habitation, his friends, knowing him to possess large capital, suggested to him the need of a bakery for the town. Consequently he sent to Canada and imported a baker and established him in the baking business, which was conducted a long time without a competitor, and proved very lucrative. Later the establishment was sold to Daniel D. Page, who afterwards became a prominent banker. Thus may Mr. Chenier be regarded in a certain sense as a pioneer in one of the largest and most necessary industries of which St. Louis can now boast.

Mr. Chenier was cousin of Dr. Jean Olivia Chenier, of Quebec, distinguished during the Canadian Revolution of 1837. Dr. Chenier was killed at the church-door of St. Eustache, which he was defending. The Canadians have erected a monument to him in the churchyard as one of their heroes.

Mr. Chenier died May 26, 1842, leaving a handsome estate. He passed away beloved and respected as one of the oldest and most esteemed French residents of St. Louis. His descendants are connected with some of the most prominent families of the city.

The town had now begun to grow very rapidly. Land speculations occupied the attention of every one, and attracted the attention of many strangers, but legitimate business attracted many likewise. A newspaper of the day remarks that

"since our roads have become dry and traveling is rendered agreeable, our towns and villages are crowded with strangers in pursuit of land, etc. We are rejoiced to learn that capitalists are now in search of a place to erect iron-works. Rich iron ore has been found on the Maramec and its tributary waters, the banks of all our rivers and creeks indicate the possession of various minerals; indeed, we only want men of science, industry, and enterprise to develop the mighty resources of this interesting country. A fertile soil, valuable mines, a fur and peltry trade calculated to employ a capital to an immense amount are only a part of the inducements which must give this country a decided preference to any of her sister Territories.

"We learn that the Missouri traders have been successful this





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year: very few have arrived, nor can we yet quote the price of furs. Provisions continue high,—superfine flour $10, bacon from $12 to $15 per cwt. Groceries rate as usual, very high, viz.: common Orleans sugar retails at 25 cents per pound, coffee 50 cents per pound. Boards and scantling continue extravagantly high and in great demand. Nine-inch and eighth boards sell briskly at $4 to $4.50 per 100 feet. There is no doubt, and we venture to assert, that a steam saw-mill established at this place would yield a greater profit than half a dozen large stores."

Edwards, in his "Great West," furnishes a retail price current of the same period, viz.:

Beef, on foot, per cwt	$4.00
Bread, ship, none	.....
Butter, per pound	25
Beeswax, "	25
Candles, "	25
Cheese, "	12½
" common, per pound	.....
Boards (none in market)	.....
Cider (none in market)	.....
Coffee, per pound	50
Cotton, "	40
" yarn No. 10	1.25
Feathers, per pound	50
Flour, per barrel, superfine, in demand	16.00
" horse-mill, fine, per cwt	6.00
Grain: Wheat, per bushel	1.00
Rye, "	62½
Barley, "	75
Corn, "	35
Oats, "	37
Gunpowder, per pound	1.00
Hides, per piece	2.75
Hams, per pound	12
Hogs' lard, per pound	12
Bears' lard, "	1.50
Honey, "	1.00

The growth of population was remarkable when the city did once begin to grow. The census of 1810 gave to the district of St. Louis (town and county) a population of 5667 in all. In 1815, Sheriff John W. Thompson took a census of St. Louis for purposes of taxation, and found 7395 persons in the county, and 2000 in the town of St. Louis, a growth of 1200 in the county in two years. The United States census of 1820 gave 9732 as the population of the county, of whom about 4000 are estimated to be townsmen of St. Louis. In 1828 the sheriff's census gave 11,880 people to the county, and 5000 to the city.

There is but little more to add. St. Louis became a city all at once, and the history of the municipality must be separately treated. The steamboat and the tide of immigration revolutionized the place and people, nay, they transformed even the wild savages in the plains and mountains to the westward.[1]

[1] In 1818 the government of the United States projected the celebrated Yellowstone expedition, the objects of which were to ascertain whether the Missouri River was navigable by steamboats, and to establish a line of forts from its mouth to the Yellowstone. The expedition started from Plattsburgh, New York, in 1818, under command of Col. Henry Atkinson. Gen. Nathan Ranney, a well-known citizen of St. Louis, not long ago deceased, was an *attaché* of this expedition; also Capt. Wm. D. Hubbell, afterwards a citizen of Columbia, Missouri. It arrived at Pittsburgh in the spring of 1819, where Col. S. H. Long, of the topographical engineers of the United States army, had constructed the "Western Engineer," a small steamer to be used by him and his scientific corps in pioneering the expedition to the mouth of the Yellowstone.

In 1874, Gen. Ranney presented to the Missouri Historical Society the following historical memorandum for incorporating in the scrap-book of the association: In 1818–19, Maj. Long, of the United States topographical engineers, built a steamboat at Pittsburgh for exploring the Western waters to the Yellowstone River. The boat was christened the "Western Engineer." On its stern (other authorities, and we believe them correct, say the image of the serpent's head projected from the prow instead of the stern of the vessel), running from the keel, was the image of a huge serpent painted black, with mouth red and its tongue the color of a live coal. The steam exhausted from the mouth of the serpent, which led the Indians to look upon it with astonishment and wonder. They saw in it the power of the Great Spirit, and thought the boat was carried on the back of the great serpent. Many were afraid to go near it, and looked upon the machinery of the craft with especial awe. The boat was in command of Lieut. Swift, though his name was in no wise applicable to the traveling capacity of the steamer. As a means of exploration she proved a success. She was a side-wheeler, and the first boat to ascend the upper Missouri.

The boat arrived in St. Louis June 8, 1819, and on the 21st of the same month, in company with the government steamers "Expedition," Capt. Craig, "Thomas Jefferson," Capt. Orfort, and "R. M. Johnson," Capt. Colfax, and nine keel-boats (the keel-boats had been fitted out with wells and masts by Aaron Sutton, the father of Richard D. Sutton, a well-known citizen of St. Louis) left on their long and perilous voyage. Their entrance into the mouth of the Missouri River was signalized by music, waking the echoes of the forest wilds, and by the streaming of flags in the breeze. It was the intention of those in charge of the expedition, out of respect to ex-President Jefferson, who had done so much to acquire Louisiana, to award the honor of the first entrance to the steamer bearing the name; but an accident to her machinery caused a temporary delay, and therefore the entry was made by the "Expedition," which slowly steamed her way to Fort Bellefontaine, situated about four miles from the entrance of the river. Afterwards they proceeded on their voyage, the "Jefferson," however, near Côte sans Dessein, being wrecked on a snag and lost.

We have given several lists of tax-payers in the course of this volume. We give here a selection from the leading names on the list of 1821, just preceding the incorporation of the city. The list includes in all four hundred and twenty-nine tax-payers; of these the principal eighty-five are here given, with the amounts for which they were assessed:

Bosseron, Charles	$6,225
Berthold, Bartholomew	7,600
Bates, Edward	1,000
Bob, John	2,800
Benoist, Toussain & Seraphin	1,200
Chenier, Antoine	9,175
Clark, Governor William	9,930
Chambers, William	1,200
Chouteau, Sr., Pierre	13,025
Chouteau, Sr., Auguste	9,105
Duchoquette, Baptiste	3,500
Duchoquette, François	1,245
Duncan, Robert	1,865
Everheart, George	720

English, Elkanah	$1,020
Essex & Hough	3,600
Forsyth, Thomas	2,215
Farren & Walker, Drs	1,700
Farrar, Barnard G	3,700
Furgeson, Peter	1,925
Finney, John	249
Geyer, Henry S	4,330
Gratiot, Charles, est	8,300
Gamble, Archibald	2,500
Giddings, Salmon	1,200
Hunt, Wilson P	600
Hawkin, Jacob	530
Hanley, Thomas	8,530
Hunt, Theodore	1,200
Hammond, Samuel	7,900
Kennerly, James	6,125
Kennerly, James & George	8,000
Kerr, Bell & Co	20,000
Kerr, Matthew	3,600
Lisa's, est	10,065
Labadie, Maria Antoinette, est	5,000
Lindell, John & Co., composed of Peter, Jesse, and John L	5,050
Labeaume, Louis, est	300
Laveille, Françoise	415
Long, Gabriel	2,000
Lakenan, James	1,720
Lee, Mary Ann	1,720
Lane, William Carr	1,000
Labbadie, Joseph L	1,525
Landreville, André	7,875
Lecompte, Margaret	9,305
Lucas, John B. C	10,000
Mullanphy, John	8,100
Mackay, James	1,500
Moore, James	1,289
McNair, Alexander	6,400
McGuire, Thomas	1,910
McKnight & Brady	8,300
O'Fallon, John	2,450
Papin, Alex	3,715
Provencher, J. L	1,500
Provencher, Peter	1,215
Prim, John	1,200
Paul, René	4,680
Paul, Gabriel	4,850
Papin, Hypt. & Sylv	5,985
Papin, Theodore	2,000
Phillibert, Joseph	4,055
Paul & Ingram	20,000
Pratte, Bernard & Joseph	11,800
Price, Risdon H	8,800
Phillipsen, Joseph	11,000
Pratte, Bernard	10,165
Quarles, Robert	3,000
Reed, Jesse	1,000
Rector, William	10,900
Rankin, Robert	800
Roubidox, James & Francis	9,055
Reed, Jacob, est	1,500
Rector, Elias	1,365
Riddick, Thomas F	7,070
Reynard, Hyacinth	7,570
Sullivan, William	2,435
Sarrade, Jean	1,800
Smith, William, est	5,500
Scott, Moses	1,012
Smith, Oliver C	2,712
Simpson, Robert	4,200
Sarpy, John B	6,870
Sanguinet, Marianne	6,425
Stokes & Ashley	3,000
Scott, Alexander	2,500
Thornton, John	50
Tisson, Louis H	800
Tesson, Michael	9,862
Town & Dent	2,000
Tracy & Wahrendorff	3,570
Von Phul, Henry	5,460
Valois, François	3,615
Wiggins, Samuel	1,200
Whetmore, Alphonzo	1,387
White, Isaac W	412
White, Joseph	$800
Wolford, Ann	2,115
Walker, David C	2,315
Willer & Page	1,150
Wherry, Mackay	1,085
Wash, Robert	3,975
Yosti, Theatiste	4,799

We find that for the year 1821 the total taxes levied on property situated within the town limits and precincts is three thousand eight hundred and twenty-three dollars and eighty cents.

In 1821, the first directory ever published in St. Louis came out. The editor, Mr. John A.[1] Paxton, who was not without experience in the conduct of such publications, did his work conscientiously and well, and we cannot conclude the present chapter better than by giving a brief extract from Paxton's "The St. Louis Directory and Register, containing the names, professions, and residences of all the heads of families and persons in business, together with descriptive notes on St. Louis."

"In St. Louis," says Mr. Paxton, "are the following mercantile, professional, mechanical, etc., establishments, viz.: forty-six mercantile establishments, which carry on an extensive trade with the most distant parts of the republic in merchandise, produce, furs, and peltry; three auctioneers, who do considerable business, each pays two hundred dollars per annum to the State for a license to sell, and on all personal property sold is a State duty of three per cent., on real estate one and a half per cent., and their commission of five per cent.; three weekly newspapers, viz., *St. Louis Inquirer*, *Missouri Gazette*, and *St. Louis Register*, and as many printing-offices, one book-store, two binderies, three large inns, together with a number of smaller inns or taverns and boarding-houses, six livery-stables, fifty-seven grocers and bottlers, twenty-seven attorneys and counselors-at-law, thirteen physicians, three druggists and apothecaries, three midwives, one portrait-painter, who would do credit to any country, five clock- and watch-makers, silversmiths, and jewelers, one silver-plater, one engraver, one brewery, where are manufactured beer, ale, and porter of a quality equal to any in the Western country, one tannery, three soap- and candle-factories, two brick-yards, three stone-cutters, fourteen bricklayers and plasterers, twenty-eight carpenters, nine blacksmiths, three gunsmiths, two copper and tinware manufactories, six cabinet-makers, four coach-makers and wheelwrights, seven turners and chair-makers, three saddle and harness manufacturers, three hatters, twelve tailors, thirteen boot and shoe manufacturers, ten ornamental sign- and house-painters and glaziers, one nail-factory, four hair-dressers and perfumers, two confectioners and cordial distillers, four coopers, block-, pump-, and mast-makers, four bakers, one comb-factory, one bell-man, five billiard-tables, which pay an annual tax of one hundred dollars each to the State and the same sum to the corporation, several hacks or pleasure-carriages and a considerable number of drays and carts, several professional musicians, who play at balls, which are very frequent and well attended by inhabitants, more particularly by the French, who in general are remarkably graceful performers, and much attached to so rational, healthy, and improving an amusement; two potteries are within a few miles, and there are several promising gardens in and near to the town."

[1] In the title-page of the reprint the name is spelled thus, but in the preface the name is John *E.* Paxton.

"Such was St. Louis," says Mr. Edwards, in his "Great West," after quoting Paxton extensively, "in 1821, just before the season of emerging from a town to a city existence. In the place of bateaux and unwieldy barges, the Mississippi and other western waters have become freighted with steamboats, which at once superseded the oar and the *cordelle*. This new improvement bringing distant points in close connection and facilitating every avenue of trade to St. Louis, steamboats from the hour of their advent became invaluable; and so great was their acquisition to the commerce that in despite of the breaking of the banks, the depreciation of loan-office money, the general derangement of the currency, and the injurious operation of the stop laws, they gave a vitality to the business current which had otherwise stagnated from the opposing obstacles and barriers. Agriculture, after Missouri had become admitted as a State, began to receive considerable attention, and still further to increase the interest. A meeting was held in the town of St. Louis in May, 1822, for the purpose of organizing an agricultural society. At this meeting a committee was appointed to draw up a constitution for the government of the society, which consisted of the following respectable citizens, viz.: William C. Carr, Richard Graham, Robert Simpson, Joseph C. Brown, and Henry Watson. The society remained in existence many years, and did much for the improvement of agriculture.

"It is worthy of remark that the health of St. Louis at this early period, if the number of deaths be a criterion, would compare very favorably with that of the present day, when the city is subject to sanitary laws; and from the cultivation of the soil many marshes and ponds have been removed which then exhaled poisonous miasma. The number of interments from the 17th March, 1822, to the 29th of October of the same year was one hundred and three. The population of the town at that time was four thousand and eight hundred souls.

"On the 9th of December, 1822, an act was passed by the Legislature of Missouri to incorporate the inhabitants of the town of St. Louis, and in April, 1823, an election took place to elect the mayor and nine aldermen, in whom the act specified should vest the corporate powers of the city."

CHAPTER XV.

THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

On the 27th of February, 1845, the United States Senate passed what is called the "joint resolution" consenting that the territory "rightfully belonging to the republic of Texas" might be erected into a new State called the State of Texas; subject, however, to the adjustment by the United States government of "all questions of boundary that may arise with other governments." On the next day the resolution was concurred in by the House of Representatives, and on the 1st of March was approved by the President.

Texas assented to the terms of the joint resolution by her ordinance of July 4, 1845, and having formed her Constitution, became virtually a State in the American Union. Three days after this, on July 8th, the Texas convention requested the President of the United States to occupy the ports of Texas, and send an army to their defense. This request President Polk immediately complied with.

Mexico, which still claimed Texas as a portion of the republic, to which she had never relinquished her title, considered and treated the act of the United States in annexing and taking possession of Texas as an act of war, and accordingly Gen. Almonte, the Mexican minister to the United States, on the 6th of March, 1845, demanded his passports and returned to his government. On the arrival of news of the annexation at the City of Mexico, all diplomatic relations between the two governments were abruptly terminated, and the proceedings of the Mexican Congress manifested a highly belligerent spirit.

Neither Mexico nor the United States appeared to shrink from the issue; on the contrary, troops were ordered by both governments to march to the disputed frontier for the avowed purpose of defending the territory they respectively claimed. As a portion of that territory, the tract lying between the river Nueces and the Rio Grande, or Rio Bravo del Norte, was claimed by both nations, nothing less than a forbearance to set foot on the disputed territory could prevent collision between the two armies; and such forbearance was the more difficult, as a portion of the disputed territory was then actually in the occupation of citizens of Mexico.

As if in anticipation of a difficulty with Mexico, in consequence of the annexation of Texas, Gen. Zachary Taylor, then in command at Camp Jessup, was ordered to move his forces into Texas several weeks before the War Department had received information of the Texan ordinance. On the 28th of June, Mr. Donelson, then minister to Texas, and to whom Gen. Taylor was referred for advice as to his movements, wrote him that he had best move his forces "without delay to the western frontier of Texas," and also informed him that Corpus Christi, on Aranzas Bay, was the best point for the concentration of his troops. Gen. Taylor proceeded immediately with the forces under his command to Aranzas Bay, and in the beginning of August, 1845, had taken the position assigned him by the government. All the troops in the West, Northwest, and the Atlantic States which could be spared were ordered to join him, and in November, according to the report of the adjutant-general, his force numbered four thousand and forty-nine men.

On the 13th of January, 1846, the President ordered the Army of Texas to advance from Corpus Christi and take position on the left bank of the Rio Grande, and a strong fleet to assemble in the Gulf of

Mexico. On the 8th of March the advance column of the army, under Col. Twiggs, commenced its march from Corpus Christi, and on the 20th crossed the river Arroyo Colorado. On the 25th it established its position at Point Isabel, and on the 28th of March Gen. Taylor took position within cannon-range of Matamoras.

No actual violence was committed until April 10th, when Col. Trueman Cross, of Maryland, assistant quartermaster-general of the army, rode out of camp for exercise and was murdered by the enemy. The Mexicans continued their depredations until the 24th of April, when Gen. Arista, who had succeeded to the command of the army, communicated to Gen. Taylor that "he considered hostilities commenced and should prosecute them." On the same day he attacked a reconnoitering party of sixty-five American dragoons, and killed and wounded sixteen, and surrounded and captured the remainder. This skirmish roused Gen. Taylor to action. After reinforcing Point Isabel, the chief depository of his military supplies, he returned to his camp opposite Matamoras, and on May 8th met the main force of the enemy, advantageously posted near Palo Alto. After an engagement lasting from two o'cloc' in the afternoon until night, the Mexicans were driven from the field with great loss. On the following day, when within four miles of the Rio Grande, Gen. Taylor again encountered the Mexicans, strongly posted at the pass of Resaca de la Palma, and was again victorious. The Mexicans lost many prisoners, much valuable baggage and arms, and ceased not their flight until they either crossed or were overwhelmed in the waters of the Rio Grande. Besides these battles, the Mexican republic lost all power, either present or future, of retaining the vast territorial empire which it had once held east of the Rio Grande.

The intelligence of hostilities on the Rio Grande created the greatest excitement throughout the country. Congress was then in session, and the President immediately (May 11, 1846) sent in a message, in which he declared that the Mexican government had at last "invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon American soil. She has proclaimed that hostilities have commenced, and that the two nations are now at war." In the same message he "invokes the prompt action of Congress to recognize the existence of the war, and to place at the disposition of the Executive the means of prosecuting the war with vigor, and thus hastening the restoration of peace."

Congress, after less than two days' deliberation, declared "that by the act of the republic of Mexico a state of war exists between that government and the United States." At the same time Congress authorized the President "to employ the militia, naval, and military forces of the United States, and to call for and accept the services of any number of volunteers not exceeding fifty thousand, to serve twelve months after they shall have arrived at the place of rendezvous, or to the end of the war, unless sooner discharged."

The President, with the view of securing to the citizens of each State and Territory the privilege of participating in the war, apportioned the volunteer force under his call among the several States and Territories, and made a requisition upon the Governor of Missouri for one regiment of infantry, to rendezvous at Fort Leavenworth, as the quota of this State.

The Rio Grande was assumed by the government as the base-line of military operations, but the Mississippi became the true and real base of supply and movement, and New Orleans and St. Louis the great depôts for provisions and armament. Quartermaster and commissariat departments became at once very active; wagons, horses, provisions, and supplies of all sorts were to be found and purchased chiefly in the valley of the Mississippi, while military equipments were to be furnished from the Atlantic coast arsenals.

From the first St. Louis took a leading and active position for a vigorous and successful prosecution of the war. Upon the first outbreak of hostilities her sons volunteered and were eager to be placed in active service. As we shall see, in this, as in every other war in which they were engaged, they did their whole duty and were not wearied.

The people of St. Louis were already in a state of patriotic excitement in regard to the dangers surrounding Gen. Taylor's army in Mexico, when intelligence was received that hostilities had begun. The news was brought to the city from New Orleans by the steamboat "Pride of the West" on May 11, 1846. Judge Mullanphy, bearer of dispatches from Governor Edwards to his aid, Col. Robert Campbell, was a passenger on the vessel. Immediately on his arrival Col. Campbell placed the following *requisition* from Gen. Gaines and *order* from Governor Edwards in the hands of Gen. Milburn, who promptly issued them:

"HEADQUARTERS, WESTERN DIVISION,
"NEW ORLEANS, May 4, 1846.

"SIR,—Recent events in Mexico, and more especially on the Rio Grande, where hostilities against our pioneers and reconnoitering parties have commenced on the part of the troops of that nation, convince me that the government of the United States will no longer hesitate to authorize the concentration of a respectable force of Western volunteers upon that important portion of our national frontier.

"Having solicited the President's authority to concentrate upon that border fifty battalions,—each battalion to consist of six hundred men, to be accepted as volunteers into the service of the United States for six months, unless sooner discharged,—I take this occasion to say that Your Excellency will contribute much to the interest of the service, and anticipate a requisition from the War Department, by authorizing two battalions—one of infantry and one of riflemen,—of the chivalric volunteer corps of the State of Missouri to organize and repair to this city as soon as practicable, where they shall receive arms, with every requisite supply to render them *ready for action*; and from this place they will go by good steamers to Point Isabel.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

"EDMUND P. GAINES,[1]
"*Major-Gen'l U. S. Army,*
"*Commanding the Western Division.*

"To His Excellency JOHN C. EDWARDS,
"*Governor of the State of Missouri.*"

[1] This unauthorized requisition of Gen. Gaines greatly embarrassed Gen. Taylor in his operations against Mexico, and was the subject of much correspondence between Gen. Taylor, the Secretary of War, and other officials. On April 26th, after hostilities had begun, Gen. Taylor had deemed it necessary to call upon the Governors of Texas and Louisiana for four regiments of volunteers, to enable him to prosecute the war with energy. Gen. Gaines in executing this requisition exceeded his authority by calling out, mustering into service, and sending to the Army of Occupation troops from Alabama, Mississippi, and Missouri. The difficulty arose from the fact that Gen. Gaines had mustered these volunteers into service for *six months*, although there was no law to give validity to his proceedings. To relieve Gen. Taylor of any embarrassment in the matter, the President in a letter to him dated May 23d recognized the call of Gen. Gaines to the extent of the number of troops already furnished under it, and requested Gen. Taylor to "receive them in the same manner as those embraced" in his requisition. Notwithstanding the efforts of the President to give validity to the proceedings of Gen. Gaines, there still remained the question as to the period for which the troops mustered in by him could be held for service. As they did not come within the provisions of the act of Congress of the 13th of May, 1846, the conclusion at which the War Department arrived was that they should be regarded as in service by virtue of the act Feb. 28, 1795, which limited their term of service to three months. The Secretary of War in a letter to Gen. Taylor, dated June 26th, gives his decision in the matter as follows: "A considerable body of troops beyond those embraced by your requisitions and the President's sanction have been mustered into service for six months by order of Gen. Gaines, and have before this time reported themselves to you. It is in relation to these six months' volunteers that the greatest embarrassment has been felt. They have yielded to invitations which they thought were authoritatively made or would be sanctioned, and have in most instances made personal sacrifices to obey the impulses of patriotism, and gone forth in the hope of having an opportunity of rendering valuable services to their country. To decline to receive them, to send them back to their homes without giving them employment, will undoubtedly cause regret, disappointment, and mortification; yet, after mature consideration, the government does not discover that there is any other alternative. They are not legally in the public service under any existing law, and the President cannot receive them as volunteers unless they should tender their services for twelve months, or during the war with Mexico." He suggested to Gen. Taylor to tender to them the alternative of becoming volunteers under the act of May 13, 1846, and if they declined he had no other course to pursue but to cause them to be returned to their respective homes. In conclusion he said, "This is truly a painful alternative, and most gladly would the government here avoid it if it could be done consistently with official obligations and a due regard to existing laws."

"TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS,—Our frontier is in danger. The Mexicans invade our territory. War has commenced; the blood of our friends has been shed, and our army is menaced by superior numbers. Our country needs the services of her defenders at Point Isabel and near Matamoras. A new emergency offers, in which the soldiers of our country can further distinguish themselves for patriotism and bravery. TWELVE HUNDRED VOLUNTEERS ARE REQUIRED FROM MISSOURI. Let them be speedily raised. Every good citizen will lend his aid in concentrating a force to repel the attack of the Mexicans, and to procure by arms redress for the attempt to prevent the United States from asserting her claims within her own territory. As an inducement to enter the service promptly, the Missouri volunteers may be assured that those who reach the seat of war at an early period may be employed in active and hard service. Be prepared to fight. Expect no light work. A brave soldier has no reason to underrate his adversary. *Meet in St. Louis.* All necessaries will be furnished at that point. You will be armed in New Orleans, and shipped thence to the seat of war.

"JOHN C. EDWARDS,
"*Commander-in-Chief Mo. Militia.*"

In accordance with the requisition of Governor Edwards, Gen. Milburn issued the following brigade order:

"HEADQUARTERS, 1ST BRIGADE,
"2D DIVISION, MISSOURI MILITIA.
"ST. LOUIS, 11th May, 1846.

"The Governor of the State of Missouri, upon the requisition of Gen. Gaines, U. S. army, has called for TWELVE HUNDRED VOLUNTEERS from the State of Missouri, to proceed forthwith to Point Isabel, for the relief of Gen. Taylor. The Governor expects that five hundred can be raised in St. Louis, and, doubtless, that number, or near it, can be obtained from the regiments of the Legion and the 64th Regiment of the Missouri militia, commanded by Cols. Easton and Bogy, who are hereby required to assemble their respective regiments at the usual parade-ground, near the Park, at twelve o'clock tomorrow, the 12th instant.

"Other citizens who may in the mean time organize themselves into companies will also assemble at the time and place above named, when the services of the requisite number, not exceeding the limit of the call upon the State, will be accepted and organized.

"WILLIAM MILBURN,
"*Brigadier-General.*"

Upon receipt of the Governor's proclamation a number of the most prominent citizens thought it advisable to issue a call for a public meeting to be held in the rotunda of the court-house, "to consider measures necessary to be taken in relation to our present position with regard to Mexico." In response to the call an immense gathering took place on the

evening of May 11th. On motion of Samuel Treat, Maj. Thomas H. Harvey was made chairman, and Maj. A. I. Dorn secretary. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Wetmore, Johnson, Ranney, Holt, Eager, and Treat, after which the following resolutions were adopted:

"*Resolved*, That, as it is characteristic with Missourians in all times of trial to their country to come forward *en masse* to its rescue, and as it appears from the recent news from the Rio Grande that the foe is upon our soil, we hereby pledge ourselves that the requisition of Gen. Gaines upon the Governor of our State for volunteers shall be fully and gallantly responded to, and that we will not turn back so long as a hostile foe presses our virgin soil.

"*Resolved*, That, in accordance with the call of Brig.-Gen. Milburn, we will meet at twelve o'clock to-morrow on the parade-ground, near the Park, to rally under the banner of our country, and with the firm determination that the Stars and Stripes shall never be disgraced whilst intrusted to our charge."

The military and citizens promptly responded to the call of Gen. Milburn. At an early hour on the following day (May 12th) the military companies were in motion, and in some places the officers were seen drilling their newly-enrolled men in the streets, disregarding the want of uniform. Gen. Milburn and several others appeared in their military dress. Between twelve and one o'clock the several companies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery had arrived at the Park, and during the council of the officers composing the Legion and Sixty-fourth Regiment the citizens and members of the companies amused themselves as they thought best. At a late hour in the afternoon, Gen. Milburn announced to the immense multitude that had assembled that the officers of the Legion had unanimously resolved to respond to the call of Gen. Gaines forthwith, and that such companies as had not already their full complement of men would be filled up by the reception of volunteers as speedily as possible. He further stated that the Sixty-fourth Regiment had reported two hundred and twenty-five men as ready for service, and that the requisite number would be obtained as soon as practicable. It was also stated, as the result of communications with the proper officers of the United States army, that the volunteers would be mustered into service in St. Louis; that transportation to New Orleans would be provided for them by the United States, and also commissary's stores; that they would be armed and equipped at New Orleans, on their reporting to Gen. Gaines; and that after serving their time of duty, six months, they would be transported to St. Louis and discharged, after receiving their pay, seven dollars per month. The St. Louis volunteers at this time went on the theory of a little pay and a good deal of glory.

Papers were presented by persons eager to form independent companies for the enrollment of such persons as desired to become members, and many signatures were obtained. During the day the several volunteer companies also received very considerable additions to their ranks. Indeed, in all sections of the State volunteers were organizing and pressing forward for active service, and such was the enthusiasm of the citizens of St. Louis that they alone could have supplied the full quota of troops required from Missouri under the President's requisition of May 13th. The *Republican* of May 14, 1846, referring to this generous enthusiasm, says,—

"The work of enrolling volunteers goes bravely on. There seems to be a deep and proper spirit pervading the community on the subject, and from present appearances a regiment will be ready for service in a few days. From a list taken at sundown we learn that the five companies of the St. Louis Legion had enrolled the following numbers: The St. Louis Grays, 55; Boone Infantry, 45; Montgomery Guards, 50; Morgan Riflemen, 93; Native American Rangers, 103; Total, 344."

In the mean time the commander of the St. Louis Legion had issued the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS
"FIRST REGIMENT OF THE LEGION,
"ST. LOUIS, May 12, 1846.

"At a meeting of the officers of the First Regiment of the Missouri Legion at St. Louis, it was unanimously

"*Resolved*, That the regiment responds to the call of Governor J. C. Edwards, commander, etc., of Missouri militia, for volunteers to be mustered into the service of the United States, and will proceed forthwith to recruit for said regiment, and be mustered as aforesaid at St. Louis.

"In accordance with the foregoing resolution the commandants of the several companies composing said regiment are directed forthwith to establish rendezvous for recruits, to complete the complement of eighty men, rank and file, for their respective companies, and report for service.

"New organizations of companies, completed as above, will be received into the regiment.

"By order of A. R. EASTON,
"*Colonel commanding First Regiment Legion.*
"J. C. SMITH, *Adjt.*"

At a meeting of Germans held at the Washington engine-house, on Second Street, on May 12th, fifty-six enrolled themselves immediately. The meeting then adjourned, to reassemble on the following day at the Oregon House, on Franklin Avenue, where many more were enrolled. On the 15th three companies of the Legion—the Native American Rangers, Montgomery Guards, and the Morgan Riflemen—went into camp on an open field, near where the Lucas Market now stands, west of the city as it then was, which was called "Camp Lucas." Here the commanding officers actively engaged in drilling their recruits and

supplying them with provisions and quarters. A large number of volunteers from Alton and from the Missouri River joined the command immediately upon its going into camp. On the 16th the steamer "Galveston" dropped down the river from Jefferson Barracks, having on board the United States troops from the barracks and two pieces of artillery. At the barracks three companies of volunteers had been sent on board the steamer, composed of the Grays, under Capt. Breedlove, Capt. J. F. Stockton's company, and Capt. Glenn's company. The "Galveston" started on her trip for New Orleans on the following morning. Three other companies of volunteers left on the same day in the steamer "James L. Day."

Before the St. Louis volunteers left for the South, a large sum of money had been raised by Col. Robert Campbell and a few other philanthropic citizens, to provide them with necessaries for the campaign. Bryan Mullanphy applied to the State Bank of Missouri for an advance of five thousand dollars on the pay of the volunteers; but this being declined, he asked a loan of that sum on his individual note at four months, renewable, offering good collateral security. This was also rejected, in accordance with the regulations of the bank, the vote standing: For the loan, Messrs. Christy, Campbell, Filley, Walsh, Helfenstein, and Kennett; against it, Messrs. Barnes, Collier, and Sarpy. Notwithstanding the vote in its favor, the loan was rejected for some unknown reason. The money, however, was forthcoming by private subscription, and over five thousand dollars was raised before evening of the 16th of May. On the next day a meeting of the citizens of St. Louis was held in the rotunda of the court-house for the same purpose. On motion of R. S. Blennerhasset, Judge Krum was called upon to preside, and Col. Thornton Grimsley appointed secretary. Mr. Blennerhasset, in an able and forcible manner, explained the object of the call, and on motion of I. A. Hedges the following committee was appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting: I. A. Hedges, Robert Campbell, S. Treat, Dr. Jacobson, and N. Paschall. The committee reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted:

"WHEREAS, A number of citizens who are heads of families have responded to the call of the Governor of this State by volunteering to proceed to the relief of Gen. Taylor opposite Matamoras; and whereas, it is the duty of those who remain behind to aid all in their power in this general work of patriotism; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the president of this meeting be requested to appoint a committee of five from each ward, whose duty it shall be to ascertain the names, residences, and conditions of the families of those volunteers who have families dependent on their exertions for support; and that said committee be empowered to receive and solicit donations for the benefit of said families which may need assistance hereafter.

"*Resolved, further*, That said committee appoint a treasurer and take all other steps which may be deemed proper to carry out the general object in view, the relief of the families of those volunteers which may need such aid."

On motion of Mr. Campbell, Col. Grimsley, Mr. Blennerhasset, and A. P. Ladew were appointed a committee to ascertain from the officers of the companies the names of the men having families who were leaving the city for the seat of war.

Three companies, composed of Germans from the Sixty-fourth Missouri Militia, paraded on the morning of the 16th at their encampment west of the city, and at noon marched on board the "Alleghany" and proceeded to Jefferson Barracks. On the morning of the 17th, William Palm, on behalf of a number of patriotic Germans, presented to the companies, but more especially to the *Texas Freischaar* (Texas Free Corps), commanded by Capt. H. Koch, a handsome national flag.[1] Capt. Koch received the flag on behalf of his company in a patriotic speech.

Soon after the presentation the company officers of the St. Louis Legion arrived, and in conformity with previous arrangements they, with the company officers of the Sixty-fourth Missouri, proceeded to constitute a regiment and to elect the field-officers. Gen. William Milburn was called to the chair, and Capt. Philip Salisbury and Lieut. Kayser were appointed secretaries. The companies represented were:

St. Louis Grays.—Capt. S. O. Coleman, 1st Lieut. G. W. West, 2d Lieut. George Knapp.

Boone Infantry.—1st Lieut. John Knapp, 2d Lieut. G. W. Davis.

Montgomery Guards.—Capt. P. Gorman, 1st Lieut. Degan, 2d Lieut. Mara.

Native American Rangers.—Capt. P. Salisbury, 1st Lieut. William A. Barnes, 2d Lieut. Henry L. Ross.

Morgan Riflemen.—Capt. McKellops, 1st Lieut. J. S. Moore, 2d Lieut. G. N. Miller.

Missouri Fusileers.—Capt. Nicholas Wochner, 1st Lieut. Alexander Kayser, 2d Lieut. Breidecker.

Missouri Riflemen.—Capt. Schaefer, 1st Lieut. Stoewner, 2d Lieut. Riseck.

Texas Free Corps.—Capt. Henry Koch, 1st Lieut. Geis, 2d Lieut. Kroeschell.

On motion of Lieut. Kayser, it was agreed that the consolidated regiment should be known as the "St. Louis Legion," and an election of officers being held *viva voce*, Alton R. Easton was unanimously elected colonel; Ferdinand Kennett, lieutenant-colonel; and Godfrey Shœnthaler, major. On the following day

[1] In his presentation speech Mr. Palm said, "Of all the sons of Missouri this battalion has the honor of being the first to get ready and take the field at the call of our country."

Col. Easton assumed command of the Legion, and announced to the companies in the city that he had informed Col. Davenport, at Jefferson Barracks, that he was ready to muster his command into service. On the 19th, Col. Davenport complied with his request, and in the morning mustered into the service of the United States the three companies of the Legion then at the barracks, and in the afternoon the five companies that were encamped near the city at Camp Lucas. The companies at the barracks numbered over two hundred and fifty men, and the companies at Camp Lucas about four hundred. The Legion was composed chiefly of the officers and some of the privates of the St. Louis Legion and the volunteer companies of the Sixty-fourth Regiment. The residue was made up of recruits, who were taken from the young men and citizens mostly of St. Louis, and the whole was as fine-looking a body of men as were ever mustered into the service. They were mostly young, ardent in their feelings, and zealous in the cause for which they enrolled themselves.

The captain of the Boone Infantry not being able to accompany his company, at an election held on the 18th of May, First Lieut. John Knapp was elected captain; Thomas H. McVicker, first lieutenant; and James Brown, second lieutenant. Capt. P. Gorman, of the Montgomery Guards, also being unable to leave with his company, resigned, and on the same day First Lieut. John Watson, Jr., was elected captain; P. Deegan, first lieutenant; and T. Mara, second lieutenant. While Capt. Schaefer, of the Missouri Riflemen, was going to Jefferson Barracks the same day his carriage upset, and his collar-bone and two of his ribs were broken.

On the 20th a beautiful flag was presented to the St. Louis Legion, at Camp Lucas, by Mrs. J. M. White and her daughter, Mrs. Ferdinand Kennett, through Col. F. Kennett, who delivered an address, which was enthusiastically received. The flag bore on one side the coat of arms of Missouri, and on the reverse the American eagle, with the inscription, "Success to the brave. May your trust be in God." Col. Easton received the flag in the name of his command with a few stirring remarks. Speeches were also made by T. H. Holt and Col. Davenport, United States army. Another handsome flag was presented to the Boone Guards by A. B. Chambers, one of the editors and proprietors of the *Republican*. May 21st the Montgomery Guards were presented with a banner by the Union Fire Company, with whom they had long been associated. Samuel Hawkins made the presentation speech, to which Capt. Watson replied, and Samuel Treat added a few "animated remarks."

In the mean time all was bustle and stir at Camp Lucas in preparation for the departure of the troops to the South. The subscriptions which had been raised in the city were sufficient to permit the advance of one month's pay to each member of the corps that desired it. Besides these a number of patriotic citizens made many useful and acceptable presents to the companies.[1]

To afford further assistance to the wives and children of those who had enlisted in the army, an adjourned public meeting of the citizens was held in the rotunda of the court-house on Tuesday evening, May 19th, which was presided over by Hon. John M. Krum, with John Simonds as secretary. The meeting adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the president of this meeting be requested to appoint a committee of five from each ward, whose duty it shall be to ascertain the names, residences, and condition of the families of those volunteers who have families dependent on their exertions for support; and that said committee be empowered to receive and solicit donations for the benefit of said families which may need assistance hereafter."

The chair thereupon appointed the following gentlemen to constitute the committee named in the resolution, with Hon. Bryan Mullanphy as treasurer:

"*First Ward.*—James G. Soulard, J. McHose, John Dunn, R. S. Blennerhasset, Henry Helgenberg, and for physician, Dr. Campbell.

"*Second Ward.*—D. D. Page, Wilson Primm, Doctor King, Fred. Lenkemeyer, W. D. Oruch, and for physician, Dr. Engleman.

"*Third Ward.*—Fred. Jacoby, R. McO. Blenis, L. A. Benoist, A. Billings, Charles Meier, and physician, Dr. McMartin.

"*Fourth Ward.*—J. B. Brant, H. R. Moreland, M. Leslie, Samuel Staley, R. Barth, and physician, Dr. Hardinge Lane.

"*Fifth Ward.*—Archibald Carr, J. W. Ormsby, Thomas J. Meier, William Branigan, Charles Bierman, and physician, Dr. Carpenter.

"*Sixth Ward.*—D. Childs, Hugh Rose, John Brockman, David Dixon, Capt. Case, and physician, Dr. Jennings.

Each man of the command was provided with a blanket, and the officers procured clothing of a uni-

[1] The *Republican* of the 19th says, "Mr. H. Bay, hardware merchant, on Third Street, opposite the new market, presented the Native American Rangers with twelve dozen of knives suitable for their use. Mr. T. Campbell and Mr. H. Shaw presented to the companies a large and very acceptable supply of tobacco. Thus far many of the recruits who are without the present means of subsistence have been supported by the officers."

Again, on the 23d, the same paper said, "The Morgan Guards request us to return their thanks to Mrs. J. M. White, for a large lot of bread, butter, and provisions; to Messrs. Child, Farr & Co., for seven dozen knives; to Bird, Rucker & Co., for a lot of tinecups; to Andrews & Beakey, for a lot of tinware; to Mr. Newberry for same; to Mr. T. Campbell for tobacco; and to others for provisions."

form color, style, etc., suitable for the season and climate. For arms and accoutrements they relied upon the United States government to supply them at New Orleans. On the 20th all the companies had their complement of men, but volunteers were daily added to them. According to the muster-roll at this time the companies at Camp Lucas were officered as follows:

St. Louis Grays, S. O. Coleman, captain; George W. West, first lieutenant; George Knapp, second lieutenant; sixty-eight men.

Native American Rangers, Philander Salisbury, captain; William A. Barnes, first lieutenant; Henry L. Ross, second lieutenant; one hundred and three men.

Boone Guards, John Knapp, captain; Thomas H. McVicker, first lieutenant; James Brown, second lieutenant; sixty-five men.

Montgomery Guards, John Watson, Jr., captain; Patrick Deegan, first lieutenant; Thomas Mara, second lieutenant; sixty-seven men.

Morgan Riflemen, H. J. B. McKellops, captain; J. T. Moore, first lieutenant; George N. Miller, second lieutenant; eighty-three men.

On Saturday morning, May 23d, the Legion broke up their camp and embarked on the steamer "Convoy" for the seat of war. As we have before stated, the five American companies had been encamped at Camp Lucas, in the rear of the city; and as they marched through the streets, at ten o'clock in the morning, on their way to the boat, they were greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. They presented a really martial appearance, and it is not unmerited praise to say that no finer body of men—young, stout, active, and capable of enduring hardship—was ever mustered into any service. The parting of friends, the separation of relatives, the roll of drums, the rush of baggage-wagons, and the striking of the tents in the camp gave their departure an appearance not often witnessed in this country, and seldom before in St. Louis. Along the route of march the excitement was intense, and the crowd in the streets was so great that it was with difficulty a passage could be kept open for the troops. On Front Street there was an immense concourse of people. Every window was lined with ladies waving their handkerchiefs, and every boat in port was crowded with enthusiastic spectators.

The companies marched on board the "Convoy" in the order of their seniority,—first, the St. Louis Grays; second, the Boone Guards; third, the Montgomery Guards; fourth, the Morgan Riflemen; fifth, the Native American Rangers, bearing the flag of the Legion. About one o'clock the "Convoy," accompanied by the "Luella," on board of which a large number of distinguished citizens had gathered to see the Legion off, proceeded to Jefferson Barracks, where the three German companies, composing the residue of the command, were to embark.[1] When the two steamers arrived at Jefferson Barracks the three German companies were drawn up in line on the shore, and sang "Faderland" with fine effect, and then embarked on the "Convoy." Before the boats separated Hon. Trusten Polk addressed the Legion from the hurricane deck of the "Luella," on behalf of the citizens of St. Louis.[2]

On May 24th the Legion reached Cairo in good spirits. Two accidents, however, occurred during the night of the 23d. James Regan, belonging to the Morgan Riflemen, and Ludwig Heller, a German from the St. Louis arsenal, bound for Baton Rouge, fell overboard and were drowned. On the 28th the Legion reached New Orleans, but was not permitted to land, with the exception of two officers, who reported to Gen. Gaines. The troops were disembarked at the barracks about three miles below the city and went into camp. On June 4th the Legion sailed in the "Galveston" for Point Isabel. The distinguished honor was awarded to the St. Louis Legion of being the first regiment to report at New Orleans from any State north of Louisiana, and from this circumstance the precedence was accorded of sailing first for the seat of war, as well as some other privileges. The Legion arrived at its destination on the 7th, and landed on the same day on the west bank of the Brazos.

Having thus given the movements of the St. Louis Legion to Mexico, we will now retrace our steps and note the movements of other military commands in the order in which they occur.

Col. Thornton Grimsley, on May 19, 1846, gave notice through the newspapers of St. Louis that it was his intention to raise a regiment of one thousand mounted men to join the force that was to accompany

[1] It was an encouraging incident that, just before the boat left St. Louis with the volunteers, news was received of the first battles fought between the American and Mexican armies on the 8th and 9th of May, which resulted in victories for Gen. Taylor. The boats with the troops on board passed up in front of the city, and as they turned down stream the boatmen commenced firing a small cannon by way of salute. At the second discharge, which was premature, one man was killed and another mortally wounded.

[2] In his address Mr. Polk stated that the Legion was going to the war "as the representatives of Missouri, one of the youngest of the sisterhood of the States, who, as a proud mother, has warmly adopted you all—for very few of you were born upon her soil—as her children equally beloved. You go as the representatives of St. Louis, the Queen City of the West,—as the representatives of her gallant sons and the champions of her fair daughters." He concluded with the words, "Let your trust be in God, and cursed be he who turneth his back upon the enemy."

Col. Kearney on his expedition to New Mexico. He established his headquarters over C. F. Hendry & Co.'s store at the corner of Market and Second Streets. The regiment recruited rapidly, and on May 25th it was announced that he had nearly six hundred men enrolled. Col. D. D. Mitchell also made efforts to raise a mounted regiment.

In the mean time volunteers continued to pour into St. Louis, eager to be mustered into the service of the government. On the 21st three companies arrived on the steamer "Wapello," one of fifty-one men, from Gasconade County, under the command of Capt. Samuel Parham, and one of sixty-three men, from Franklin County, under the command of Capt. John D. Stevenson, both of the Second Brigade of Missouri militia. The third company consisted of seventy-three men, from Osage County, and was under the charge of Capt. Augustus Rainey.

Adjt.-Gen. Parsons, of the State militia, on the same day issued general orders directing the enrollment of fifty volunteers in each of the counties of St. Charles, Montgomery, Warren, Callaway, Cole, Osage, Cooper, Boone, Saline, and Gasconade, one hundred in Franklin, and one hundred and fifty in Howard and Chariton, making seven hundred and fifty in all. The volunteers were to elect their own officers, and rendezvous at St. Louis, "where," it was stated, "they will be furnished with supplies and transportation to the city of New Orleans, at which place they will be armed and equipped complete and transported to the seat of war in Texas." The companies thus organized were not to receive pay unless they were mustered into active service. In response to this order volunteers flocked into St. Louis without any organization, relying confidently on being taken into service and receiving subsistence. As a consequence the citizens had to provide for their support by voluntary subscriptions. On the 25th of May it was estimated that there were at least three hundred volunteers in the city from the vicinity of the Missouri River. On the 24th the steamer "Lewis F. Linn" brought down two companies of volunteers, one from Booneville, consisting of sixty-nine men, under the command of Capt. Joseph L. Stevens, of Cooper County, and the other from Jefferson City, numbering seventy-eight men, commanded by Capt. Lucius Easton, of Cole County. In a few days these were joined by one company from Gasconade County, numbering fifty-one men, under the command of Capt. S. Parham; one from Franklin County of sixty-three men, J. D. Stevenson commanding; one from Osage County of seventy-eight men, Capt. Augustus Rainey commanding; one from Monteau County of sixty-two men, Capt. Hammond commanding; and one from Saline County of seventy men, Capt. John W. Reid commanding. Immediately upon the arrival of the companies from Gasconade, Franklin, and Osage Counties they reported to Col. Robert Campbell, aid to the Governor, who supplied quarters for them in the State tobacco warehouse. On the arrival of the companies from Cole and Cooper Counties the "Lucas Market," just finished, but not yet opened for public purposes, was promptly offered for their use by the proprietors, but it was finally determined to take the rotunda in the court-house, which had been placed at their disposal by A. Gamble, acting as one of the judges of the county court. Orders were given for provisions to be furnished them, and they were complied with. On the 25th, Col. Campbell waited upon Col. Davenport, at Jefferson Barracks, and urged upon him the necessity for the concentration of additional forces at the South, and begged that the several companies be mustered into service immediately. Col. Davenport declined the request, on the ground that the application of Gen. Gaines for authority to make requisitions for volunteers had not met with the approval of the government, and added that he did not feel authorized to muster them into the service of the United States, nor at liberty to act further in the premises. In consequence of this decision of the government mustering officer, the only alternative left Col. Campbell was to make arrangements for the return home of the several companies, which he did at once. Provisions were purchased and transportation provided by Col. Campbell, and the companies were sent back without delay.

While Gen. Taylor was operating on the Rio Grande, the War Department at Washington determined to send two columns against the northern provinces of Mexico, under the command respectively of Gen. Wool and Col. Stephen Watts Kearney. The movements of these corps, if less important in a military point of view, were vastly more extensive in their geographical scope and relations. It was their fortune to traverse magnificent plains, perform rapid and, in modern history, unprecedented marches, and conquer for the United States lands unsurveyed and almost uninhabited. The origin of these expeditions seems to have been an idea entertained by the government that the States of New Mexico—Chihuahua, Durango, and others in the upper portion of Mexico—stood ready to declare themselves independent, and that by this movement they would be at once detached from the central government. With such views the War Department determined to organize a corps called the "Army of the West," which was intended to conquer

New Mexico by marching into Santa Fé. This place, though very unimportant as a town, was a point of concentration for the extensive trade which flowed through it from Chihuahua on the southwest, and St. Louis on the northeast. Vast as were the plains and the uninhabited regions through which this trade was carried on, it had grown within a few years to be one of great magnitude and value. On the 16th of May, 1846, at the very time Congress recognized the existence of the war, and troops were being fitted out in St. Louis for Mexico, a company of Mexican traders arrived at St. Louis, through Santa Fé, from Chihuahua, with no less than three hundred and fifty thousand dollars in specie, to expend for wares and merchandise in St. Louis. The annual trade from Santa Fé with St. Louis and some other Eastern cities was estimated to amount at this time to from one to two millions of dollars. One of the results of the war was the loss of most of this trade to St. Louis.

Col. Kearney, of the First Dragoons, United States army, a very able and skillful officer, early in May received orders to organize the Army of the West, and made a call on Governor Edwards for State volunteers to join the expedition. Immediately on the receipt of this requisition the following order from the adjutant-general of the State was addressed to Col. Robert Campbell, through the hands of Capt. T. B. Hudson:

"MISSOURI.

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE MILITIA,
"OFFICE OF ADJ.-GENERAL, CITY OF JEFFERSON,
"May 24, 1846.

"SIR,—You are commanded to raise forthwith, in the county and city of St. Louis, four hundred volunteers of mounted men. You will receive no man who is in years apparently over forty-five or under eighteen, or who is not in physical strength and vigor; nor the horse of any volunteer not apparently sound and effective, with the necessary horse equipments or furniture. You will be particular in not receiving more men than the number here ordered.

"These volunteers are destined for the frontier, and they will immediately proceed with all possible dispatch to Fort Leavenworth, reporting themselves, by their officers, to the commanding officer at that point. They will there be organized into regiments of cavalry, mounted men, or light artillery, and be mustered into the service of the United States. You will report promptly to this office your proceedings under this order.

"I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

"By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

"G. A. PARSONS,
"*Adjutant-General Mo. Militia.*

"ROBERT CAMPBELL,
"*Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief, 2d Division.*"

Corps of mounted volunteers speedily organized in various counties of the State in conformity with the Governor's requisition, and company officers were elected. In St. Louis there was no lack of volunteers, as the city responded as promptly to this call as she had to the call for troops for the South. On the 28th of May the St. Louis Mounted Rangers were organized by the election of John C. Dent, captain; John W. McDonald, first lieutenant; and J. Le Roy, second lieutenant. The Laclede Mounted Rangers were organized on the same day by the election of Thomas B. Hudson, captain; Richard S. Elliot, first lieutenant; and Louis T. Labeaume, second lieutenant. At the same time the St. Louis Horse Artillery organized at Union Hall, corner of Third and Pine Streets, by the election of the following officers: Richard H. Weightman, captain; Andrew J. Dorn, first first lieutenant; Edmund F. Chouteau, second first lieutenant; John O. Simpson, second lieutenant; John R. Gratiot, first sergeant; Davis Moore, second sergeant; A. V. Wilson, third sergeant; Wm. H. Thorpe, fourth sergeant; Wm. C. Kennerly, first corporal; Clay Taylor, second corporal; T. F. Anderson, third corporal; J. R. White, fourth corporal.

Another artillery company was organized, with Frederick Kretschmar, captain, and Messrs. Kumsler, Ausog, and Gibson, lieutenants.

On the 30th all the companies of volunteers that had been organized for the Army of the West paraded in Lucas Park, and Col. Campbell inspected and accepted the services of the following companies: The German troop of horse, under command of Capt. Fischer; the Laclede Rangers, under Capt. Hudson; a company from Florissant, under Capt. Edmonson; and the company of horse artillery, commanded by Capt. Weightman. Capt. Kretschmar tendered his company of artillery, but insisted that they should be specially accepted for artillery service. The company not being quite full, and there being some doubt as to the power of the authorities to receive it with such a condition, it was not accepted.

The four companies inspected and accepted had each their full complement of one hundred men and fourteen officers, etc., and filled the requisition which had been made on the county. There were two companies from the country, which united, and elected Mr. Edmonson captain, and J. C. Dent (the captain of the other) first lieutenant. The intelligence of their acceptance was received with repeated cheers by the members of the respective companies. In the evening Col. Campbell gave the officers of the various companies a banquet at the Planters' Hotel.

As has already been seen in these pages, Col. Campbell was exceedingly active, and did more, perhaps, than any other man in St. Louis in fitting out troops for the war in Mexico. In many respects he was one

of the most remarkable of the many conspicuous figures in the early history of St. Louis, and, as the companion of the intrepid Ashley, Sublette, and other traders and explorers, assisted in building up the great fur trade which at one time gave St. Louis a peculiar prominence and importance in the eyes of the commercial world. It was, however, in connection with his services in the Mexican war, as aid to Governor Edwards, that Col. Campbell appeared most conspicuously before the public, and to his indefatigable labors in organizing and directing the great volunteer movement of 1846, St. Louis and Missouri are chiefly indebted for the fact that they now occupy so proud a place in the annals of that conflict. Immediately upon the receipt of the declaration of war Col. Campbell tendered his services to the State government, and was appointed a member of the Governor's staff, with the rank of colonel, and inspector-general of the Missouri troops. He displayed the greatest energy and enthusiasm in the laborious work of organizing the various regiments and raising them to an effective military standard, and to him more than any other single individual was due the promptitude with which the troops were disciplined, equipped, and forwarded to the seat of hostilities, which, however, as elsewhere stated, many of them never reached. Years before, however, Col. Campbell had gained an enviable reputation for great energy of character, rare administrative ability, and dauntless courage, in connection with his fur-trading operations in the Indian country, in conducting which he did as much perhaps as any other single individual to give St. Louis her early fame in the far West. After achieving prominence in the fur trade, he was for nearly half a century a conspicuous figure in St. Louis business and social circles, and in every relation of life was eminently worthy of the regard in which he was universally held.

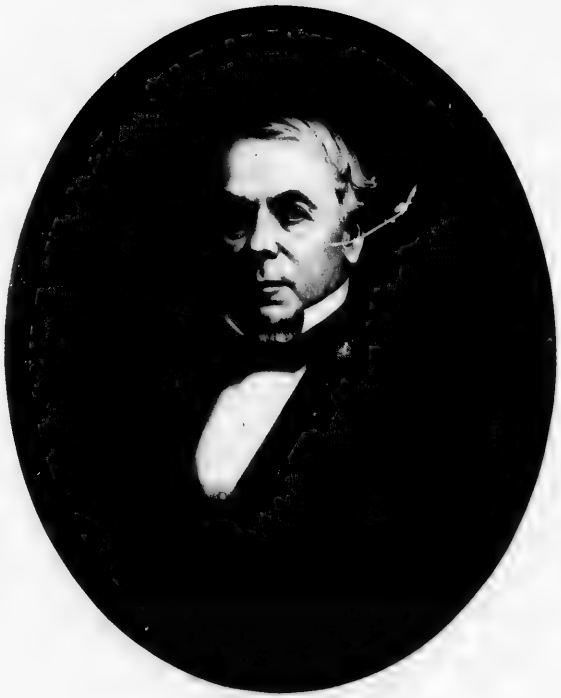
He was born at Aughlane, near Plumbridge, County Tyrone, in the north of Ireland, of Scotch descent, in 1804. In the year 1824 he immigrated to St. Louis, and at once engaged in an active business life; but about a year later was prostrated with congestion and bleeding at the lungs, and on the advice of his physician, the well-known Dr. Bernard G. Farrar, he visited the Rocky Mountains for his health, which becoming greatly improved, he was induced to remain in that section, and soon became intimately engaged with a number of the enterprising men who prosecuted the fur trade in those wild and almost inaccessible regions. He was first associated with Gen. Ashley, and accompanied him to the banks of the Green River, or Colorado of the West, known by the Indian name of Seeds-ke-dee-agie. On this expedition a footing was secured and a complete system of trapping organized beyond the Rocky Mountains. In this hardy school a number of leaders sprang up, among whom were Campbell, Smith, Sublette, Fitzpatrick, and Bridger, and in endurance, courage, and sagacity Campbell was second to none of those named. Gen. Ashley retired in 1830, having amassed a fortune, and then Campbell rose from being merely a leader of expeditions to the position of a prominent partner in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which was organized upon the withdrawal of Gen. Ashley, the leading spirits in its formation being Robert Campbell and Col. William Sublette. The American Fur Company, represented by Chouteau & Co., was an energetic rival in the field, and the vastness of the operations of these competitors appears from the fact that when, in order to prevent ruinous rivalry on the same ground, a division of the territory was agreed upon, there fell to Mr. Campbell's company all the immense region west and south of a line commencing on the Arkansas River at a point south of the Platte, on the twenty-fourth meridian, up to the forks of the Platte, thence to the dividing line of the waters emptying into the Platte and the waters emptying into the upper Missouri, thence to the Rocky Mountains, and thence to the forks of the Missouri.

Mr. Campbell remained thus employed until 1835, when he sold his interest, and in the fall of that year returned to St. Louis, and his life on the plains was ended. His experience and adventures during the ten years of his absence from the comforts of civilization would, if written out, add an interesting chapter to the fast-fading history of that romantic episode in the career of St. Louis, the quest of many of her daring sons after the furry wealth of the wild West. Great names are associated with the fascinating annals of this epoch. John Jacob Astor had a house in St. Louis, and there were also engaged in the trade Gen. Ashley, Campbell, Sublette, Manuel Lisa, Capt. Perkins, Hempstead, William Clark, Labadie, the Chouteaus, and Pierre Menard,—"mighty hunters before the Lord,"—all of whom either lived in St. Louis or made it their headquarters. At one period, indeed, a considerable portion of the population of St. Louis was composed of hunters and trappers.

Campbell's experiences in the fur trade were as stirring as those of any of the famous men whom we have mentioned. There were wild scenes of daring adventure, privations from cold and hunger, and deadly conflicts with the savage tribes, including the battle with the Blackfeet Indians, in which Capt. Sublette and Mr. Campbell displayed intrepid bra-



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very, and which forms an interesting chapter in Washington Irving's "Adventures of Capt. Bonneville."

While in the West, Mr. Campbell made St. Louis his headquarters, and, as we have intimated, the great fur-trading interest of the country centred here, and, more than any other interest in those days, contributed to build up the town and give it reputation abroad. For many years after he had retired from the fur trade, Mr. Campbell's name was echoed throughout the West, from the Yellowstone to Santa Fé, and was good for any amount, however large. An army officer once related, as an evidence of the estimation in which Col. Campbell was held in the trading regions, the fact that while traveling on the Upper Missouri in 1855, he was robbed by the Indians of his animals, etc., and desiring to purchase a new traveling outfit, he endeavored to raise money from the traders at Fort Pierre, offering them drafts on the government of the United States, but they refused them; they, however, without hesitation accepted drafts on Robert Campbell at St. Louis, for they knew him and could trust him.

Campbell's straightforward and truthful dealings made a similarly happy impression on the Indians. He never deceived or cheated them, as many white men had done, and therefore enjoyed their perfect confidence and friendship.

He acquired a large fortune in the fur trade, and upon returning to St. Louis engaged in mercantile and other pursuits, and became an extensive owner of real estate. He always interested himself in public enterprises, and generally aided largely in carrying them on. He was president of the old State Bank and of the Merchants' National Bank; but perhaps his most important investment was the purchase of the old Southern Hotel immediately after its completion. Col. Campbell was at first a partner in this enterprise and afterwards sole proprietor. When the Mexican war broke out, as previously stated, he at once took a leading place among the citizens of St. Louis in the work of organizing and equipping the troops. About the same time a movement was organized in St. Louis for the relief of sufferers by the famine in Ireland, and such were the services of Col. Campbell in aid of this laudable object that, upon visiting that country many years later, the people of Plumbridge, his native place, honored him with a public reception, the erection of triumphal arches, the firing of cannon, etc., and at night illuminated the town, lit bonfires, and held a mass-meeting in compliment to their guest.

Col. Campbell was a man of great generosity and warm, benevolent impulses, but always shunned publicity in his benefactions. Privately he gave much and gave continuously, but always with thoughtful discrimination and to good purpose, and accomplished an amount of good that will never be known. His services in connection with the Indian problem were peculiarly valuable and important, not only to the Indians themselves, but to the country at large. His intimate knowledge of the Indian character, gained by ten years' residence among the savages, was made use of more than once by the government on important occasions. In 1851, accompanied by the famous Father De Smet, he assisted in a great council attended by ten thousand Indians at Horse Creek, near Fort Laramie, where a treaty was formed, from which for some years excellent results accrued. In 1869, although of a different political party, President Grant appointed him a member of the celebrated Indian commission, selected on "peace principles" "from men eminent for their intelligence and philanthropy," as the law instituting the commission prescribed, to bring about more amicable relations than then existed between the government and the Indians. Col. Campbell was third on the list of appointees, all of whom served without compensation. The commission visited all the prominent Indian reservations, and no doubt accomplished a large amount of good. In most of the councils Col. Campbell took a leading part, and though not much accustomed to public speaking, his remarks on these occasions were clear, short, incisive, practical, and carried great weight. From his long experience with the Indians, he probably contributed as much to the success of this undertaking as any member of the commission.

In private life, Col. Campbell was a genial, hospitable gentleman, and his residence was a place endeared to his friends by an atmosphere of cordial welcome and unaffected kindliness. Here his estimable wife, the daughter of Hazlett Kyle, of Raleigh, N. C., presided with rare grace and tact. Mrs. Campbell was educated in a thorough manner in Philadelphia, where Mr. Campbell made her acquaintance. She was noted for beauty and intelligence, but much more for her kind and amiable disposition, and was remarkable for her singular devotion to her husband and children. In all the years that this happy couple lived in St. Louis, they dispensed hospitality on the largest scale. Many of the most distinguished personages of the times, not only of America but from abroad, were their guests, and upon such occasions Mrs. Campbell demeaned herself with a grace and dignity that won the hearts of all who received her attentions. She survived her husband about two and a half years.

Mr. Campbell's honest and earnest qualities brought him many friends; and yet he was not lavish of his friendship. Where he could not feel respect he never professed to be a friend. But if slow to admit strangers to his intimacy, he never forgot the claims of those whose worth he had proved. To use Shakespeare's striking figure, he grappled such to his soul with hooks of steel, and his friends were the friends of a lifetime. Their attachment for him rested on the solid basis of respect for all that is valuable in human nature. If such ever did him a favor his gratitude knew no bounds.

And so for over fifty years he lived, a most conspicuous citizen of St. Louis, and yet during that long period, detraction never once ventured to bring a colorable charge against him. He died on the 16th of October, 1879, full of years and honors, the work of his life finished; and his friends and the community mourned the loss of one whose name, even to strangers, was the equivalent of unblemished integrity, and to his friends the pledge, in addition, of loyalty to truth, hospitality, kindness, courtesy, and generosity. By his family he was mourned as one who, as husband, brother, and father, was a loving example to all.[1]

The Laclede Mounted Rangers, on the 6th of June, 1846, embarked on the steamer "Pride of the West," and at an early hour on the following morning took their departure for Fort Leavenworth.[2]

After the company, numbering over a hundred men, had embarked, they were paraded on the upper deck of the boat, inspected, and mustered into service by Gen. Milburn. This done, Mr. Treat, on behalf of several ladies of St. Louis, presented the company with a handsome flag of rich material.

On June 8th, the artillery companies, under the command of Capt. Weightman, Capt. Fischer, and Capt. Edmonson, paraded at Camp Lucas. Each company had the requisite number of men, but there were a few in one company not provided with horses, although they had been purchased and were hourly expected.[3]

When the companies were assembled and formed on the ground, Gen. Milburn read to the captains of the several companies the order of the acting Governor, by which he was required to form a battalion of artillery out of the four hundred men called for from St. Louis County, and directing that this battalion only should be sent forward to Fort Leavenworth.

Gen. Milburn then stated that, from the manner in which Capt. Weightman's company had been raised and accepted, he felt bound to regard it as one of the two companies to compose the battalion, and the only question to determine was which of the other two should be accepted. At the request of the general, Capt. Fischer stated his experience as an artillery officer, which was, in brief, that he had served several years as a first lieutenant in the artillery service of Prussia, and that he had held a commission and had been promoted. Capt. Edmonson did not assert for himself any considerable acquaintance with artillery tactics, but rested his claims and the claims of his company on other grounds. The general, being unable to decide between them, drew lots, and the selection fell on Capt. Fischer's company. The battalion

[1] Hugh Campbell, brother of Col. Robert Campbell, was also for many years a leading citizen of St. Louis. He was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, on the 1st of January, 1797, and died on the 4th of December, 1879. He was educated at Edinburgh, Scotland, for the medical profession, but never practiced, having decided to seek his fortune in America. He accordingly crossed the ocean and settled in North Carolina, where he embarked in business and eventually married. Subsequently he removed to Richmond, Va., and became well known there as a merchant of sound judgment and upright principles. From Richmond he moved to Philadelphia, where he conducted a large dry-goods business for twenty-six years. In 1859 he came to St. Louis and became associated with his brother, Robert Campbell, with whom he continued actively engaged until a few years before his death. In the early years of the civil war he was associated with Judge David Davis and Judge Jos. Holt on a commission appointed by President Lincoln to adjust claims brought against the Department of the West. The commission was an important one, and its sessions were held in St. Louis. Few men have succeeded in controlling and managing extensive business interests through so long a period, —nearly sixty years of constant, laborious, and sagacious application to commercial affairs. He was noted alike for his urbane manner and strict integrity in all his dealings. Though thoroughly occupied in the cares of business he was always fond of social pleasures, and had a very wide circle of close personal friends, whose esteem he retained in the constant exhibition of the most open-hearted generosity and courtesy.

[2] On the 6th of June an order was issued from acting Governor Young annulling a previous order of the adjutant-general, and directing that a battalion of artillery only should be furnished by St. Louis City and County for the Santa Fé expedition. This order cut off the several companies of mounted men under Capts. Fischer, Hudson, and Edmonson from any chance of participation in the service, and, as might be expected, there were loud and very general expressions of dissatisfaction with the conduct of the adjutant-general and the acting Governor. Both were denounced in the strongest terms. It was known that two if not all the companies had expended a large sum of money in the purchase of horses and the necessary equipment, and it was regarded as an outrage that such an order should be issued at so late a period. But Capt. Hudson was not long in determining what to do. He resolved to pay no attention to the order of Governor Young, to go forward with his men, to present them to Col. Kearney at Fort Leavenworth, and to state the circumstances under which they had been raised and the late hour at which the counter-order had been issued.

[3] Over twelve thousand dollars were raised among the citizens of St. Louis by private subscription to aid in mounting and equipping the companies of light artillery.

as finally organized was therefore composed of the companies under the command of Capt. Weightman and Capt. Fischer.

After the formation of the battalion the companies proceeded separately to the election of a major, when M. L. Clark was unanimously elected. The battalion then formed in a body, and Maj. Clark appearing before them, was received with hearty cheers.

On the following day Capt. Fischer's company was reorganized so as to make it conform to the change it had undergone by being converted from a dragoon into an artillery company. Capt. Fischer, who had had command of the company for several years, resigned, and was followed by the other officers. Capt. Fischer was then immediately re-elected by acclamation. Louis C. Garnier was elected first lieutenant; Christopher Kribben, second first lieutenant; and Franz Hassendeubel, second lieutenant. On the 11th an entertainment was given the company at the cave of Messrs. McHose & English. Among the guests were Col. Campbell, Gen. Milburn, Capt. Edmonson, and Col. Bogy, of the Sixty-fourth Missouri Regiment of militia. During the evening speeches were made by Capt. Fischer, Rev. Mr. Packard, Col. Bogy, and others. Col. Bogy, in the course of his remarks, alluded to the promptness with which the Germans had volunteered, the sacrifices which they had made to answer the call of their adopted country, and the peculiar position in which they were placed,—"newcomers to the land, yet enrolled among the defenders and protectors of its soil!" The company paraded on the 12th, and was inspected by Gen. Milburn, Col. Grimsley, acting brigade inspector, and Dr. Hardinge Lane, brigade surgeon. The company was handsomely uniformed in gray coats, and pantaloons of Kentucky jean with yellow stripes, forage-caps, new Spanish saddles, saddle-bags, bridles, holsters, and two new blankets for each man. Their horses were considered very good. The men passed a satisfactory inspection and were mustered into service. On the 16th they embarked on board of the "Amaranth," and in the evening left for Fort Leavenworth.

Capt. Weightman's company of artillery paraded and was inspected by the same officers on the 11th, and on the same day embarked on the steamer "Iowa," which left on the following day for Fort Leavenworth. Their uniform consisted of a blue roundabout faced with red, gray pantaloons with red stripe, and glazed U. S. forage-cap. They had new Spanish saddles, saddle-bags, bridles, halters, and two good blankets for each man. Their arms and equipments were furnished at Fort Leavenworth. After their departure from St. Louis the captain of the company addressed the following communication to the editors of the *Missouri Republican*:

"STEAMER 'IOWA,' OFF ST. CHARLES,
"June 14, 1846.

"*Editors of the Missouri Republican:*

"GENTLEMEN,—I have been requested by the company which it is my honor to command to present their thanks for the kind, considerate, and valuable present by 'several ladies' of St Louis 'of a supply of bandages and lint for the use of the battalion of horse artillery under the command of Maj. Clark and Capts. Fischer and Weightman.' Our gratitude, most heartfelt, for this gift is increased by the consideration that we have the sympathies of the thoughtful and the gentle. It is for one more gifted than myself properly to express the feelings which fill our hearts.

"We have also to express our obligations to Maj. Mitchell, Maj. Stewart, Mr. Lucas, Mr. Page, Col. O'Fallon, and Judge Schaumburg for negotiating a loan from the bank of six thousand dollars for the purpose of mounting and equipping our company; and to Messrs. Shacklett and Taylor for their kind assistance in selecting our horses. Indeed, we have received so much kindness from the citizens of St. Louis City and County that it is impossible to particularize.

"We will make no rash promises,—'let not him boast that putteth his armor on;' it is sufficient to say that if we thought we would disgrace ourselves we would stay at home.

"Our organization is complete, and our complement of men, with the exception of one musician and two privates. In anticipation of the passage of a law allowing two second lieutenants, Mr. Gratiot, our first sergeant, was by an overwhelming vote elected second lieutenant, and Mr. R. T. Jenkins to fill the vacancy in the list of non-commissioned officers. Our present organization is:

"R. H. Weightman, capt.
"A. J. Dorn, senior 1st lieut.
"E. F. Chouteau, junior 1st lieut.
"John O. Simpson, 2d lieut.
"John R. Gratiot, 1st sergt., to be 2d lieut. in case of the passage of the law.
"Davis Moore, 2d sergt., to be 1st sergt. in case of the passage of the law.
"A. V. Wilson, 3d sergt., to be 2d sergt. in case of the passage of the law.
"Clark Kennerly, 4th sergt., to be 3d sergt. in case of the passage of the law.
"Clay Taylor, 1st corp., to be 4th sergt. in case of the passage of the law.
"J. R. White, 2d corp., to be 1st corp. in case of the passage of the law.
"George W. Winston, 3d corp., to be 2d corp. in case of the passage of the law.
"R. T. Jenkins, 4th corp., to be 3d corp. in case of the passage of the law.
"R. T. Richardson to be 4th corp. in case of the passage of the law.

"With much respect,
"I am truly yours,
"R. H. WEIGHTMAN,
"*Capt. Horse Artillery.*"

During the same month (June) another company of mounted men was formed, with Thomas H. Holt, captain; Leonidas D. Walker, first lieutenant; and Edmund W. Paul, second lieutenant. Capt. Renick, a graduate from West Point; Capt. Korpony, who

had served with distinction as an officer in the Austrian service; and Capt. Robert Hunt, of St. Louis, also raised volunteer companies. The De Kalb Mounted Rangers, under the command of Capt. Edmonson, were mustered into service at the Prairie House on June 12th, and on the 17th they were provided with all the necessary arms and munitions of war by the government at the United States arsenal, near the city. A flag was presented to this company by the citizens of St. Louis, and swords to Capt. Edmonson and Lieut. John C. Dent. The company was afterwards attached to the regiment of Col. Sterling Price, which had its rendezvous at Independence, Mo. During the week it set out on its march for that point. Capt. Morrison's company of "St. Clair Guards" arrived at St. Louis on the 15th of June, and embarked in the evening on the steamer "Luella" for Alton, Ill.

Companies B and K, First Regiment of United States Dragoons, from Forts Atchison and Crawford, numbering one hundred and fifteen non-commissioned officers and privates, with one hundred and nineteen horses and fifteen mules, under the command of Capts. E. V. Sumner and Philip St. G. Cook, arrived in the city on the 26th of June on the steamer "Gen. Brooke." Attached to the companies were Lieuts. Hammond and Davidson and Surgeon R. A. Simpson. They were destined for Fort Leavenworth, there to join the expedition against New Mexico, and left the city on the 28th in the steamers "Amaranth" and "Corinne" for that point.

A company of volunteers, called the South Missouri Guards, consisting of one hundred and fifteen men from Perry, Franklin, and Cape Girardeau Counties, arrived in St. Louis on the 24th on the steamer "Clermont," *en route* for Fort Leavenworth. The officers were Firman Rozier, captain; R. H. Lane, first lieutenant; M. Neal, second lieutenant; and Jules Rozier, first sergeant. It left the city on the 26th. The Missouri Guards of St. Louis were organized on the 28th of August by the election of the following officers: L. F. McNair, captain; Alexander W. McNair, first lieutenant; and Morris D. Meyers, second lieutenant. The company soon after left for Fort Leavenworth.

The forces which were to compose the Army of the West commenced assembling at Fort Leavenworth early in June, 1846. Col. Kearney had discretionary orders from the War Department as to the number of men which should compose his command, and as soon as the companies of volunteers arrived they were mustered into the service of the United States, and lettered in the order of their arrival. On the 18th of June, the full complement of companies having arrived which were to compose the First Missouri Regiment, an election for colonel was held under the direction of Gen. Ward, of Pratte County, which resulted in the selection of Alexander William Doniphan.[1] C. F. Ruff, who was a private in the same company with Col. Doniphan, was chosen lieutenant-colonel, and William Gilpin, a private in a company from Jackson County, was selected as major.

The regiment of mounted volunteers was composed of companies from the counties of Jackson, Lafayette, Clay, Saline, Franklin, Cole, Howard, and Callaway, which were commanded respectively by Capts. Waldo, Walton, Moss, Reid, Stephenson, Parsons, Jackson, and Rodgers, aggregating eight hundred and fifty-six men. The battalion of light artillery consisted of two companies from St. Louis, under the command of Maj. M. L. Clark, which were officered as follows:

Company A.—A. W. Fischer, captain; L. C. Garnier, first lieutenant; C. Kribben, junior first lieutenant; F. Hassendeubel, senior second lieutenant; L. Johanning, junior second lieutenant.

Company B.—R. H. Weightman, captain; A. J. Dorn, first lieutenant; E. F. Chouteau, junior first lieutenant; John O. Simpson, second lieutenant.

The Laclede Rangers, from St. Louis, were attached to the First Dragoons, and numbered one hundred and seven men. They were officered as follows: Thomas B. Hudson, captain; Richard S. Elliott, first lieutenant; and Louis T. Labeaume, second lieutenant. The battalion of infantry from the counties of Cole and Platte, commanded respectively by Capts. Augney and Murphy, numbered one hundred and forty-five men, making the total force under the command of Col. Kearney sixteen hundred and fifty-eight men, with sixteen pieces of artillery,—twelve six-pounders and four twelve-pound howitzers. The organization of the expedition was completed by the appointment of the following officers: Capt. Riche, sutler to the dragoons; C. A. Perry, sutler; G. M. Butler, adjutant; Dr. George Penn, chief surgeon; T. M. Morton and I. Vaughn, assistant surgeons of the First Regiment.

The point of departure was, as previously stated, Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River, and the point to be reached (Santa Fé) was one thousand miles distant. For the greater part of that distance, from the Missouri to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, the road lay over vast plains, which had for ages

[1] He was at this time a private in a company from Clay County. Col. Doniphan was an eminent lawyer, and had been a distinguished soldier, serving as brigadier-general in the campaign of 1838 against the Mormons. He had also served honorably as a legislator.

been the pasturage of the buffalo and the hunting-ground of the Indian. Short, dry grass, or sometimes tall prairie grass and matted pea-vines or barren ground, with skirts of trees in the valleys of the streams, made up nearly the whole landscape; while occasionally a buffalo in the distance, a prairie-wolf on the trail, or the carcass of some unfortunate horse, given to the wild birds or wilder beasts, lent variety to this desolate scene. The weary soldier had to pass many a day's journey without water to satisfy his thirst or grass for his beast. For twenty miles, in some cases, no spring was to be found. An eye-witness relates that after leaving the valley of the Canadian a traveler might pass a good day's journey without meeting with either wood, water, or grass. Such was the unfruitful and uninviting country through which the sons of Missouri were compelled to march at the call of duty.

On the 26th of June the main body of the "Army of the West" commenced its march over the plains, which extend from the western border of Missouri to the confines of New Mexico. Many obstacles impeded its progress, more particularly from the fact that there was no road nor even a path leading from Fort Leavenworth into the regular Santa Fé trail. The companies of infantry, however, kept pace with the mounted men, but their feet were blistered by their long and almost incredible marches. Their footprints were often marked with blood, yet the volunteer corps, which consisted of the best young men of the State, endured the sufferings of the campaign with great fortitude. After leaving Fort Leavenworth the army took a southwesterly course, with the view of intersecting the main Santa Fé trail at or near the Narrows, sixty-five miles west of Independence. On the 28th it reached Stranger Creek, and on the 30th arrived upon the banks of Kansas River. It reached the Narrows on the 1st of July, and Council Grove on the 5th, Pawnee Rock on the 13th, and on the 29th crossed the Arkansas and encamped in Mexican territory, about eight miles below Bent's Fort, six hundred and fifty miles west of Fort Leavenworth. On the 16th of August the army arrived at San Miguel, on the river Pecos, and on the 18th, after a tiresome march of nearly nine hundred miles in less than fifty days, Gen. Kearney, with his whole command, entered Santa Fé, the capital of the province of New Mexico, and took peaceable and undisputed possession of the country.

Immediately upon occupying the town, Gen. Kearney completed, by the aid of Willard P. Hall, of St. Louis, the "Organic Laws and Constitution" for the government of the new Territory. To the end that the machinery of this new government might be speedily put into force, Gen. Kearney made the following appointments to office: Charles Bent, Governor of the Territory; Don Aduciano Virgil, secretary; Richard Dallan, marshal; Francis P. Blair, Jr., United States district attorney; Eugene Leitensdoffer, auditor of public accounts; and Joab Houghton, Antonio José Otero, and Charles Baubien, judges of the Supreme Court. Capt. David Waldo was appointed to translate the laws into the Spanish language, which he did in a very satisfactory manner.

On the 25th of September, Gen. Kearney left Santa Fé with four hundred dragoons for California. He took the old Copper-mine route, down the Rio Grande to Sorotto, and thence to the Pacific. On the 20th of October, when three hundred miles west of Santa Fé, he was informed by a returning party that Gen. John C. Fremont had already taken possession of California. He then sent Maj. Sumner back with the larger portion of the dragoons, and taking only one hundred with him, pursued with this small force the daring enterprise of crossing the deserts and mountains of the West in the cold season.

For the purpose of reinforcing Col. Kearney at Santa Fé, the War Department had determined to organize a new force. Sterling Price, then a member of Congress from Missouri, having resigned early in the summer of 1846, applied to President Polk for the command and was appointed. The reinforcement was to consist of one full mounted regiment, one mounted extra battalion, and one extra battalion of Mormon infantry, the whole to be volunteers. After some delay the companies rendezvoused at Fort Leavenworth, and were mustered into service about the 1st of August. The companies from Boone, Benton, Carroll, Chariton, Lynn, Livingston, Monroe, Randolph, Ste. Genevieve, and St. Louis Counties, under the command respectively of Capt. McMillan, Hollaway, Williams, Holley, Barbee, Slack, Giddings, H. Jackson, Horine, and Dent, composed the Second Missouri Regiment. Notwithstanding the War Department had selected Sterling Price to command them, the officers thought they ought to have a choice in the matter. Accordingly they held an election and selected Sterling Price for colonel, D. D. Mitchell for lieutenant-colonel, and Capt. Edmonson for major. R. Walker was appointed adjutant, Mr. Stewart sergeant-major, Dr. May surgeon, and A. Wilson sutler. Another battalion was formed composed of companies om the counties of Marion, Polk, Platte, and Ray, commanded respectively by Capts. Smith, Robinson, Morin, and Hendly, with Lieut.-Col. Willock as commander of the battalion. With this mounted force and several pieces of artillery, Col. Price marched to

Santa Fé over the same route as Col. Kearney, and arrived there in fifty-three days on the 28th of September, three days after Col. Kearney's departure for California.

About the 10th of August another force of one thousand men was ordered to rendezvous at Fort Leavenworth, destined also for Santa Fé to join Col. Price. The regiment was organized with Maj. Dougherty, of Clay County, as commander, but before it took the field the President ordered it to disband, and the men, disappointed, returned to their homes.[1]

The conquest of New Mexico, completed by Col. Kearney, though apparently bloodless, was yet attended by conflicts, if less sanguinary, yet more interesting than the common events of war. On the 15th of January, 1847, a violent and totally unexpected insurrection against the American authorities took place at San Fernando de Taos, in New Mexico. On that night Governor Charles Bent, Sheriff Elliott, and twenty-three others were assassinated, and at Turley's, eight miles from Taos, seven other Americans were murdered. In a short time the insurrection became general, but it was finally suppressed by Col. Price, after several severe engagements with the Mexicans. Taken as a whole, the short campaign of Col. Price with Capt. Burgwin and others, from the 20th of January to the 5th of February, 1847, was one of the best exhibitions of military gallantry which accompanied the minor operations of the war. Marching in midwinter over snow-covered ground, they three times engaged the enemy, and in the last conflict stormed and carried a very strong military position against superior numbers.[2]

In the interval between the conquest of New Mexico by Kearney and the march of Gen. Scott from Vera Cruz there occurred in the northern provinces of Mexico one of those military adventures which convert the realities of history into the brilliant and enticing scenes of romance. This was the march of Col. Doniphan's corps of Missourians through the wild and unknown regions of Northern Mexico. In the early part of December he left Santa Fé with eight hundred men, in three divisions, destined for Chihuahua. The object of the expedition was to join Gen. Wool in the heart of Northern Mexico. On the 21st of December his corps reached Brozitos, where he defeated the enemy in a short engagement. On the 27th he entered El Paso del Norte, and on the 23d of February his forces were at Carmen, one hundred miles from Chihuahua. On the 28th Doniphan's corps gave battle to the enemy, who were intrenched with a large force near the Rancho Sacramento, on the river Sacramento, a [illegible]ented them with great loss. It then entered C[illegible]ua, a city of forty thousand inhabitants, and the capital of one of the most important States of Mexico.

When Gen. Taylor received authentic information of the fall of Vera Cruz, the capitulation of the castle of San Juan de Ulua, and the capture of Chihuahua, he issued the following congratulatory orders to the troops under his command:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
"CAMP NEAR MONTEREY, April 14, 1847.

"The commanding general has the satisfaction to announce to the troops under his command that authentic information has been received of the fall of Vera Cruz and of San Juan de Ulua, which capitulated on the 27th of March to the forces of Maj.-Gen. Scott. This highly important victory reflects new lustre on the reputation of our arms.

"The commanding general would at the same time announce another signal success won by the gallantry of [illegible]oops on the 28th of February, near the city of Chihua[illegible] column of Missouri volunteers, less than one thousa[illegible] under command of Col. Doniphan, with a light field batt[illegible], attacked a Mexican force many times superior in an intrenched position, captured its artillery and baggage, and defeated it with heavy loss.

"In publishing to the troops the grateful tidings, the general is sure that they will learn with joy and pride the triumphs of their comrades on distant fields.

"By order of Maj.-Gen. Taylor.

"W. W. BLISS, *A.A.A.G.*"

Col. Doniphan, having totally defeated and completely disorganized the Army of Central Mexico, moved his gallant corps of Missourians from Chihuahua in three divisions on the 25th, 26th, and 28th of April, 1847. Marching southwardly through Cerro Gordo, Mapimi, and Parras they reached Saltillo, more than one hundred miles, and pitched their camp near the battle-field of Buena Vista. On the 22d of May the regiment was reviewed by Gen. Wool in person, accompanied by his staff, and the following complimentary order was issued:

"ORDERS No. 293.

"HEADQUARTERS,
"BUENA VISTA, May 22, 1847.

"The general commanding takes great pleasure in expressing the gratification he has received this afternoon in meeting the

[1] While at Santa Fé, Capt. Hudson, of the Laclede Rangers, gave up his command to First Lieut. Elliott and raised a new company of volunteers in the town for the purpose of serving in California. The company numbered one hundred men and was called the California Rangers. It was, however, disbanded by Col. Doniphan as soon as he learned that California was in the possession of the Americans.

[2] On the 15th of November, 1846, a detachment of forty-five volunteers, commanded by Capt. Burrows and Thompson, met and totally defeated two hundred California Mexicans on the plains of Salinas, near Monterey, with considerable slaughter. The American loss was four killed and two wounded; among the former Capt. Burrows and Private Ames, of St. Louis.

Missouri volunteers. They are about to close their present term of military service, after having rendered, in the course of the arduous duties they have been called upon to perform, a series of highly important services, crowned by decisive and glorious victories.

"No troops can point to a more brilliant career than those commanded by Col. Doniphan, and no one will ever hear of the battles of Bracito or Sacramento without a feeling of admiration for the men who gained them.

"The State of Missouri has just cause to be proud of the achievements of the men who have represented her in the army against Mexico, and she will, without doubt, receive them on their return with all the joy and satisfaction which a due appreciation of their merits and services so justly entitle them.

"In bidding them adieu the general wishes to Col. Doniphan, his officers and men, a happy return to their families.

"By command of Brig.-Gen. Wool.

"IRWIN MCDOWELL, *A.A.A.G.*"

On the following day the Missourians marched to Gen. Wool's camp, where Capt. Weightman delivered his battery to Capt. Washington. The Mexican cannon which were captured in the action at Sacramento the Missourians were permitted to retain as the trophies of their victory. These were subsequently presented by Col. Doniphan to the State of Missouri.

The Missouri column proceeded on its march and passing Saltillo, the Grand Cañon of the Rinconada, Santa Catarina, and the city of Monterey, arrived in the American camp at the Walnut Springs on the 26th, having in three days marched seventy miles. Maj.-Gen. Taylor having reviewed the Missouri troops on the morning of the 26th, issued the following:

"ORDERS No. 59.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
"CAMP NEAR MONTEREY, May 26th.

"Col. Doniphan's command of Missouri volunteers will proceed *via* Camargo to the mouth of the river or Brazos Island, where it will take water transportation to New Orleans.

"On reaching New Orleans, Col. Doniphan will report to Gen. Brooke, commanding the Western Division, and also to Col. Churchill, inspector-general, who will muster the command for discharge and payment.

"At Camargo, Col. Doniphan will detach a sufficient number of men from each company to conduct the horses and other animals of the command by land to Missouri. The men so detached will leave the necessary papers to enable their pay to be drawn when their companies are discharged at New Orleans.

"The quartermaster's department will furnish the necessary transportation to carry out the above orders.

"The trophies captured at the battle of Sacramento will be conveyed by Col. Doniphan to Missouri, and there turned over to the Governor, subject to the final disposition of the War Department.

"In thus announcing the arrangements which close the arduous and honorable service of the Missouri volunteers, the commanding general extends to them his earnest wishes for their prosperity and happiness, and for a safe return to their families and homes.

"By command of Maj.-Gen. Taylor.

"W. W. BLISS, *A.A.A.G.*"

Pursuing their journey with rapid steps, the Missourians descended the Rio Grande, embarked on vessels, and arrived at New Orleans on the 15th of June. Here the volunteers were mustered out of the service of the United States, and soon after returned to their homes in Missouri. "In a little more than a year," says Capt. Edward D. Mansfield, in his interesting "History of the Mexican War," "this corps of volunteers, mustered from private life, had by land and by water, over mountain-tops and sandy plains, in snow and in rain and in hot deserts, amid the homes of civilization and the wilds of savages, amid the fires of battle, the sports of the camp, and the adventures of the wild wilderness, pursued their unchecked career for five thousand miles. Nor was this all. One detachment of this same corps, previous to the departure of the main body from Santa Fé, had marched another thousand miles in still wilder scenes and greater adventure. This was the detachment of Lieut.-Col. Gilpin, who was sent out towards the Rocky Mountains to overawe the Navajo Indians. This command actually crossed the Rocky Mountains, and descended into the valley of the Colorado of the South. Their march was full of new scenery, new dangers, and new adventures. After this party had thus pursued its novel and most interesting march through the spurs and rivers and wild tribes and wilder animals of the Rocky Mountains, it returned in time to join the long and adventurous march of Doniphan to Chihuahua and the Gulf of Mexico."[1]

When Col. Doniphan left Santa Fé, the command of the troops in New Mexico devolved upon Col. (then Brig.-Gen.) Sterling Price. Between the 1st and 15th of August, 1847, Gen. Price and the troops under his command returned to Missouri, where they arrived about the 25th of September, having lost more than four hundred men in battle and by disease.

The St. Louis Legion, after it sailed from New Orleans, landed on the 7th of June, 1846, on the west bank of the Brazos, in the harbor of Point Isabel. It spent the remainder of the month encamped at this place, drilling, etc., and on the 1st of July the camp was removed to the mouth of the Rio Grande, and from thence by steamers to the Heights of Barita, in the State of Tamaulipas, where orders were received from the Secretary of War to disband the six-months' volunteers. The Legion remained here until the 8th of August, when the command began to embark for home. The field and staff officers and officers and

[1] For a full and most interesting account of Doniphan's expedition, see the accurate work of J. T. Hughes, entitled "Doniphan's Expedition."

members of the St. Louis "Grays" and the "Rangers" returned to St. Louis on the steamer "Star-Spangled Banner," and arrived on the 21st, amid the cheers and rejoicings of the population, which lined the bank of the river.[1]

The detachment left Brazos Santiago on Sunday, the 9th of August, on the steamship "New York." The six other companies left about the same time, embarking on the following vessels: on the evening of the 8th, on the brig "Welsh," the Boone Guards, Capt. Knapp, Montgomery Guards, Capt. Watson, and Jaegers, Capt. Schaefer, accompanied by Assistant Surgeon Stevens; on the same evening, on the schooner "Wm. Bryan," the Texas Free Corps, Capt. Koch; and on the morning of the 9th, on the bark "Ivy," the Missouri Fusileers, Capt. Wockner, and the Morgan Riflemen, Capt. McKellops.

The Jaegers, Capt. Schaefer, Boone Guards, Capt. Knapp, and Montgomery Guards, Capt. Watson, arrived at St. Louis on August 26th, on board the steamer "W. R. King." The remainder of the command arrived in due time in good health and excellent spirits. On the 10th of September the mayor and City Council presented to the Legion in the rotunda of the court-house a stand of colors on behalf of the citizens of St. Louis. Mayor Camden presented the flag to Col. A. R. Easton, of the Legion, with a few patriotic remarks, and Capt. P. Salisbury, at the request of Col. Easton, responded for the battalion. At the conclusion of the presentation ceremonies Private Smithers, of Capt. McKellops' company, "addressed the meeting in a happy strain," and upon a call from the assemblage A. B. Chambers made a few remarks to the Legion.

The municipal authorities and citizens of St. Louis on April 15, 1847, determined to celebrate the victories which had been won by the army of Gen. Scott in Mexico. "In the morning, at the rising of the sun," says one of the journals of the day, "a national salute was fired by the German artillery company, on the vacant grounds in the rear of the city. The guns used were twelve-pounders, and although they were but indistinctly heard in some parts of the city, they were heard full thirty miles in the surrounding country. Several gentlemen who were thirty-five miles in Illinois when the first guns were fired heard them distinctly, and by hard riding were able to get here in time to witness the illumination. National salutes were fired at noon and at sundown, and several guns for the memory of those brave men who have fallen in battle.

"At half-past seven, when the signal was given, nearly every house instantly poured forth a flood of light. Although we knew that the illumination would be general, yet we confess we were not prepared for so general a demonstration. We traversed the city during the time of the illumination from north to south and from the river westward, and everywhere, on every street, we met with the same fervent display. The humblest tenement and the most stately mansion alike contributed to the beauty and the interest of the scene. In a word, it was one of those great popular demonstrations where the whole people are united, and to the full consummation of which they have given their entire energies."

In the mean time, as the war progressed, a large number of the volunteers whose term of service had expired, and who had been honorably discharged, re-enlisted in other commands. The "Mound City Rangers" were organized on the 20th of April, 1847, in the hall of the Missouri Fire Company, by the election of the following officers: James A. Faucett, captain; J. F. Scheifer, first lieutenant; P. L. Shoaff, second lieutenant; and Louis Gray, third lieutenant. The "Bent Guards" were organized on April 24th by the election of Elihu H. Shepard as captain; Samuel H. Holmes, first lieutenant; Thomas W. Levant, second lieutenant; and William Prichett, third lieutenant. On the 10th of May this company was mustered into service, and was designated as "Company A, Missouri Battalion of Infantry Volunteers," to serve during the war. A few days were spent at Camp Lucas in drilling and issuing quartermaster's stores preparatory to a march across the Western plains. On the 15th of May the company embarked on board the steamer "Meadan," Capt. Cheever, and proceeded to Fort Leavenworth, with orders to report to Lieut.-Col. Scott. It received orders to escort a very large train of ox-wagons loaded with commissary stores to Santa Fé, and executed the task in safety.

A requisition was made on the State in April for a regiment of mounted men, and preparations were immediately begun for the organization of new companies. On the 31st the St. Louis "Eagle Company" was organized, under the supervision of Gen. Milburn and Col. Grimsley, by the election of G. D. Korpony as captain; H. Schroeder, first lieutenant; Charles Krohne, second lieutenant; and Philip Ludwig, third lieutenant. The volunteers under this call were directed by the Governor to assemble at Independence.

In addition to this requisition on the State for volunteers, another was made in May for one battalion of

[1] The following officers returned: Col. Easton, Lieut.-Col. Kennett, Maj. Schoentmaler, Surgeon Johnson, Adjt. Almstedt, Capts. Coleman and Salisbury, Lieuts. West, Barnes, Ross, and Knapp.

infantry to serve during the war, and to rendezvous at Fort Leavenworth. Under the latter call Capt. Shepard's company was accepted. The "Missouri Mounted Guards" were organized on May 2d, with the following officers: W. L. F. McNair, captain; James M. Allen, first lieutenant; Golden Musick, second lieutenant; and Charles H. Merritt, third lieutenant. They were mustered into the service of the United States on May 14th, and numbered eighty-six non-commissioned officers and privates. The "St. Louis Grays" tendered their services to the Governor as part of the infantry battalion for Santa Fé. This battalion was completed on the 24th of May, when the infantry companies of Capt. Weckner, Capt. Cunningham, and Capt. Paul were mustered into service. Capt. Barnes' company was mustered in on the 25th, and, as we have seen, Capt. Shepard's on the 10th of the same month. These companies composed the battalion, and at an election for lieutenant-colonel, Alton R. Easton, who had been colonel of the old St. Louis Legion, was unanimously chosen.

We glean the following notes on military matters from the *Missouri Republican* of 1847:

"May 28.—The company of mounted men under the command of Capt. Geis was mustered into service yesterday.

"Capt. McNair's company, and that commanded by Capt. Korpony, arrived here yesterday from Jefferson Barracks, *en route* for Independence. They will leave to-day at eight o'clock.

"We understand that the members of the company under the command of Capt. McNair have presented him with a splendid sword, as a token of their appreciation of his energy and perseverance in getting up and equipping the company.

"The members of the late City Guard, at a meeting on Thursday evening, manifested their feelings of respect and good will towards their late captain, Abram Allen, now the first lieutenant of Capt. Paul's company, by presenting to him a handsome sword.

"Capt. A. Jones' company of mounted men, the 'Rough and Readys' from Washington County, were mustered into service yesterday by Col. Wharton. They will soon be ready to leave for Santa Fé."

"June 1.—Capt. Paul's company of volunteers left on board the 'Aramanth' yesterday for Fort Leavenworth."

"June 5.—The St. Louis Washington Artillery held an election for officers yesterday, under the supervision of Gen. Milburn. It resulted as follows: William H. Jeanings, captain; —— Wilcox, first lieutenant; David Dill, second lieutenant; James Fall, third lieutenant."

"June 7.—Capt. Barnes' company of infantry will leave to-day on the 'Little Missouri' for Fort Leavenworth. It is the last company of the battalion of infantry ordered to Santa Fé."

"June 9.—*Kosciusko Guards.* This company is now organized, and is awaiting the determination of the Governor whether it shall be received into the service. At the election, N. Kosciolowski was elected captain; Edward Colston, first lieutenant; W. H. Thorpe, second lieutenant; Chouteau Smith, second second lieutenant.

"Mr. William Wolfe has tendered to the Governor the services of another company; and it is said that the Governor has recommended to the Secretary of War the employment of these two companies in the United States service."

"June 9.—One of the Masonic societies of this city yesterday invited Capt. Barnes' company to their lodge-room for the purpose of presenting Capt. Barnes with a sword. Dr. Mitchell, Past Grand Master, in a very appropriate style in behalf of the Masonic fraternity, addressed the company and presented the sword. After the presentation the company marched to the steamer 'Little Missouri' and took passage for Fort Leavenworth."

"June 11.—*Lieutenant-Colonel of the Missouri Battalion of Infantry.* A letter from Fort Leavenworth, dated on the 3d inst., states that on that day an election was held by the Bent Guards for lieutenant-colonel. The entire vote of the company, eighty-five, was given for Alton R. Easton. This was the last company to vote, and the whole battalion have united in the election of Col. Easton. He left this city for Fort Leavenworth yesterday."

Col. Doniphan's command turned over to the ordnance officer at New Orleans the arms they had used in the campaign, and between the 22d and 28th of June were mustered out of service by Col. Churchill and received their pay. They then departed for home. Anticipating the arrival of the returning volunteers, the generous and patriotic citizens of St. Louis determined to give them a hearty welcome. Accordingly the mayor and City Council called a meeting of the citizens in the rotunda of the court-house on June 23, 1847, to make arrangements "to welcome home the returning Missouri and Illinois volunteers, and also to pay suitable honors to the remains of Col. J. J. Hardin and others, who fell gloriously in the Mexican war." On motion of Maj. Wetmore, Bryan Mullanphy, mayor of the city, was called to preside, and on motion of Dr. George Wilson, Louis V. Bogy and Thomas Harney were appointed secretaries. The chairman then explained the object of the meeting. On motion of R. S. Blennerhassett, a committee of five persons was appointed to prepare suitable resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting; whereupon the chair appointed R. S. Blennerhassett, Wm. M. Campbell, S. Treat, Chas. Keemle, and A. B. Chambers. During the absence of the committee the meeting was addressed by Messrs. Blennerhassett, Hedges, Bowlin, Wright, and Eager. The committee soon returned and reported a series of resolutions which were adopted, recommending that the hospitalities of the city be tendered to the returning volunteers under the command of Col. Doniphan, and that the men be invited to accept suitable testimonials of the citizens' gratitude and respect for their patriotic services." A committee of arrangements, composed of Benjamin Soulard, David Chambers, Cornelius Campbell, Dr. J. Sykes, A. B. Chambers, J. Prentiss Moss, Michael Suter, Thornton Grimsley, Geo. Wilson, Geo. K. McGunnegle, Samuel Willi, Napoleon Koscialow-

ski, Wm. Christy, Theron Barnum, C. D. Walton, D. A. Magehan, Patrick Gorman, T. O. Duncan, John W. Scott, John Leach, C. W. Schaumburg, Gregory Byrne, Wm. Clark, and B. F. Jennings, was appointed, with full power to make all necessary preparations for the reception of and demonstration of respect to the volunteers. The City Council also appointed a committee of eight, to act in connection with the citizens' committee, and they met at the Planters' House on the following day to make the necessary arrangements. The joint committee was organized, with George K. McGunnegle as chairman, and A. B. Chambers as secretary. The committee adopted the following order of proceedings for the reception and entertainment of the Missouri volunteers:

"The procession will be formed on Fourth Street, the right resting on Market, as follows:

Band of Music.
Mayor and City Council.
Committee of Arrangements.
Officers of the Army and Navy of the United States.
United States Troops.
Military escort of Infantry, the Volunteer Corps of the city.
The Missouri Volunteers, under Col. A. W. Doniphan, returning from the campaign in Mexico.
Volunteer Cavalry.
The several societies, institutions, fire companies, and public bodies of the city will be assigned stations as they arrive upon the ground.
Citizens on foot.
Citizens in carriages.
Citizens on horse.

"On the approach of the volunteers to the city, thirteen guns will be fired from Camp Lucas (west of the city), and the bells of the churches and fire companies rung.

"Upon this signal the military companies will immediately form on Fourth Street, in front of the court-house, and await further orders.

"The several societies, institutions, fire companies, public bodies, and others will form on Fourth Street, or the cross streets leading into it, and report to the chief marshal.

"The steamboats and other public places will display their flags at top-mast.

"The aids and assistant marshals will report themselves to the chief marshal *at the earliest possible moment*, at the east front of the court-house.

"A national salute of thirty-one guns will be fired when the vessels containing the volunteers arrive in front of the city.

"From the uncertainty of the hour of their arrival, the line of march is not designated.

"At Camp Lucas, after the delivery of the oration and response of the volunteers, the civic part of the procession will be dismissed, and the returning volunteers, under the escort prescribed in the programme of the Committee of Arrangements, will be conducted to the St. Louis Park, to partake of a collation."

The following committees were also appointed to carry out the objects of the meeting:

"To meet the volunteers, and apprise them of the purposes of the citizens, Messrs. J. Sykes, J. B. Bowlin, and George W. Olney.

"To select the orators of the day, and make all necessary arrangements pertaining thereto, Messrs. Blennerhassett, Schaumburg, and Campbell.

"To prepare the catafalque, and all other necessary preparations pertaining thereto, Messrs. Koscialowski, Magehan, and Ladew.

"To provide the collations, and all pertaining thereto, Messrs. Barnum, Wilson, and Walton.

"To receive and audit accounts, and report the same to the City Council, Messrs. McGunnegle, Blennerhassett, and Thomas."

The orators of the day were Hon. Thomas H. Benton and Hon. James B. Bowlin. Col. Thornton Grimsley was selected as chief marshal, with the following aids and assistant marshals: Aids, David Chambers and Frederick Kr[illegible]ar; assistant marshals, T. B. Targee, Geor[illegible] Gannet, David Tatum, Wm. C. Wright, Gregory Byrne, John Hanson, Samuel Willi, N. Koscialowski, Wm. G. Clarke, A. H. Glasby, C. D. Walton, James A. Rogers, N. Aldrich.

The City Council appropriated sufficient money to defray the expenses of the reception of the volunteers; but the bill was vetoed by Mayor Mullanphy, and the veto was sustained by the board of aldermen. This proceeding of the mayor caused much indignation among the citizens, and at a large public meeting it was resolved "that his presence in welcoming the volunteers as chairman of the committee on reception has been dispensed with."[1]

The course pursued by the mayor compelled the committee of arrangements to apply to the citizens for subscriptions to defray the expenses of receiving and entertaining the volunteers, the mayor himself being a large contributor. The following gentlemen from each ward of the city were appointed to wait on the citizens for donations:

First Ward.—Messrs. R. S. Blennerhassett, N. Koscialowski, and John Dunn.

Second Ward.—Messrs. John Kern, G. R. Taylor, and J. P. Thomas.

[1] The following is a copy of the note sent to the mayor, in pursuance of the resolution:

"St. Louis, July 1, 1847.

"*Hon. Bryan Mullanphy, Mayor of St. Louis:*

"Sir,—The City Council having, in consequence of the course you have thought proper to adopt in regard to the reception of the Missouri and Illinois volunteers, and honored dead, on their return from Mexico, deemed it unadvisable to participate *officially* with our citizens on the occasion of their reception, the committee of arrangements have instructed me to notify you that your presence in welcoming said volunteers is dispensed with, and Judge Bowlin substituted in your place.

"Very respectfully your ob't serv't,

"G. K. McGunnegle, *Ch'n.*"

Third Ward.—Messrs. David Chambers, T. B. Targee, A. L. Mills, and J. Jacoby.

Fourth Ward.—Messrs. J. B. Brant, Edw. Walsh, and Richard J. Lockwood.

Fifth Ward.—Messrs. A. H. Glasby, Hugh Rose, and Dr. R. Knox.

Sixth Ward.—Messrs. Gregory Byrne, J. R. Hammond, and P. G. Camden.

On Sunday, June 27th, there arrived from New Orleans on the steamer "Hard Times" forty privates of Company B, belonging to Col. Doniphan's command, from Lafayette County; on the "Memphis," about thirty volunteers belonging to various companies; and on the "J. M. White," sixty-eight members of Company G from Howard County, and twenty-one members of other companies. But few of the officers arrived on these boats. On Monday, the 28th, a meeting of the citizens was held in the rotunda of the court-house to receive and welcome the Missouri volunteers, who had arrived from New Orleans the day before, and to prevail on them to remain until the rest of their command should reach the city. Addresses were made by Col. Thornton Grimsley, G. K. McGunnegle, Judge Bowlin, and Dr. Sykes, on behalf of the committee of arrangements to welcome the volunteers, and Capt. Reid responded in an eloquent manner, and accepted for the volunteers then in the city the invitation to remain and partake of the proffered hospitalities. On the 30th of June the steamer "Old Hickory" arrived from New Orleans, having on board as passengers Lieut.-Col. Morrison, of the Illinois volunteers, who had been at New Orleans awaiting the arrival of his regiment, but had returned home in consequence of ill health; Col. Doniphan, Maj. Gilpin, Adjt. De Courcy, Lieut. Lee, quartermaster; Capt. Rogers, Company H, Calloway County; Capt. Parsons, Company F, Calloway County; Capt. Moss, Company C, Clay County; Lieuts. Duncan and Murray, Company H, Calloway County; Lieuts. Gordon, Welles, and Winston, Company F, Cole County; Lieut. Graves, Company B, Lafayette County; Surgeons Thomas and James Morton. There were also a large number of privates on board. The "Harry of the West" and "Di Vernon" also brought considerable bodies of volunteers.

The uncertainty which attended the arrival of the volunteers, the limited number arriving in each boat, and the very great desire of many of them to return to their homes and friends, all conspired to create solicitude on the part of those who were anxious that everything should go off well at their reception. This was the case up to Friday morning, July 2d, when, at an early hour, the "Clarksville" came into port, having on board Maj. M. L. Clark, Capt. Weightman, Lieuts. Dorn and Chouteau, and other officers, and some of the privates of the battalion of light artillery. Their arrival determined the committee of arrangements to proceed with the ceremonies, and under their instruction the chief marshal issued orders to that effect. Thousands of citizens, leaving their usual avocations, turned out to honor the guests of the city, and long before the time appointed for the reception, in front of the Planters' House and in the streets leading to it a dense multitude of people collected. Flags were displayed in every direction, and the bells of the churches and of the various engine-houses rang a merry peal. Just as everything was ready for the orator appointed to welcome the volunteers to proceed with his address it was announced by the chief marshal that the "Pride of the West," having on board Capt. Hudson and several other officers of the command, and also the artillery captured from the Mexicans at the battle of Sacramento, was in sight, and by common consent further proceedings were postponed until they could arrive and be participants in them. New spirit seemed to be infused into the multitude by this fortunate coincidence. The committee of arrangements at once repaired to the boat, and through Mr. Blennerhassett tendered them the hospitalities of the city and an invitation to partake in the festival. This invitation was responded to by Capt. Hudson, and in a very short time the volunteers and the train of artillery were on their way to Fourth Street, where, in front of the Planters' House, it was arranged that the address welcoming the volunteers to the city should be made.

Judge Bowlin, who had been selected for the purpose, then delivered an eloquent and patriotic address. In addressing Col. Doniphan and the officers and soldiers of the Missouri volunteers he said,—

"In the name and on behalf of the people of St. Louis, I bid you a warm and cordial welcome back to the land of your cherished homes, and tender you the hospitalities of their city,—a city proud of her identity with your gallant achievements. In doing this it becomes me to assure you, gentlemen, we are performing no idle ceremonial in which the heart has no participation, but it is the spontaneous homage which we, as your fellow-countrymen, feel proud to award your patriotism, your valor, your self-sacrificing devotion to country. Indeed, we hail your return to your homes with no ordinary emotions, as a long anxiety for your safety, a consciousness of the perils that everywhere environed you, a dubiousness of your fate spread a gloom over the community which your security has dispelled, and awakened in lieu of it mingled feelings of gratitude for your deliverance and admiration for the heroic deeds that won it. Besides, we feel proud, as your countrymen, in sharing that halo of glory which your gallant deeds have thrown around the name of the 'Missouri volunteer.' You have baptized that glorious title with your blood and laureled it with brilliant victories, the memory of which can only perish with the language in which they are recorded. Your deeds have encircled around that hal-

lowed name a wreath of imperishable renown, never to fade or decay,—

> 'For the true laurel wreath which glory weaves
> Is from that tree no bolt of thunder cleaves.'"

After alluding to the condition of the country, and noticing some details of the heroic achievements of the volunteers, he closed his address as follows:

"In conclusion, I again bid you welcome to the shores of our own Missouri; welcome to her proud and favored city; welcome to the hospitality of her people; welcome to all that a generous and chivalrous heart casts at the shrine of valor; welcome to the homage due to the brave; welcome to our hearths and our hearts."

To this address Lieut.-Col. Mitchell responded in a brief but appropriate speech.

Under the escort of the volunteer companies of the city, Col. Kennett commanding, the procession was then formed and marched to Camp Lucas. As the returning veterans, roughly clad, and with their long beards and torn battle-flags flowing in the wind, marched through the streets of the city they were received with unabated enthusiasm. Along the route the display of flags from the houses and the waving of handkerchiefs by the ladies from windows and balconies announced to them that their return was hailed with universal joy, and that their arduous services were duly appreciated by their fellow-citizens of St. Louis.

Among the organizations which formed the escort were the Grays, Capt. West; the Montgomery Guards, Capt. Watson; the Jaegers, Capt. Resick; the Missouri Dragoons, Capt. Steitz; and a company of mounted men. Several of the engine companies in full uniform were also in the procession. At Camp Lucas an immense crowd of people had assembled, and very soon the chief marshal introduced in fitting terms the Hon. Thomas H. Benton, who had been selected to deliver the reception speech.

Senator Benton addressed the returned volunteers as follows:

"Col. Doniphan, and Officers and Men,—I have been appointed to an honorable and a pleasant duty,—that of making you the congratulations of your fellow-citizens of St. Louis on your happy return from your long and almost fabulous expedition. You have indeed marched far, and done much, and suffered much, and well entitled yourselves to the applauses of your fellow-citizens, as well as to the rewards and thanks of your government. A year ago you left home. Going out from the western border of your State, you re-enter it on the east, having made a circuit equal to the fourth of the circumference of the globe, providing for yourselves as you went, and returning with trophies taken from fields the names of which were unknown to yourselves and your country until revealed by your enterprise, illustrated by your valor, and immortalized by your deeds. History has but few such expeditions to record; and when they occur, it is as honorable and useful as it is just and wise to celebrate and commemorate the events which entitle them to renown.

"Your march and exploits have been among the most wonderful of the age. At the call of your country you marched a thousand miles to the conquest of New Mexico, as part of the force under Gen. Kearney, and achieved that conquest without the loss of a man or the firing of a gun. That work finished, and New Mexico, itself so distant and so lately the *ultima thule*,—the outside boundary of speculation and enterprise,—so lately a distant point to be attained, becomes itself a point of departure, a beginning point for new and far more extended expeditions. You look across the long and lofty chain—the Cordilleras of North America—which divide the Atlantic from the Pacific waters, and you see beyond that ridge a savage tribe which had been long in the habit of depredating upon the province which had just become an American conquest. You, a part only of the subsequent Chihuahua column under Jackson and Gilpin, march upon them, bring them to terms, and they sign a treaty with Col. Doniphan, in which they bind themselves to cease their depredations on the Mexicans, and to become the friends of the United States. A novel treaty that, signed on the western confines of New Mexico, between parties who had hardly ever heard each others' names before, and to give peace and protection to Mexicans who were hostile to both. This was the meeting and this the parting of the Missouri volunteers with the numerous and savage tribe of the Navajo Indians, living on the waters of the Gulf of California, and so long the terror and scourge of Sonora, Sinaloa, and New Mexico.

"This object accomplished, and impatient of inactivity, and without orders (Gen. Kearney having departed for California), you cast about to carve out some new work for yourselves. Chihuahua, a rich and populous city of nearly thirty thousand souls, the seat of government of the State of that name, and formerly the residence of the captains-general of the internal provinces under the vice-regal government of New Spain, was the captivating object which fixed your attention. It was a far-distant city, about as far from St. Louis as Moscow is from Paris, and towns and enemies, and a large river, and defiles and mountains, and the desert, whose ominous name portended death to travelers—*el jornada de los muertos* (the journey of the dead),—all lay between you. It was a perilous enterprise, and a discouraging one for a thousand men, badly equipped, to contemplate. No matter. Danger and hardship lent it a charm, and the adventurous march was resolved on, and the execution commenced. First, the ominous desert was passed, its character vindicating its title to its mournful appellation,—an arid plain of ninety miles, strewed with the bones of animals perished of hunger and thirst; little hillocks of stone and the solitary cross, erected by pious hands, marking the spot where some Christian had fallen, victim of the savage, of the robber, or of the desert itself, no water, no animal life, no sign of habitation. There the Texan prisoners, driven by the cruel Salazar, had met their direst sufferings, unrelieved, as in other parts of their march in the settled parts of the country, by the compassionate ministrations (for where is it that *woman* is not compassionate?) of the pitying women. The desert was passed, and the place for crossing the river approached. A little arm of the river Bracito (in Spanish) made out from its side. There the enemy in superior numbers, and confident in cavalry and artillery, undertook to bar the way. Vain pretension. Their discovery, attack, and rout were about simultaneous operations. A few minutes did the work. And in this way our Missouri volunteers of the Chihuahua column spent their Christmas-day of the year 1846.

"The victory of the Bracito opened the way to the crossing of the river Del Norte, and to admission into the beautiful little town of the Paso del Norte, where a neat cultivation, a comfortable people, fields, orchards, and vineyards, and a hospitable

reception offered the rest and refreshment which toils and dangers and victory had won. You rested there till artillery was brought down from Santa Fé, but the pretty town of the Paso del Norte, with all its enjoyments, and they were many, and the greater for the place in which they were found, was not a Capua to the men of Missouri. You moved forward in February, and the battle of the Sacramento, one of the military marvels of the age, cleared the road to Chihuahua, which was entered without further resistance. It had been entered once before by a detachment of American troops, but under circumstances how different. In the year 1807, Lieut. Pike and his thirty brave men, taken prisoners on the head of the Rio del Norte, had been marched captives into Chihuahua; in the year 1847, Doniphan and his men enter it as conquerors. The paltry triumph of a captain-general over a lieutenant was effaced in the triumphal entrance of a thousand Missourians into the grand and ancient capital of all the internal provinces, and old men, still alive, could remark the grandeur of the American spirit under both events,—the proud and lofty bearing of the captive thirty, the mildness and moderation of the conquering thousand.

"Chihuahua was taken, and responsible duties more delicate than those of arms were to be performed. Many American citizens were there engaged in trade; much American property was there. All this was to be protected, both lives and property, and by peaceful arrangement, for the command was too small to admit of division and of leaving a garrison. Conciliation and negotiation were resorted to, and successfully. Every American interest was provided for and placed under the safeguard, first, of good will, and next, of guarantees not to be violated with impunity.

"Chihuahua gained, it became, like Santa Fé, not the terminating point of a long expedition, but the beginning point of a new one. Gen. Taylor was somewhere, no one knew exactly where, but some seven or eight hundred miles towards the other side of Mexico. You had heard that he had been defeated, that Buena Vista had not been a good prospect to him. Like good Americans, you did not believe a word of it, but, like good soldiers, you thought it best to go and see. A volunteer party of fourteen, headed by Collins, of Boonville, undertake to penetrate to Saltillo, and to bring you information of his condition. They set out. Amidst innumerable dangers they accomplish their purpose and return. You march. A vanguard of one hundred men, led by Lieut.-Col. Mitchell, led the way. Then came the main body (if the name is not a burlesque on such a handful), commanded by Col. Doniphan himself.

"The whole table-land of Mexico, in all its breadth from west to east, was to be traversed. A numerous and hostile population in towns, treacherous Comanches in the mountains, were to be passed. Everything was to be self-provided,—provisions, transportation, fresh horses for remounts, and even the means of victory,—and all without a military chest, or even an empty box, in which government gold had ever reposed. All was accomplished. Mexican towns were passed in order and quiet, plundering Comanches were punished, means were obtained from traders to liquidate indispensable contributions, and the wants that could not be supplied were endured like soldiers of veteran service.

"I say the Comanches were punished. And here presents itself an episode of a novel, extraordinary, and romantic kind,—Americans chastising savages for plundering people whom they themselves came to conquer, and forcing the restitution of captives and of plundered property. A strange story this to tell in Europe, where backwoods character—Western character—is not yet completely known. But to the facts. In the mesquite forest of the *Bolson de Mapimi*, and in the sierras around the beautiful town and fertile district of Parras, and in all the open country for hundreds of miles round about, the savage Comanches have held dominion ever since the usurper Santa Anna disarmed the people, and sally forth from their fastnesses to slaughter men, plunder cattle, and carry off women and children. An exploit of this kind had just been performed on the line of the Missourians' march, not far from Parras, and an advanced party chanced to be in that town at the time the news of the depredation arrived there. It was only fifteen strong. Moved by gratitude for the kind attentions of the people, especially the women, to the sick of Gen. Wool's command, necessarily left in Parras, and unwilling to be outdone by enemies in generosity, the heroic fifteen, upon the spot, volunteered to go back, hunt out the depredators, and punish them, without regard to numbers. A grateful Mexican became their guide. On their way they fell in with fifteen more of their comrades, and in a short time seventeen Comanches killed out of sixty-five, eighteen captives restored to their families, and three hundred and fifty head of cattle recovered for their owners was the fruit of this sudden and romantic episode.

"Such noble conduct was not without its effect on the minds of the astonished Mexicans. An official document from the prefect of the place to Capt. Reid, leader of this detachment, attests the verity of the fact and the gratitude of the Mexicans, and constitutes a trophy of a new kind in the annals of war. Here it is in the original Spanish, and I will read it off in English.

"It is officially dated from the prefecture of the Department of Parras, signed by the prefect, Jose Ignacio Arrabe, and addressed to Capt. Reid, the 18th of May, and says,—

"'At the first notice that the barbarians, after killing many and taking captives, were returning to their haunts, you generously and bravely offered, with fifteen of your subordinates, to fight them on their crossing by the Pozo, executing this enterprise with celerity, address, and bravery worthy of all eulogy, and worthy of the brilliant issue which all celebrate. You recovered many animals and much plundered property, and eighteen captives were restored to liberty and to social enjoyments, their souls overflowing with a lively sentiment of joy and gratitude, which all the inhabitants of this town equally breathe, in favor of their generous deliverers and their valiant chief. The half of the Indians killed in the combat, and those which fly wounded, do not calm the pain which all feel for the wound which Your Excellency received defending Christians and civilized beings against the rage and brutality of savages. All desire the speedy re-establishment of your health, and although they know that in your own noble soul will be found the best reward of your conduct, they desire also to address you the expression of their gratitude and high esteem. I am honored in being the organ of the public sentiment, and pray you to accept it, with the assurance of my most distinguished esteem.

"'God and Liberty.'

"This is a trophy of a new kind in war, won by thirty Missourians, and worthy to be held up to the admiration of Christendom.

"The long march from Chihuahua to Monterey was made more in the character of protection and deliverance than of conquest and invasion. Armed enemies were not met, and peaceful people were not disturbed. You arrived in the month of May in Gen. Taylor's camp, and about in a condition to vindicate, each of you for himself, your lawful title to the double *sobriquet* of the general, with the addition to it, which the colonel of the expedition has supplied, 'ragged, as well as rough and ready.' No doubt you all showed title at that time to that

third *sobriquet*; but to see you now, so gayly attired, so sprucely equipped, one might suppose that you had never for an instant been a stranger to the virtues of soap and water, or the magic ministrations of the *blanchisseuse* and the elegant transformations of the fashionable tailor. Thanks, perhaps, to the difference between pay in the lump at the end of service and driblets along in the course of it.

"You arrived in Gen. Taylor's camp ragged and rough, as we can well conceive, and ready, as I can quickly show. You reported for duty! you asked for service!—such as a march upon San Luis de Potosi, Zacatecas, or the 'halls of the Montezumas,' or anything in that way that the general should have a mind to. If he was going upon any excursion of that kind, all right. No matter about fatigues that were passed, or expirations of service that might accrue: you came to go, and only asked the privilege. That is what I call ready. Unhappily the conqueror of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, and Buena Vista was not exactly in the condition that the lieutenant-general that might have been intended him to be. He was not at the head of twenty thousand men; he was not at the head of any thousand that would enable him to march, and had to decline the proffered service. Thus the long-marched and well-fought volunteers—the rough, the ready, and the ragged—had to turn their faces towards home, still more than two thousand miles distant. But this being mostly by water, you hardly count it in the recital of your march. But this is an unjust omission, and against the precedents as well as unjust. 'The Ten Thousand' counted the voyage on the Black Sea as well as the march from Babylon, and twenty centuries admit the validity of the count. The present age and posterity will include in 'the going out and coming in' of the Missouri Chihuahua volunteers the water voyage as well as the land march, and then the expedition of the One Thousand will exceed that of the Ten by some two thousand miles.

"The last nine hundred miles of your land march, from Chihuahua to Matamoras, you made in forty-five days, bringing seventeen pieces of artillery, eleven of which were taken from the Sacramento and Bracito. Your horses, traveling the whole distance without United States provender, were astonished to find themselves regaled, on their arrival on the Rio Grande frontier, with hay, corn, and oats from the States. You marched farther than the farthest, fought as well as the best, left order and quiet in your train, and cost less money than any.

"You arrive here to-day, absent one year, marching and fighting all the time, bringing trophies of cannon and standards from fields whose names were unknown to you before you set out, and only grieving that you could not have gone farther. Ten pieces of cannon, rolled out of Chihuahua to arrest your march, now roll through the streets of St. Louis to grace your triumphal return. Many standards, all pierced with bullets while waving over the heads of the enemy at the Sacramento, now wave at the head of your column. The black flag, brought to the Bracito to indicate the refusal of that quarter which its bearers so soon needed and received, now takes its place among your trophies, and hangs drooping in their nobler presence. To crown the whole, to make public and private happiness go together, to spare the cypress where the laurel hangs in clusters, this long and perilous march, with all its accidents of field and camp, presents an incredibly small list of comrades lost. Almost all return! and the joy of families resounds intermingled with the applauses of the State.

"I have said that you made your long expedition without government orders; and so indeed you did. You received no orders from your government, but, without knowing it, you were fulfilling its orders, orders which never reached you. Happy the soldier who executes the command of his government; happier still he who anticipates command and does what is wanted before he is bid. This is your case. You did the right thing at the right time, and what the government intended you to do, and without knowing its intentions. The facts are these: Early in the month of November last the President asked my opinion on the manner of conducting the war. I submitted a plan to him which, in addition to other things, required all the disposable troops in New Mexico, and all the Americans in that quarter who could be engaged for a dashing expedition, to move down through Chihuahua and the State of Durango, and if necessary to Zacatecas, and get into communication with Gen. Taylor's right as early as possible in the month of March. In fact, the disposable Missourians in New Mexico were to be one of three columns destined for a combined movement on the City of Mexico, all to be on the table-land, and ready for the movement in the month of March. The President approved the plan, and the Missourians being most distant, orders were dispatched to New Mexico to put them in motion. Mr. Solomon Sublette carried the order, and delivered it to the commanding officer at Santa Fé, Col. Price, on the 23d day of February, just five days before you fought the marvelous battle of Sacramento.

"I well remember what passed between the President and myself at the time he resolved to give this order. It awakened his solicitude for your safety. It was to send a small body of men a great distance, into the heart of a hostile country, and upon the contingency of uniting in a combined movement, the means for which had not yet been obtained from Congress. The President made it a question, and very properly, whether it was safe or prudent to start the small Missouri column before the movement of the left and centre was assured. I answered that my own rule in public affairs was to do what I thought was right, and leave it with others to do what they thought was right, and that I believed it the proper course for him to follow on the present occasion. On this view he acted. He gave the order to go, without waiting to see whether Congress would furnish the means of executing the combined plan; and, for his consolation, I undertook to guarantee your safety. Let the worst come to the worst, I promised him that you would take care of yourselves. Though the other parts of the plan should fail, though you should become far involved in the advance, and deeply compromised in the enemy's country, and without support, still I relied on your courage, skill, and enterprise to extricate yourselves from every danger, to make daylight through all the Mexicans that should stand before you, cut your way out, and make good your retreat to Taylor's camp. This is what I promised the President in November last, and what you have so manfully fulfilled. And here is a little manuscript volume (the duplicate of it in the hands of the President), from which I will read you a page to show you that you are the happy soldiers who have done the will of the government without knowing its will:

"'THE RIGHT WING.—To be composed of all the disposable troops in New Mexico, to advance rapidly through the States of Chihuahua and Durango, and towards Zacatecas, and to attain a position about on a line with Gen. Taylor in the month of March, and be ready for a push on the capital. This column to move light, to have no rear, to keep itself mounted from horses in the country, and to join the centre column, or cut its way out if the main object fails.'

"This is what was proposed for you in the month of November last, and what I pledged myself to the President that you would perform, and nobly have you redeemed the pledge.

"But this was not the first or the only time that I pledged myself for you. As far back as June, 1846, when a separate expedition to Chihuahua was first projected, I told the Presi-

dent that it was unnecessary, that the Missouri troops under Gen. Kearney would take that place, in addition to the conquest of New Mexico, and that he might order the column under Gen. Wool to deflect to the left and join Gen. Taylor as soon as he pleased. Again, when I received a letter from Lieut.-Col. Mitchell, dated in November last, and informing me that he was leaving Santa Fé with one hundred men to open a communication with Gen. Wool, I read that letter to the President and told him that they would do it. And, again, when we heard that Col. Doniphan, with a thousand men, after curbing the Navajoes, was turning down towards the south, and threatening the ancient capital of the captains-general of the internal provinces, I told him they would take it. In short, my confidence in Missouri enterprise, courage, and skill was boundless. My promises were boundless. Your performance has been boundless. And now let boundless honor and joy salute, as it does, your return to the soil of your State, and to the bosoms of your families."

When Senator Benton had concluded Col. Doniphan was loudly and enthusiastically called to the stand, whereupon he rose and responded in a chaste and modest yet graphic address, in which he ascribed the great success and good fortune which continually attended him on his expedition rather to the bravery and conduct of his soldiers than to his own generalship.

As soon as Col. Doniphan's speech was concluded Capt. Hudson was called for, but upon his suggestion that a very agreeable part of the entertainment, the collation, remained to be discussed, the company adjourned to the St. Louis Park, and did full justice to the ample cheer provided for them.

Speeches and toasts followed the dinner. In answer to calls of the company, Col. Mitchell, Maj. Clark, Capt. Weightman, Capt. Hudson, Col. Benton, Col. Grimsley, Capt. Reid, and others made speeches.

Soon after the crowd dispersed, and Col. Doniphan and a large number of the volunteers took passage on the "Little Missouri" for home.[1]

Funeral honors were paid on July 9th to the remains of Col. John J. Hardin and Lieut. B. R. Houghton, of the Illinois volunteers, who fell in the battle of Buena Vista. About daylight the steamer "Missouri" arrived from New Orleans, having on board a large number of volunteers returning from the war, and, in charge of Cols. Weatherford and Warren, the remains of the lamented Hardin and Houghton. The committee of arrangements had already made such preparations as were deemed appropriate for the reception of the remains. The rotunda of the court-house was prepared for this purpose. A platform was built in the centre, resting on the circular railing around the spiral stairs leading from the ground floor. In the centre of this platform was erected a monument, a resting-place for the dead, covered with appropriate drapery and crowned with several small cannon and an American flag. From the dome was suspended a chaplet of leaves. Muskets were stacked around the monument in military style, and suspended from the railing above were flags representing the several States, those of Illinois, Kentucky, and Mississippi, and the national flag being draped in mourning. The skylight had been darkened, and the rotunda faintly illuminated by lights suspended around the circle, imparting to the scene a solemn and funereal appearance.

At eleven o'clock the committee of arrangements and the other gentlemen designated to take part in the ceremonies, preceded by the St. Louis Grays as a military escort, repaired to the steamer "Missouri" for the purpose of receiving the remains of the dead. On behalf of the committee and of the citizens of St. Louis, John M. Eager welcomed the returning volunteers and paid a feeling tribute to the dead.

Maj. Richardson, of the First Regiment, responded to this address in an eloquent speech.

The procession, under Col. Thornton Grimsley, chief marshal, with David Chambers and Frederick Kretschmar as aids, and J. P. Thomas, Samuel Willi, A. H. Glasby, C. D. Walton, W. G. Clarke, N. Aldrich, T. B. Targee, and Gregory Byrne as assistant marshals, was then formed, and the remains placed in the hearses provided for the purpose, attended by Col. Mackey, Maj. Stewart, Maj. Lee, and Capt. Bell, U.S.A., and Lieut.-Col. Mitchell, Lieut.-Col. Kennett, Capts. Hudson and Weightman, Missouri volunteers, as pall-bearers. The several committees, volunteers of Missouri, and those belonging to the Illinois regiments, citizens, and others joined in the procession. In front of the Planters' House a large body of Masons, of which order Col. Hardin was a member, took their place in the procession, and it again moved on the route designated in the programme,—down Fourth to Myrtle Street, up Myrtle to Fifth Street, up Fifth Street to Washington Avenue, down Washington Avenue to Fourth, down Fourth to Market Street to the court-house. The remains were then carried into the rotunda, and placed in the monument constructed for their reception. A great multitude of people filled the rotunda. Rev. Mr. Van Court, who had been selected for the purpose, addressed the volunteers and the auditory.

Col. Benton then addressed the Illinois volunteers who were present and the assemblage of citizens.

The ceremonies at the rotunda being at an end the procession was again formed, and the remains escorted

[1] On the 29th of July a public dinner was given by the citizens of Independence, Mo., in honor of Col. Doniphan and his officers and men.

to the steamer "Defiance," from which they were disembarked at Meredosia and taken to Jacksonville.

For months succeeding the return to the State of the Missouri volunteers, sumptuous dinners, banquets, and balls were given in their honor, as if thereby to compensate in some measure for the hardships which they had experienced in the arid deserts of Mexico. On August 23d public honors were paid to Capt. Fischer's company of mounted volunteers and a part of Capt. Weightman's company, and other volunteers from St. Louis who had been in Santa Fé. About 3 o'clock P.M. the returned volunteers were received in front of the court-house by the mayor and City Council, a portion of the Phœnix Fire Company, and the Jaegers and dragoons under Lieut. Steitz. The mayor (Judge Mullanphy) addressed the volunteers, and welcomed them back to their homes. The Rev. Mr. Picker then addressed the volunteers in German, and was responded to by Capt. Fischer in the same language.

On the return of Gen. Stephen Watts Kearney from California to St. Louis, on August 26th, a number of prominent citizens met and resolved to tender him the compliment of a public dinner, as a testimonial of their appreciation of his services as a military man, and of the respect in which he was held as a citizen. In pursuance of this resolution the committee appointed for the purpose addressed him a note, of which the following is a copy:

"ST. LOUIS, Aug. 26, 1847.

"*Brig.-Gen. Kearney, U.S.A.:*

"SIR,—At a meeting of citizens of St. Louis, the following preamble and resolution were adopted, and the undersigned appointed a committee to communicate them to you:

"WHEREAS, Gen. Stephen W. Kearney, commander-in-chief of the 'Army of the West,' has returned to St. Louis, the residence of his family and his home, and the citizens of St. Louis are desirous of expressing their admiration for him as an officer and citizen, and of the exploits of the army under his command; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to invite him to accept of a public dinner at such time as may be most agreeable to him.

"Permit them, in conveying to you the desire of your fellow-citizens, to express to you their high regard for your gallant services in one of the most remarkable campaigns on record, to assure you that they take especial pleasure in being the medium of such a communication, entertaining as they do, personally, the highest respect for you as a citizen of St. Louis, as well as a distinguished officer of the United States army, whom they are proud to honor in all the relations of life.

"With sentiments of the highest respect, we remain

"Your obedient servants,

"John O'Fallon, B. Mullanphy, J. E. Yeatman, D. H. Armstrong, J. B. Crockett, George W. Olney, R. M. Rennick, George K. McGunnegle, Edward Walsh, J. H. Lucas, John M. Krum, A. B. Chambers, Trusten Polk, Bernard Pratte, L. V. Bogy, H. S. Geyer, L. Riggs, R. S. Blennerhassett, W. Primm."

Gen. Kearney, in his reply, acknowledged the honor tendered him, which he said he would "regard as a rich reward for any service" he had rendered or would render his country, but regretted that circumstances would prevent him from accepting the public dinner offered him. He left the city within a few days to attend to his public duties at Washington, and afterwards returned to his home in St. Louis, where he died on Oct. 31, 1848, leaving a wife and several children. Gen. Kearney was born at Newark, N. J., and at the time of his death was in the fifty-fifth year of his age. Being a student at Princeton College at the age of eighteen, when the war with Great Britain commenced he determined to enter the army, and obtained a commission as first lieutenant in the Thirteenth Regiment of infantry. He was attached to the company under the command of Capt. (afterwards Gen.) John E. Wool, was engaged in the desperate fight at Queenstown Heights, and was there surrendered a prisoner. After an exchange was effected he served with honor through the war, and acquired such distinction as to retain his rank as captain during the reductions of the army in 1815 and 1821.

In 1823, having received the brevet of major, he assumed the command of four companies of the First Infantry at Bellefontaine, near St. Louis, and with that command accompanied Gen. Atkinson in his celebrated expedition on the Upper Missouri. Upon this expedition he was absent two years, and penetrated a greater distance into the Western wilderness with a military force than had ever before been attempted. He ascended the river as high as the Yellowstone, two thousand miles from St. Louis,—not in steamboats, the use of which had hardly been attempted at that day on the Missouri, but in keel-boats, worked with paddles at the stern, constructed under the direction of Gen. Atkinson. The expedition was a tedious one, yet full of interest to the gallant and energetic men at the head of it.

On his return Gen. Kearney was promoted to a majority in the Third Regiment of infantry, in which he continued to serve at the South until appointed lieutenant-colonel of the First Dragoons, a branch of the military service then first introduced. This regiment was organized by him, and in 1834, while acting as lieutenant-colonel, he accompanied Col. Dodge on his arduous campaign among the Comanches of the Red River country. His command soon became conspicuous throughout the army for its high state of discipline. Gen. Gaines once said that the First Dragoons were the best troops he ever saw, and the efficiency of Kearney's training was exhibited in the bearing of the dragoon regiments and the Mounted Rifles

during the war with Mexico. In this connection we cannot refrain from copying an incident which is highly illustrative of his peculiar qualities, and which is related by Fayette Robinson in his valuable work on the army of the United States:

"While stationed at Jefferson Barracks, Gen. Kearney was drilling a brigade on one of the open fields near the post. The manœuvre was the simple exercise of marching in line to the front. An admirable horseman, he sat with his face towards the troops, while the horse he rode, perfectly trained, was backed in the same direction along which the command was marched. At once the animal fell, fastening the rider to the ground by his whole weight. His brigade had been drilled to such a state of insensibility, that not one of them came to his assistance, nor was it necessary. The line advanced to within about ten feet of him, when, in a loud, distinct voice, calmly as if he had been in the saddle under no unusual circumstance, Gen. Kearney gave the command, '*Fourth company—obstacle—march!*' The fourth company, which was immediately in front of him, was flanked by its captain in the rear of the other half of the grand division. The line passed on, and when he was thus left in the rear of his men he gave the command, '*Fourth company into line—march!*' He was not seriously injured, extricated himself from his horse, mounted again, passed to the front of the regiment, and executed the next manœuvre in the series he had marked out for the day's drill."

In 1835, Gen. Kearney, in command of four companies of his regiment, visited the Sioux Indians of the Upper Missouri, and produced a reconciliation of the difficulties which had existed for many years between that tribe and its neighbors, the Sacs and Foxes.

In 1836 he was promoted to the colonelcy of the First Dragoons, Col. Dodge having resigned from the army, and until 1842 was stationed at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River. During this time it is matter of history that, with less than half his regiment with him, he gave entire protection to the Missouri frontier from Indian depredations, making frequent and extraordinary expeditions among the Indian tribes, and impressing them with a proper degree of respect for the government under which he acted.

In this station, too, Gen. Kearney displayed that best trait of a good and intelligent commander. Although upon what was regarded as a peace station, and such it was, with the exception of keeping the Indians in proper subjection, he maintained a degree of fellowship, *esprit du corps*, and good feeling among the officers and men of his command which has seldom been equaled at any post. Nor was he more eminent in this quality than in the respect, confidence, and good will manifested for him by the frontier settlers whose approximation or business brought them in connection with the command. At all times courteous, bland, approachable, and just, yet stern, fixed, and unwavering when his decisions were once formed, he not only acquired the respect, but commanded the confidence of all with whom official business or private relations brought him in contact.

In 1842 he was appointed to the command of the Third Military Department, with his headquarters at St. Louis, in which position he was retained until 1846. It is not to be supposed, however, that during this time he led an inactive life. In 1845, in command of five companies of the dragoons, he made one of the most extraordinary marches on record, extending as far as the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, returning by the way of Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas, to Fort Leavenworth. In this expedition he held councils with numerous tribes of Indians, and was of important service in giving protection to the emigrants to Oregon and the persons engaged in the Santa Fé trade.

In 1846, the war with Mexico having in the mean time commenced, he was appointed to the rank of brigadier-general, and assigned to the command of the "Army of the West." This army, as is well known, was ordered to take military possession of New Mexico and California A land march of such immense distance, in a desert region, and with no possibility of obtaining supplies, except at either extremity of the route, required the direction of precisely such a man as Gen. Kearney. He was familiar with such service, and knew how to provide for all the wants of his army. In an incredibly short period of time men were enrolled and assembled at Fort Leavenworth. All the necessary military supplies were also soon collected, and, almost before the New Mexicans were aware of the existence of war, Gen. Kearney, with an army at his command, was in quiet possession of the capital of the country. Here, after making such disposition of his military force as was advisable, and providing a temporary civil government for New Mexico, he proceeded to carry out the further instructions of his government, and departed for California at a season of the year when such an expedition was deemed most hazardous, on account of the sterile and inaccessible nature of the country, and the excessively cold weather to which he would be necessarily exposed. Meeting an express from California, after being out some days from Santa Fé, he determined, from the condition of affairs in that department, to order the return of all but about one hundred of his men. Of the sufferings which he endured on this route, the several battles in which he was engaged, and in which he lost some excellent and accomplished officers and men, it is not necessary now to speak. Having executed the duties imposed upon him by the government, Gen. Kearney returned to the United States in 1847; and

for his service in this campaign the brevet commission of major-general was conferred upon him.

During the winter of 1847–48 he was on duty at Washington, and in the spring of 1848 was ordered to Mexico. He proceeded thither without delay. At Vera Cruz he was prostrated with an attack of yellow fever, from which he recovered, and thence proceeded to the interior, where he was constantly employed in the performance of the most arduous and responsible service. At the conclusion of the war he returned home, bringing with him the seeds of a disease which finally terminated his useful and eventful life.

In the varied career of Gen. Kearney there was no point of character more prominent than his firmness at decision. He was cool and dispassionate in the formation of his judgment, and received counsel and suggestions with affability and attention, but when his own decision was made it was unchangeable. He was of rather a taciturn disposition, and seldom communicated his purposes or intentions to any one. His own mind was the store-house of his thoughts, and when the hour for action arrived he was always equal to the exigency of the occasion. The possession of these and other qualities gave him a hold upon the affections and confidence of the officers of the army, which rendered him an efficient and successful leader wherever duty called him. When it was reported that he was to be the commander of "The Army of the West," for the conquest of New Mexico, a thrill of joy and security ran through the breast of every man who expected to engage in that expedition. His knowledge of frontier duty, his familiarity with the plains, the Indians, the wants and necessities of an army in such an expedition, his brave and well-matured judgment, all pointed him out as the man to lead such an expedition, and volunteers rushed with alacrity to enroll themselves under his standard.

In another aspect of his history his memory is treasured by the citizens of the West. His early military career was on the frontier, and from the time of his entering the army until his death most of his duties were actively discharged for the protection and security of the border settlers. The character of his duties brought him conspicuously before his fellow-citizens, and while his good qualities secured their esteem, his firmness and sense of justice won their respect. He had long been regarded as identified with the West, and the West claimed him as her son. In St. Louis were his home, his wife, and interesting family, and, as far as duty permitted, this was the place of his hopes and affections.

His funeral in St. Louis, on Nov. 2, 1848, was, perhaps, the largest that had ever taken place in the city up to that time. At an early hour a large concourse of persons had congregated in front of St. George's Church, on Locust Street, and the several streets leading to it. At eleven o'clock the coffin was deposited in the church, Gen. Churchill, Col. Plympton, Col. Bainbridge, and Maj. Loring, on the part of the military, and Kenneth Mackenzie, William Glasgow, Sr., Dr. William Penn, and Andrew Elliott, on the part of the citizens, acting as pall-bearers. The funeral ceremonies were performed by the Right Rev. Bishop Hawks, of the Episcopal Church. After the ceremonies in the church were over the corpse was borne in front of the Seventh and Eighth Regiments of United States infantry and a troop of the First Dragoons, under command of Maj. Thompson, the whole brigade under the command of Col. Sumner, of the First Dragoons, to the hearse. The procession was then formed, under H. L. Patterson, chief marshal, with Thornton Grimsley, Charles Keemle, T. B. Hudson, and Fred. Kretschmar, assistant marshals, as follows: The two United States regiments of infantry and troop of dragoons, acting as a military escort, their drums, etc., muffled, and regimental and company colors draped in mourning. Then came two carriages, with the bishop and pall-bearers; the hearse, the led horse, and the body-servant of the general; carriages with pall-bearers; the family and relatives of the deceased, and the several volunteer companies of the city, under the command of Col. Fischer. The volunteers who had served under Gen. Kearney, citizens on horseback and in carriages, brought up the rear of the procession. The whole procession, when under way, was nearly a mile in length. Upon reaching the place of interment the body was deposited in a private vault, and the ceremonies performed by the bishop. Three rounds were fired by the infantry and six guns by the artillery. Throughout it was a solemn and impressive scene.[1]

[1] The *Republican* contains the following notices of military affairs:

The De Kalb Rangers received a reception at Bridgeton on the 19th of October, 1847. December 18th, "Capt. Korpony has authority to receive three hundred mounted volunteers to fill up the Third Regiment Missouri Mounted Volunteers. They are designed for service in New Mexico."

Feb. 29, 1848.—"Yesterday, in front of the court-house, on Chestnut Street, a handsome national flag was presented to Capt. G. Korpony and his recruits by Col. T. Grimsley, the selected organ of the ladies by whom it was prepared. Above the Stars and Stripes floated two streamers, the one red, the other white, bearing this inscription, 'Third Regiment Missouri Mounted Volunteers.'"

July 26, 1848.—"Mr. Kit Carson, bearer of dispatches from Governor Mason in California to the government at Washington, arrived in this city this morning from California. He left

Col. Samuel Macree, another distinguished officer in the Mexican war, died in St. Louis in July, 1849. Col. Macree was long attached to the army, and had seen much active service. He was in the Florida war, and during the Mexican war was a most efficient officer in his department. So well was his conduct approved by the government that the brevet of lieutenant-colonel was conferred upon him for his services on the Rio Grande. At the time of his death he was quartermaster of the United States army in St. Louis. He left a widow and several children.

In June, 1852, still another prominent officer of the Mexican war, and one who had been for many years a resident of St. Louis, died. Gen. Rennet Riley at the time of his death held the rank of brevet major-general in the army of the United States. That he had merit is proven by the fact that before the war of 1812 he was the foreman of a shoemaker's shop in Baltimore, a place of confidence, and justifying the belief that he was a master-workman. But this employment did not suit him, and he entered as a sailor on board one of the American privateers about the commencement of the war of 1812, but was unsuccessful in the cruise. Returning to Baltimore after war was declared, influential friends procured for him the commission of ensign in the army. This was the commencement of that career which afterwards gave him distinction and a proud name in the history of the country.

His commission of ensign in a rifle company bore date the 19th of January, 1813, at which time he was over twenty-two years of age. He was rapidly promoted from this position for gallant services during the war, in which he was actively employed on the Canada frontier. At the close of the war he was captain in one of the rifle regiments. In 1819 he was at Council Bluffs, and was transferred to the gallant Sixth Infantry, in which regiment were Atkinson, Leavenworth, Cummings, Foster, Brown, and other worthies. He distinguished himself in the expedition led by the gallant Leavenworth against the Arickaree Indians, and in which they were badly defeated. These Indians had attacked and routed a party of mountain trappers under Gens. Ashley and Henry, on the Missouri, and for this Leavenworth and his command took ample vengeance.

In 1826 he was appointed to command an escort to the traders to Santa Fé, and when near the Arkansas was attacked by the Indians, but totally routed them. After his regiment left Fort Leavenworth they were stationed at Jefferson Barracks, and here his intercourse with the people of St. Louis was of an unreserved character, and he acquired the friendship of all with whom he came in contact. In 1832 he, with his regiment, participated in the Black Hawk war, and contributed materially to the early termination of that war. In 1836 he was ordered to the Sabine, the Texas boundary. Thence his regiment was transferred to Florida, to take part in the Seminole war, and it is familiar to all how many gallant spirits gave up their lives for their country in that ignoble strife. The Sixth Regiment suffered fearfully in officers and men. He was commissioned brevet colonel "from the day on which was fought the battle of Chokachatta, Fla., in which he particularly distinguished himself by brave and gallant conduct, and for long, meritorious, and gallant service." The war in Florida having come to a termination, he was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of Second Infantry, and stationed on the lakes, and afterwards at Jefferson Barracks.

Of course the war with Mexico found him in the field, in command of the Second Brigade of Gen. Twigg's division, composed of the Fourth Artillery and the First and Seventh Infantry, on Gen. Scott's line. He participated in all the principal battles which marked Gen. Scott's march to the capital of the Montezumas, and received the brevet of brigadier-general for "gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Cerro Gordo, April 18, 1847," and the further brevet of major-general "for gallant conduct at Contreras, Aug. 20, 1847." He was also a gallant participant in the memorable battles of Cherubusco and Chapultepec, and was always distinguished by his courage and the judgment and coolness with which he went into battle.

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the City of the Angels on the 5th of May with an escort of twenty men, and met with no adventure of any interest on the route so far as Santa Fé. Mr. Carson performed the entire journey from California to the Missouri River on the same set of animals. After leaving Taos he avoided the main road, fearing the hostility of the Indians, and therefore saw no parties of traders."

October 22.—"*St. Louis Grays.*—This volunteer company, which has been recently organized under the command of Capt. West, paraded on Friday to escort the remains of Lieut. Ridgely to the grave."

November 14.—"*Honor to Returned Volunteers.*—The Laclede Battalion of St. Louis volunteers yesterday paraded as an escort to do honor to the volunteers recently returned from Mexico. The several companies met at their respective quarters, and about twelve o'clock took up the line of march, and with their guests paraded through several of the principal streets, and then proceeded to the St. Louis Park. At the park the volunteers were welcomed and addressed by Wilson Primm, to which Capt. Fischer and Adjt. Holmes each responded. After these exercises the Laclede Battalion formed in line and saluted their guests as they passed into the saloon, where a sumptuous repast was provided."

On his return from Mexico he was ordered to the command of the Military Department in California, where he exercised civil as well as military power, and so well did he deport himself that it was contemplated at one time to elect him to the Senate of the United States from California, but this he declined. For two or three years before his death he had been residing with his family at Buffalo, N. Y., where he died in the sixty-second year of his age. He married Miss Israel, of Philadelphia, in 1830, and several children were born to them, one of whom was a promising young officer in the navy.

It may be stated as an evidence of the high estimation entertained for him by the people of Missouri that the Legislature caused to be procured and presented to him a splendid sword, and he was accustomed to refer in terms of gratified sensibility to this testimonial of the State in his favor.

Gen. Riley was not an educated man, but he was ready in word and action. He was slow in writing, it is said, and on one occasion, when he could ill brook a taunting allusion to this defect in his early education, he put an end to it by saying, "By G—d, I can make my *mark!*" Gen. Riley was the very soul of chivalry. He was incapable of a mean action, and never tolerated it in another. He was devoted to his profession and his country, and it may be said with propriety that in his death the army lost one of the *preux chevaliers* who have given to it so much of its glory.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CIVIL WAR.[1]

—THE accession of the Republican or anti-slavery party to power filled the Southern States with dismay, and created the greatest excitement throughout the country. Hardly had this result been ascertained before some of the extreme Southern States began military preparations, and set

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on foot measures to carry into effect their oft-repeated threats of secession, and of confederation in resistance to alleged Northern encroachments. Meetings were held in every city, town, and village, and these were addressed in vehement language by members of Congress and other prominent speakers. Resistance to the authority of the new administration and the duty of the Southern States to secede from the Union were the chief topics of their impassioned appeals to the people. On the 20th of December the State Convention of South Carolina, after a brief debate, passed the ordinance of secession by a unanimous vote, and on the following day a declaration of the causes which had led to this action was also adopted.

The announcement of the passage of the ordinance of secession excited general enthusiasm in all the more Southern slave States, but in the border States it served to intensify the painful feeling with which their people had watched the progress of events in South Carolina. That the action of the latter State had been hasty and ill judged a majority even of the people of the South admitted; and this fact gave additional poignancy to the general sorrow with which this first disunion movement was regarded. By the passage of the South Carolina ordinance of secession an impetus was given to the prevailing excitement in the South, and the measures of the cotton States looking in the same direction were greatly accelerated. Mississippi followed the example of South Carolina on the 9th of January, 1861; Alabama and Florida, January 11th; Georgia, January 20th; Louisiana, January 26th; Texas, February 1st; Virginia, April 17th; Tennessee, May 6th; Arkansas, May 18th; North Carolina, May 21st; and Kentucky, November 20th.

Missouri, as an exposed and frontier slaveholding State, had a large practical interest in the maintenance of the guarantees of the Constitution. From her geographical position she had a heavier stake, proportionately, in the preservation of the Union, as far as her material prosperity was concerned, than any of her sister Commonwealths of the South. This is clearly demonstrated by a consideration of the sources of her wealth, and the nature and direction of her industries and commerce, external and internal. Bound to the Constitution and the United States by every tie that interest could weave or strengthen, she had been uniformly loyal to the performance of every obligation imposed by the one or suggested by her devotion to the other, and in all the dissensions which sectional feeling and fanatical agitation had promoted her support had invariably been given to moderate doctrines and conciliatory counsels. Sympathizing with the South in her wrongs and just resentments, and

[1] In the limited space at our command it is impossible to treat that portion of the history of the city and county of St. Louis embraced between the years 1860 and 1866 except in the briefest possible manner. During the period in question almost every day bristled with prominent local events, and every week gave birth to numberless incidents of local or general interest. The magnitude of the subject and the multiplicity of the details required in a connected narrative of one of the most interesting and stirring epochs in the history of the city demand a far more extended and elaborate treatment than can be given within our present limits, and we have therefore been forced, reluctantly, to content ourselves with simply a chronological presentation of the most prominent events in St. Louis history during the period of the civil war.

ready at all times to make common cause with her in the constitutional maintenance of her rights, she had at the same time studiously kept aloof from 1860. the mad heresies and passionate bitterness of the more radical Southern leaders. Being the only border slaveholding State west of the Mississippi River, and lying contiguous to Kansas, she had often suffered from the aggressions of the Northern States, but had always been prompt to repel them within the limits of her constitutional resources and Federal allegiance, and had done nothing whatever to widen the breach between the antagonistic sections of the republic, or to weaken the hands of those conservative Northern citizens who were nobly struggling to maintain the good faith and integrity of the national compact.

—The General Assembly of Missouri began its twenty-first annual session Dec. 30, 1860, at Jefferson City, and on the 4th of January, 1861, Clai- 1861. borne F. Jackson was inaugurated as Governor. In his first message Governor Jackson recommended the immediate calling of a State Convention "to consider the relations between the government of the United States, the people and governments of the different States, and the government and the people of the State of Missouri, and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded."

In accordance with this suggestion, a bill was passed on the 18th of January calling the convention, which was to meet at Jefferson City on the 28th of February. In the mean time (on the 18th of January) Hon. Daniel R. Russell, who had been appointed a commissioner from Mississippi, had addressed the Assembly on the advisability of co-operation on the part of Missouri with Mississippi and the other Southern States in the adoption of efficient measures for the common defense and safety of the slaveholding States.

—Considerable excitement was caused in St. Louis on the 9th of January by the arrival of a small body of troops from Newport Barracks to reinforce the garrison at Jefferson Barracks. The excitement continued to increase until the 11th, when it became intense, owing to the fact that Lieut. Thompson, with a squad of United States soldiers, had entered the city, occupied the custom-house and sub-treasury, and removed the government funds. Affairs in the city then assumed such a threatening aspect that Mayor Filley, on the afternoon of the same day, sent a message to the City Council, in which he said, "Very general and unusual excitement prevails in our community, and, although I do not apprehend that any actual disturbance or interference with the rights of our citizens will ensue, yet I deem it best that all proper precautionary measures should be taken to fully prepare for any event. I would hence recommend 1861. that the members of the Council from each ward select from among their best citizens such a number of men as the exigencies of the case may seem to require, and to organize them to be ready for any emergency. Our citizens are entitled to the full protection of the laws, and must have it."

—On the 9th of January a number of the members of the Democratic party held a public meeting at Washington Hall, and adopted a series of resolutions, one of which called for the appointment of "a committee of twenty to act with a committee of the 'Union party,' for the purpose of opposing black Republicanism."

About the same time the leading unconditional Republicans, or Union men, agreed with certain leaders of the Democratic party to hold a grand Union meeting at the court-house on Saturday, January 12th, "to declare the sentiments of St. Louis on the great issues before the country."

On the morning of that day the Democratic papers announced that the meeting was expected "to assert its loyalty to the Union, and at the same time to take position in favor of the 'Crittenden Proposition,' as a fair basis for the adjustment of all the real differences between the free and the slave States." This proposition, which was thus announced for the first time, met with great objection from the Republicans, who desired to affirm their unconditional devotion to the Union. Hon. Francis P. Blair, after consultation with the leading men of his party, decided that the only legitimate course for them to pursue would be to declare their unalterable fidelity to the Union under any and all circumstances. As this could not be done under the arrangements for the proposed meeting without producing angry debate and probably serious consequences, he determined to advise his Republican friends to decline participation in it. Consequently, on the morning of the meeting-day (January 12th) the following placard was posted around the city:

"UNION MEETING.

"TO THE REPUBLICANS!

"As it seems to be the determination of those who called the Union meeting to-day to take narrower ground in support of the Union of the States than that which the Republicans of this city have already assumed, we have judged it expedient to advise the Republicans not to participate in the meeting to-day, but to maintain the position already assumed in favor of the Union under all circumstances.

"FRANK P. BLAIR, "F. A. DICK,
"P. L. FOY, "S. T. GLOVER,
"WM. MCKEE, "R. S. HART."

The meeting was held as announced at the east front of the court-house, and was a grand Union demonstration. At noon a salute of thirty-three guns was fired on the Levee, followed by another at two o'clock. Precisely at this hour the meeting was called to order by Capt. N. J. Eaton, and on his motion Col. Robert Campbell was chosen president. The following gentlemen were selected as vice-presidents:

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Col. John O'Fallon, Bernard Pratte, Gen. N. Ranney, D. D. Mitchell, Ed. Haren, H. L. Patterson, J. W. Wills, Robert M. Funkhouser, Adolphus Meier, Samuel Gaty, Chas. Todd, Wm. Patrick, John Hogan, Edward Dobyns, Daniel G. Taylor, Wayman Crow, D. A. January, Jas. E. Yeatman, Andrew Harper, Andrew Christy, Dr. Linton, L. D. Baker, Jas. H. Lucas, Isaac H. Sturgeon, R. J. Lockwood, P. G. Camden, Judge Luckland, J. A. Brownlee, H. E. Bridge, George Penn, A. Gamble, Gerard B. Allen, D. H. Donovan, J. H. Alexander, Thomas Skinker Marshall Brotherton, John F. Darby, Sol. Smith, J. B. Brant, A. D. Stewart, John G. Priest, John S. McCune, M. M. Pallen.

Secretaries, E. N. Tracy, J. B. S. Lemoine.

A committee on resolutions was appointed as follows:

John D. Coalter, Logan Hunton, Albert Todd, A. S. Mitchell, C. C. Whittelsey, W. T. Wood.

The committee retired for action, whereupon Judge H. Gamble, being called upon, addressed the vast assemblage. At the conclusion of his speech the committee through Judge Coalter reported the following resolutions:

"The citizens of St. Louis, in mass-meeting assembled, not as party men, declare that, living as we do under a republican form of government, whose basis is public opinion, we (a portion of the people of Missouri) believe it to be our right and duty to set forth our sentiments in this crisis of public affairs, and therefore be it

"*Resolved*, 1. That we are warmly attached to the government under which we live; that we recognize the Federal Union as the great preservative of our liberties; that under it we have, by God's providence, prospered beyond all other people, and even beyond the expectations of our patriot sires, who established it as the best means of perpetuating the blessings which they so gallantly fought for and gained.

"2. That under this government we are respected abroad, prosperous at home, and fast taking our true position as the leading nation of the earth.

"3. That we do not recognize as a necessity any conflict between the institutions of the people of this great country, but, on the contrary, we see in our widely extended territory, our varieties of climate, soil, productions, domestic institutions, modes of industry, and even modes of thought, only the grounds for a more perfect union. In this variety we see nature's great laws pervading an extent, and a necessary characteristic of every great people and widely extended empire.

"4. Valuing as we do thus highly the American Union, we should regard its dissolution as eminently disastrous to our country, and as tending to injure the cause of rational liberty throughout the world.

"5. That as our fathers denounced so we denounce as hostile to the Union the formation of all parties upon a purely sectional basis; and while the temporary ascendency and triumph of such parties is not, of itself, sufficient cause for the dissolution of the Union and overthrow of the government, yet it is sufficient cause for us to give, as we now give, earnest and solemn warning that the Union cannot continue unless all constitutional rights are secured against encroachments.

"6. That the possession of slave property is a constitutional right, and, as such, ought to be ever recognized by the Federal government; that if the Federal government shall fail and refuse to secure this right the Southern States should be found united in its defense, in which event Missouri will share the common duties and common danger of the South.

"7. That the discord prevailing for forty years between the people of the Northern and the Southern States, touching the relation of the Federal government to slavery, affords sufficient reason for all sections of the Union to require a clear and final settlement of all matters in dispute by amendments to the Constitution, so that the slavery question may never again disturb the public peace or impair the national harmony.

"8. That we have ever reposed faith in the virtue, intelligence, and justice of the American people, and now give it as our opinion that if time and opportunity be given they will, when freed from the pernicious influence of mere politicians and demagogues, gladly and cordially agree to such terms of adjustment of our troubles as will secure to all the States equality in the Union and re-establish fraternal relations between the people of the different sections, and revive everywhere the love for our glorious Union; and we cordially approve of the principles of adjustment contained in what are known as the Crittenden Propositions, and believe that a settlement upon such a basis should and will be satisfactory to all parts of the country; and we give it as our unhesitating opinion that if opportunity for a direct vote on the propositions be given, the people, or their representatives elected for that purpose in convention, by overwhelming majorities in all parts of the Union would be found to favor their adoption; and, in our opinion, the country can only be saved from the horrors of civil war by the adoption of some such measure of compromise.

"9. That, holding these views, we are not prepared to abandon the Union with all its blessings while any hope of adjustment remains. Until then we will maintain our place in the Union, and contend for and demand our equal and constitutional rights, and will not be content with less.

"10. That, in the opinion of this meeting, the employment of the military forces of the government to enforce submission from the citizens of the seceding States will inevitably plunge the country in civil war, and will immediately endanger, if it do not entirely extinguish, all hopes of a settlement of the fearful issues now pending before the country. We therefore earnestly entreat, as well the Federal government as the seceding States, to withhold and stay the arm of military power, and on no pretext whatever to bring on the nation the horrors of civil war, until the people themselves can take such action as our troubles demand.

"11. That the people of Missouri should meet in convention for the purpose of taking action in the present state of the nation's affairs, at the same time to protect the Union of the States and the rights and authority of this State under the Constitution; and to secure a consummation so devoutly to be wished Missouri should consult with her sister States, that by united action those fraternal feelings which fanatics at both North and South have turned into bitterness and wrath be again restored, and mutual affection control all passion and redress all grievances.

"12. That in the call of a convention representation should be in proportion to population, as near as may be, and that the final action of the convention should be submitted to the people for their approval and ratification at the polls."

The reading of each clause produced cheers from the assemblage, and the resolution indorsing the Crittenden Propositions particularly was received with the
1861. greatest enthusiasm. "Three times three" cheers were given for Hon. John J. Crittenden. The meeting then adjourned, but the assemblage, not willing to disperse, called upon Maj. Uriel Wright for a speech. Maj. Wright accordingly addressed the meeting, and at the conclusion of his speech the vast throng gave three cheers for the Union. After Maj. Wright had concluded his remarks, Col. L. V. Bogy was called to the stand and made a short speech, in which he expressed strong Union sentiments. He was followed by C. C. Whittelsey, who took a philosophical view of the state of the country, and thought if the people remained cool all the difficulties would be settled peaceably. Speeches were also made by Mr. Sanders, Col. Henry N. Hart, Mr. Strong, Mr. Cullen, Hon. C. Kribben, Gen. N. Ranney, and others. It was nearly dark before the assemblage left the court-house.

—On the 17th of January, Britton A. Hill published an eloquent "appeal to the people of the United States in behalf of peace, of compromise, and of the Union," and on the same day the following memorial to Congress was very extensively signed by all classes of citizens and forwarded to Washington:

"The undersigned, citizens of the State of Missouri, view with alarm the present condition of public affairs. They have seen with great regret the secession of four States from the Union, so far as the action on the part of those States is concerned, and they fear that others may follow the example. They deeply regret that any condition of national affairs should have brought about such an issue; and, without going into an examination of the causes which have impelled sister States to this act, they pray your honorable body at once to pass such acts as will restore the Union and give peace to the country. And in this connection they beg leave to say that the adoption of the propositions contained in what are known as the Crittenden resolutions would be received by the border States as a satisfactory adjustment of existing difficulties, and render us once more a united and happy people."

—On January 17th, Maj. Higgins, an old and highly esteemed citizen of the Ninth Ward, raised a Union pole on Broadway near the "Reveille House," and hoisted the American flag on it.

—A meeting of the citizens of Carondelet, irrespective of party, was held at Lafayette Hall on Thursday evening, January 17th. Maj. Thomas Harney, on motion of Dr. Robert J. Hornsby, was called to the chair, and on motion of W. B. Quigley, Maj. Thomas W. Levant and Dr. A. W. Webster were appointed vice-presidents, and Edward Haren, Jr., secretary. On motion of J. M. Loughborough, Messrs. J. M. Loughborough, W. L. Hornsby, Socrates Newman, R. R. Southard, M. Chartrand, Josiah Cross, and J. F. Hume were appointed a committee on resolutions.

Mr. Loughborough, on the part of the majority of the committee, reported the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That we cordially approve and indorse the resolutions adopted at the mass-meeting of the citizens of St. Louis County, held at the court-house on last Saturday.

"*Resolved*, That as the Federal government was formed by the people of each State, and was sustained by the affection of each to the whole, it can only be continued by a similar affection, and not by the force of arms."

Mr. Hume presented a minority report.

On motion of Dr. Hornsby, the majority report was agreed to.

The meeting was addressed by Mr. Stafford and Maj. Harney, of Carondelet, and Maj. Uriel Wright, of St. Louis.

—"A meeting of the citizens of all political parties opposed to the black Republican rule in the city of St. Louis" was held on Dec. 26, 1860. It was called to order by Col. T. Grimsley, and John F. Darby was appointed chairman, and Charles C. Whittelsey, secretary. A committee consisting of Charles C. Whittelsey, Albert Todd, James E. Yeatman, John M. Krum, James M. Hughes, Daniel H. Donovan, and Thornton Grimsley, who were "opposed to the principles and practices of the Republican party," was appointed for the purpose of consulting together, and to report to the next meeting "the best policy for the citizens of St. Louis to adopt in view of the present condition of public affairs." The committee was authorized to "take under consideration the municipal affairs of the city of St. Louis only," and were to report at a meeting to be held on the 18th of January, 1861. At the time appointed the meeting again assembled, with John F. Darby in the chair, and Henry Overstolz and James E. Yeatman as vice-presidents, and P. B. Garesche, secretary. After some discussion, participated in by Messrs. Wayman Crow, James E. Yeatman, P. B. Garesche, Albert Todd, Daniel H. Donovan, Grimsley, H. N. Hart, A. S. Mitchell, J. C. Barlow, and others, the committee appointed at the first meeting amended their address, written by Hon. Albert Todd, so as to read, "to all who are opposed to the Republicans of the city of St. Louis," and the programme of measures recommended for "the overthrow of the present black Republican rule in the city at the coming municipal election in April next" was adopted.

—On January 29th, Thomas C. Johnson, of St. Louis, introduced into the Senate of Missouri a joint resolution appointing commissioners to the "Peace

Congress" which was to assemble in Washington on February 4th. After some amendments the resolution was adopted, and the following commis-
1861. sioners were appointed, who left without delay for Washington City: Nat. C. Claiborne, Waldo P. Johnson, John D. Coalter, A. W. Doniphan, Harrison Hough, and A. H. Buckner.

—During the Presidential campaign of 1860 the Republicans of St. Louis had organized the celebrated "Wide Awake" club, which afterwards, under the leadership of Hon. Francis Preston Blair, Jr., became the basis of the Unconditional Union party in St. Louis. After the election of Mr. Lincoln the original purposes of the club ceased to exist; but owing to the critical condition of public affairs, Mr. Blair advised the reorganization of the "St. Louis Wide Awakes," and in the latter part of December, 1860, meetings were held in the various wards for that purpose. The calls for enrollment of members were promptly and enthusiastically responded to, but after an organization had been perfected, the movements of the opposition led to an abandonment of their project by the Wide Awakes and the organization of the more popular Union clubs in their stead. Accordingly, on the 11th of January, 1861, a meeting was held at Washington Hall of all those in favor of the Union under any and all circumstances, at which the Wide Awakes were formally disbanded and a Union club organized. Subsequently all the Union men in the city of St. Louis, irrespective of old party ties, were invited to join the new association. The first political movement of this organization was the election of delegates to represent St. Louis in the State Convention, which was to assemble at Jefferson City on February 28th. In view of the critical condition of affairs, the Unconditional Union leaders acted with the greatest caution. Most of the ultra Republicans were in favor of placing a straight-out Republican ticket in the field upon an Unconditional Union platform, but Messrs. G. F. Filley, O. D. Filley, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, F. P. Blair, Jr., and other prominent men in the old Republican party of St. Louis advised a more prudent course. James Peckham, in his interesting work on "Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, and Missouri in 1861," says,—

"Mr. Blair explained his anxiety to secure the aid of the State generally in behalf of the Union, and it was to be feared that the prejudice against the Republicans was so powerful that the masses, as well as the leaders who were favorable to the Union, would refuse to support a Republican ticket, no matter who were the candidates. It was upon this idea that Mr. Blair had advised the abandonment of the 'Wide Awakes' in January, and that he now advised a further abandonment of the Republican organization in the pending contest. 'I don't believe,' said a Republican partisan, 'in breaking up the Republican party just to please these tender-footed Unionists. I believe in sticking to the party.'—'Let us have a COUNTRY first,' responded Mr. Blair, 'and then we can talk about parties.'"

A meeting of Unconditional Union men was held in Mercantile Library Hall, January 31st, at which Sol. Smith was made chairman. Resolutions in favor of the Union were passed, and a committee of twenty was appointed to present to an adjourned meeting the names of suitable candidates for the convention. This committee of twenty was made up of Bell and Everett men and Douglas men. Mr. Blair was in constant consultation with this committee, and gave the movement his indorsement. By the call of the chairman of the former meeting, all Unconditional Union men were invited to meet at Verandah Hall on the 6th of February, for the purpose of receiving the report of the committee. The meeting was largely attended, with Sol. Smith in the chair, and John Riggin secretary. The committee of twenty reported, through Mr. Alexander, the following names as Unconditional Union candidates for the convention: Ferd. Meyer, George R. Taylor, Dr. M. L. Linton, H. R. Gamble, Hudson E. Bridge, John F. Long, Sol. Smith, J. H. Shackelford, Uriel Wright, Turner Maddox, William S. Cuddy, James O. Broadhead, Isador Busch, John How, and Henry Hitchcock.

Mr. Peckham says, "An effort was made to consider the names separately, which might have resulted in discarding several names on the ticket, had it not been for the argument of Messrs. James S. Knight, A. Mitchell, and Mr. Blair. From Messrs. Knight and Mitchell the meeting learned that the first three named were 'Douglasites,' the following seven were 'Bell-Everetts,' and the last four 'black Republicans.' At this last designation by Mr. Knight a storm arose, and cries of 'take it back' resounded from all parts of the hall. Mr. Knight pleasantly apologized, and was in turn cheered. Mr. Blair, in a speech of great power, said he did not care what parties gentlemen had belonged to. He was for a new party, an Unconditional Union party, for a party that would stand by the Union in any emergency, and he was satisfied with the ticket as it was presented. He was for remaining in the Union, and in St. Louis too, whether the State went out or not. If Missouri seceded, he was for St. Louis seceding from Missouri; and he wanted all the help he could get to keep her in the Union. In the crisis that was upon us men must cease to belong to parties, and belong, for the time, to the country. It was not a season to talk about individual preferences. What was wanted he felt would be cordially granted, and that was *a perfect forgetfulness of past organizations in the determination to save the Union!*

"The motion to consider the names separately was then withdrawn, and the whole ticket was nominated amid great enthusiasm. Subsequently George R. Taylor, William S. Cuddy, and Turner Maddox declined being candidates, and T. T. Gantt, Samuel M. Breckenridge, and Robert Holmes were elected to fill the ticket. In their letters of declination both Taylor and Maddox declared their fidelity to the Union cause."

—In pursuance of a call signed by "Union men" who were in favor of "giving the South all her consti-

tutional rights," a "Constitutional Union" meeting was held at Washington Hall on the 4th of February, and the following gentlemen having
1861. received the indorsement of the meeting became candidates for the State Convention: John L. Coalter, Henry Overstolz, Uriel Wright, D. A. January, Albert Todd, J. W. Willis, William T. Wood, N. J. Eaton, H. S. Turner, George Penn, H. R. Gamble, L. V. Bogy, L. M. Kennett, P. B. Garesche.

The campaign was opened by the "Constitutional Union" party at a public meeting held in the St. Louis Hall, corner of Biddle and Fifth Streets, on February 8th.

The meeting was called to order by T. F. Keane, upon whose motion Col. Thornton Grimsley was elected president, with the following additional officers: Vice-Presidents, James E. Yeatman, John F. Darby, Fidelio C. Sharp, Andrew Middleton, Edward Brooks, S. H. Laflin, Joseph McBride, Bernard Pratte, Joseph H. Locke, Samuel Gaty; Secretaries, C. C. Whittelsey, Calvin F. Byrnes, H. W. Williams.

Upon taking the chair, Col. Grimsley delivered a short but fervent and eloquent address, in which he took occasion to recite the objects contemplated in the nomination of the Constitutional ticket. At the conclusion of his remarks he introduced Judge William T. Wood, one of the Constitutional candidates for delegates, who delivered an address upon the issues before the people.

Loud calls were then made for Col. Bogy, who in response took the stand and delivered a short but spirited and forcible speech.

Hon. Albert Todd, who was next called to the stand, delivered an eloquent and patriotic address.

On the 9th of February the friends of the Constitutional Union ticket held a grand ratification meeting at Verandah Hall.

The meeting was called to order by ex-Mayor Washington King, upon whose motion Samuel Gaty was elected president. The following additional officers were then elected: Vice-Presidents, Thornton Grimsley, George W. Dreyer, James H. Lucas, H. N. Hart, Thomas C. Chester, Col. S. Wood, Asa Wilgus, Michael A. Hogan, John S. McCune, Earl Matlack, Capt. D. B. Hill, Capt. John Reilly, Gerard B. Allen, Thomas Skinker, Matthias Steitz, John D. Daggett, R. M. Parks, T. T. January, Levin D. Baker, Richard C. Ludlow, P. P. Tippett; Secretaries, Ed. N. Tracy, Charles Miller.

C. C. Whittelsey then offered the following resolutions, which were adopted with overwhelming unanimity:

"We, citizens of St. Louis, opposed to the black Republican party, in mass-meeting assembled, declare, in the language used by the Father of his Country, in his Farewell Address, 'that the unity of the government which constitutes one people is dear to us.' In the language of Washington in that same address, we say, further, that 'toward the preservation of our happy state it is requisite not only that we discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that we resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus undermine what cannot directly be overthrown.'

"We charge that the Republican party is, in the language of Washington, truly characterized by 'geographical discrimination' as a sectional party, whose bond of union is hostility to an institution common to fifteen States of this Union; we charge that it is seeking, under the forms of the Constitution, to subvert its spirit by denying, as that party has done in its platform of principles adopted at Chicago, to the slaveholding States their equality in the Union, by denying to the citizens of Missouri and her sister slaveholding States their rights in the common territories of the States. We therefore feel it to be our duty to resist any such innovation upon the principles of the Constitution which created this American Union, however specious the pretext.

"To this end we do heartily approve the resolutions adopted at the Constitutional Convention held at Mercantile Library Hall on Saturday, February 2d, and do ourselves adopt them. . . .

"Thus approving the principles of said resolutions, we do accept the nominations of said convention of candidates for delegates to the convention of the people of Missouri, to be held on the 28th of February, and in union for the sake of the Union we will do what we can to elect the Constitutional ticket by an overwhelming majority, and thus remove from St. Louis the stigma of being an anti-slavery black Republican county, hostile to the institutions of the State of Missouri, of which State we are proud to be citizens."

After the applause following the reading of the foregoing had subsided, Dr. D. A. January was introduced and made an eloquent speech. He was followed by Messrs. P. B. Garesche, Capt. N. J. Eaton, Maj. Wright, Hon. Luther M. Kennett, Louis V. Bogy, William T. Wood, and Albert Todd.

Another "grand rally" of the Constitutional Union party was held on the 13th, at which Col. Charles S. Clarkson and Messrs. Kennett, Wright, Garesche, Davis, of Illinois, Pauley, and others made speeches. The president of the meeting was James H. McBride, and the vice-presidents were Jas. S. Wilgus, James Shea, Joseph Garneau, Thornton Grimsley, Edward Ludlow, P. T. McSherry, J. D. McAuliff, George Light, Joseph McBride, Jacob Kern, John Mulloy, George Ward, Col. S. Woods, Louis Vallé, Z. T. Knott, William Pope, F. Beehler, Joseph H. Locke, Michael A. Hogan, Charles Todd, Samuel Gaty, James Sweeny, P. J. Pauley, John Busby, Andrew Middleton, John Shiffman, Andrew Reinstadtler, George W. West, J. W. Scimers, Patrick Driscoll,

Adolph Philibert, C. Pullis, Frank Weston, A. H. Menkins, L. D. Baker. The secretaries were R. C. Ludlow and Capt. P. Naughton.

1861. The last general meeting of the same party for the campaign was held in the rotunda of the court-house on the 16th, and was called to order by R. C. Ludlow, on whose motion J. B. S. Lemoine was elected chairman. The following additional officers were chosen: Vice-Presidents, Henry Whitimore, Ezra O. English, Jas. E. Yore, Col. Chiles, John Ramsey, Wm. F. Stacey, Wm. S. Cuddy, Dr. R. A. Stevens, Thos. Skinker, R. Southard, John C. Degenhardt, John Young, M. W. Warne, Samuel Robbins, L. D. Baker, Wm. S. Stamps, Archibald Carr, Chas. S. Rannells, Andrew Harper, John S. McCune; Secretaries, T. F. Keane, Jas. O. Alter.

At this meeting speeches were made by Col. L. M. Kennett, Judge Wood, Col. Bogy, Mr. Todd, and others.

After a very exciting canvass, during which State rights, slavery, secession, coercion, and many other national subjects were exhaustively discussed, the election took place on February 18th. In many localities throughout the State the direct issue was made for and against the passage by the convention of an ordinance of secession on the part of Missouri, subject, however, to the ratification or rejection of the voters of the State. The election resulted in the choice of a large majority of delegates opposed to secession by a popular majority of over eighty thousand votes. In St. Louis County the Unconditional Union ticket was elected by nearly six thousand majority. The delegates elected from St. Louis County, or the Twenty-ninth District, were Samuel M. Brackenridge, John How, Dr. M. L. Linton, Hudson E. Bridge, Thomas T. Gantt, Hamilton R. Gamble, John F. Long, Uriel Wright, Ferdinand Meyer, Henry Hitchcock, Robert Holmes, James O. Broadhead, Sol. Smith, Isador Busch, and John H. Shackelford. On the 28th of February the convention assembled in the court-house at Jefferson City, and organized by the election of Sterling Price as chairman. Robert A. Campbell, who was then a distinguished lawyer of St. Louis, was made assistant secretary. On the second day the convention adjourned to meet in Mercantile Library Hall in St. Louis on March 4th. It reassembled pursuant to adjournment, and during its session in St. Louis adopted some important measures. In a series of resolutions the convention, in the hope of averting the calamities of civil war, declared that it was opposed to secession and in favor of the maintenance of the Union, and that it was opposed to the use of coercion by the general government against the seceding States or the employment of military force by these States against the government. After the firing upon Fort Sumter, however, the opinions of a large majority of the members underwent a change and became more radical. The convention continued in session until March 22d, when it adjourned. It reassembled at Jefferson City July 22d, and after continuing in session until the last day of the month again adjourned, but was reconvened by proclamation of Governor Gamble on Oct. 10, 1861, at Mercantile Hall, St. Louis, and after a session of eight days adjourned. On June 2, 1862, it again assembled at Jefferson City, and on the 14th adjourned. On June 15, 1863, it met again at Jefferson City, and continued in session until July 1st, when it adjourned *sine die*. During one of its sessions (on July 31, 1861) the convention elected Hamilton R. Gamble, William P. Hall, and Mordecai Oliver respectively Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Secretary of State, in place of Claiborne F. Jackson, Thomas C. Reynolds, and Benj. F. Massey, whose seats had been declared vacant.

—An anti-Republican public meeting was held at the court-house March 30th, which was organized by the selection of Capt. N. J. Eaton as president; David B. Hill, Bernard Heidecker, John C. Degenhart, James G. Barry, E. C. Sloan, James H. Lucas, Dr. M. M. Pallen, Washington King, C. D. Blossom, J. P. Robinson, P. T. McSherry, John H. Fischer as vice-presidents; and Ed. Tracy and Louis T. Kretschmar as secretaries. Among those who made speeches were Daniel G. Taylor, George R. Taylor, and Gen. Riley, member of the Legislature.

—Dispatches were received on April 13th announcing the firing on Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, by the Confederate forces under Gen. Beauregard. The dispatches were very unsatisfactory, but the news created intense excitement throughout the city.

—On the 15th of April, President Lincoln made a requisition on Governor Jackson for four regiments of men, to which the Governor replied as follows:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF MISSOURI,
"JEFFERSON CITY, April 17, 1861.

"TO THE HON. SIMON CAMERON,
"Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

"SIR,—Your dispatch of the 15th inst., making a call on Missouri for four regiments of men for immediate service, has been received. There can be, I apprehend, no doubt but these men are intended to form part of the President's army to make war upon the people of the seceded States. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary, in its object inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on any such unholy crusade.

"C. F. JACKSON,
"Governor of Missouri."

—The following advice to the merchants of St. Louis in making out their manifests and invoices for their custom-house returns was furnished by Com. W. G. Dales, formerly of the United States navy, but at this time an officer of customs at New Orleans, in the Confederate States:

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"In shipping dutiable goods for way points in the new Confederacy, merchants should prepare a printed manifest and invoice of the property shipped, and furnish the clerk of the steamer the same in triplicate. The form of the manifest can be seen at the captain's rooms, Merchants' Exchange. The invoice of all such property must accompany the shipment, or it will be detained at Norfolk, and thus entail upon all parties in interest much trouble and anxiety, with a probable loss of all."[1]

—A military company called "The Southern Guard" was organized at the State tobacco warehouse on April 20th. Their motto was, "Thrice is he armed who has his quarrel just." About fifty men signed the following preamble:

"In view of the present state of our country, and deeming it necessary that the State of Missouri should be armed and ready for any emergency that may arise, we, the undersigned, being unalterably attached to Southern institutions, and willing and determined to defend them to the bitter end, have formed ourselves into a military organization, to be called the Southern Guard."

The following officers were then elected: James T. Shackelford, captain; J. Z. Buskit, first lieutenant; Jos. S. Dear, second lieutenant; and D. F. Samuels, third lieutenant.

—The steamer "C. E. Hillman," on her trip from St. Louis to Nashville, Tenn., was seized and detained at Cairo, Ill., on April 26th, by the military commandant at that point, because she had on board arms and munitions of war "consigned to parties in a State in the Union." G. K. McGunnegle, president of the Board of Underwriters of St. Louis, complained to Governor Richard Yates, of Illinois, on April 26th, of the illegal seizure, and on the 29th the steamer, with the remainder of the cargo, was turned over to the owners.

—Capt. Henry Little, of the Seventh Regiment of Infantry, United States army, resigned his commission in April. The captain was a native of Maryland, and had been in the army over twenty years.

—On May 5th a number of guns and equipments belonging to Maj. McKinstry were seized by the Home Guards in the warehouse of James L. Pease on Market Street.

—On the 10th of May occurred the affair of Camp Jackson, of which a full account will be found later on in this work.

—J. B. Moulton, superintendent of the North Missouri Railroad, on May 11th announced that the military had taken possession of his railroad depot in the city, and that all freights passing over the road would be subject to military inspection.

—The *Missouri Republican* of May 18th contained the following in relation to the seizure of arms and the movement of troops in St. Louis:

"Yesterday there was another seizure of arms and military accoutrements in this city. The seizure was made, however, by civil process, and consequently gave rise to no difficulty, as was the case at Camp Jackson, where military power was brought to bear, independent of civil authority. It appears that several days ago a quantity of muskets, about two hundred in all, were purchased by a private citizen, out of his own pocket, for the purpose of arming the Constitutional Guards. After the terrible results of placing arms in the hands of raw recruits were made manifest by the 'Home Guards' at Camp Jackson and on Walnut Street, it was deemed advisable not to place these arms in the hands of the Constitutional Guards, and they were accordingly taken to the Central Police Station, and leave was granted whereby they might be left there for the time being for safe-keeping. Yesterday afternoon, however, Marshal Rawlings appeared with a writ of replevin from the United States District Court, at the instance of Capt. Lyon, U. S. A., with ample bonds, and demanded the arms. Chief of Police McDonough replied that he had no authority over the

[1] Before any attempt was made to provision Fort Sumter, and before Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated President, the Confederates undertook to restrict the navigation of the Mississippi. The Quitman Battery was ordered to Vicksburg on the 12th of January, 1861, to hail and bring in all passing boats, and on the following day the river steamer "A. O. Tyler" (which was afterwards transformed into a gunboat and did good service) was brought to by a shot across her bow. Early in the succeeding month a custom-house was formally established at Melm's Landing, near the State line of Mississippi. The following extracts are from a circular issued by the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury:

"CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
"TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
"MONTGOMERY, Feb. 6, 1861.

"The regulations and instructions prepared by this department under this date are transmitted for the information and government of the officers of the several branches of the public service referred to therein. . . .

"Collectors and revenue officers above the port of New Orleans, within the Confederate States, in the adoption and practice enjoined by the regulations, will be under the general supervision, as far as practicable, of the collector of New Orleans, subject to the direction and control of this department. . . .

"C. G. MEMMINGER,
"*Secretary of the Treasury.*"

The instructions issued declared that all steamboats navigating the river, destined for ports or places within the Confederate States from any places above, should come to at the port of Norfolk (Melm's Landing), and the master should exhibit to the revenue officer manifests of the whole cargo. And it was made the duty of the collector to board, at all hours of the day and night, all vessels entering the Confederate States from any place above the limits of the Confederacy on said river.

arms whatever beyond their safe-keeping, and after consultation with the commissioners they were ordered to be delivered up. Thereupon several baggage-wagons appeared, and
1861. the muskets were brought out and deposited therein and taken to the Arsenal. Quite a crowd gathered about and witnessed the removal, but no demonstrations of a hostile character were made manifest.

"Previous to this a civil process was served by the marshal at the State tobacco warehouse. He had in charge a posse of sixty or seventy United States troops to enforce the process. They surrounded the building, effected an entrance, broke open various boxes, and found all sorts of munitions of war save muskets. A number of gray uniforms were also found, and although not claimed as United States property, were nevertheless transported with the rest of the articles to the Arsenal in baggage-wagons employed for the purpose. A large crowd of people collected at this place, but not the slightest belligerent demonstration was made.

"In addition to the above, early yesterday morning a company of Home Guards left their armory at Turners' Hall, and proceeded across the river to Illinoistown, with furniture-wagons, and took possession of one hundred navy revolvers at the depot, in boxes marked 'Frank Blair, care H. A. Sloan & Co.' Blair states that he never ordered the revolvers, and it is supposed that they were intended for other parties than the United States troops. They were taken to the Arsenal.

"About four o'clock yesterday afternoon a regiment of troops passed up Fifth Street, with six field-pieces. They are to be stationed in the extreme northern part of the city.

"The public will observe that a decided improvement has been made in the manner of conducting these things. The usual law process is issued, bonds given, and the marshal is required to execute the writ. If this had been done at Camp Jackson, the slaughter of innocent men, women, and children never would have taken place on the 10th of May.

"Late last night we received the following card from Col. Hart:

"'OAK SPRINGS, ST. LOUIS COUNTY,
May 17, 1861.

"'*To the Citizens of the City and County of St. Louis:*

"'I pray you stay your opinion with regard to a lot of rifles, bought with my money some time since, which were this evening seized by the United States marshal, until to-morrow, when I will fully and in detail publish all the facts for your judgment. I have just heard of the seizure, having left the city a few minutes before to come to my family here. Suffice for me at present to say, these arms were bought solely for the purpose of being used whenever we were legalized in quelling riots or mobs in the city of St. Louis, and in defense of the life and property of you all, without respect to past political parties.

"'After the surrender of Camp Jackson, the same evening, I delivered all over to the Police Department, ready to serve them with my organization, the Constitutional Home Guards, whenever they should call on us to assist them to quell riots or mobs, and intended they should remain there, and under their control, for that purpose.

"'I have never been a secessionist, have never knowingly done anything in violation of my duty to the Federal and State governments, and on all occasions where I could do anything to preserve peace, am known to have readily given my little aid to effect the same. I shall more fully and in detail set forth all the facts connected with them. In the mean time I ask you all to forbear hasty conclusions about the matter.

"'HENRY N. HART.'"

On Saturday afternoon, May 18th, United States Surveyor Howard and United States Marshal Rawlings seized on board the steamer "Sioux City," lying at the foot of Pine Street, twenty boxes of cartridges and four cases of musket-barrels, all of which were declared confiscated to the government and taken to the Arsenal. The articles were in boxes marked "soap." The captain of the boat, however, knew nothing about the matter.

—An artillery company numbering forty-eight men, under command of Capt. Spakofski, arrived at the Arsenal from Cairo, on board the steamer "J. D. Perry," at two o'clock Sunday afternoon, May 19th.

—The steamer "Robert Campbell, Jr.," was fired into on May 21st by a battery erected on the banks of the Mississippi River, northwest of Bremen, and under the command of Col. Boernstein's troops.

—The following persons, who had been arrested upon the alleged charge of threatening Union men at Potosi, Mo., were released from the Arsenal on May 21st and 22d: William Mathews, clerk Circuit Court, Washington County; E. D. Smith, Jefferson County, steamboat pilot; Stephen P. Dunklin, farmer; Joseph H. Dunklin, farmer; Dr. John Wyatt, Jefferson County; Geo. B. Clarke, lawyer; L. W. Casey, livery-stable keeper; Patrick Doyle, livery-stable keeper; Ed. Willoughby, miner; N. B. Buck, editor *Potosi Miner;* William J. Slater, lawyer; John Dean, smelter and farmer.

—United States Marshal Rawlings on May 21st seized two gun-carriages at Murphy's wagon manufactory on Broadway. Two brass cannon which had been removed by the police commissioners from the State tobacco warehouse to Arnot's building were also seized by the same officer.

—On the 22d of May the steamer "Iatau" left the Arsenal with one hundred men, under the command of Capt. Frantz, and proceeding down the river to Harlow's Landing, seized the steamer "J. C. Swon," which had been lying at that point for several days in charge of the mate.

—At this time all vehicles coming in or out of the city were searched by the military. The searching of private residences for contraband articles was also a daily occurrence.

—Col. Shutner's regiment left St. Louis May 28th, for the purpose of taking up a position at Bird's Point, opposite Cairo.

—In consequence of the agreement entered into between Gens. Price and Harney, on May 27th Gen. Harney issued orders for the withdrawal of the troops from the suburbs, and the different encampments were vacated on the 29th.

Col. Sigel's regiment remained in the Arsenal, in the place of Blair's regiment.

Col. Boernstein's regiment, stationed near the reservoir and at Bissell's Point, to stop Missouri River boats, was ordered to the barracks. An order
1861. was given to the commanding officer at Duncan's Island to permit all boats to pass up the river unmolested.

—On May 31st, Captain Hall, with a small detachment from Col. McNeil's regiment, searched Dr. McDowell's medical college for arms, but none were discovered.

—There were on June 1st five regiments of Home Guards in the city,—about five thousand men; one regiment was stationed at Soulard Market, one at Jaeger's Garden, one at Turners' Hall, one at Uhrig's Cave, and one at Fourteenth and Chambers Street. The regiment at Turners' Hall was commanded by Col. McNeil; that at Uhrig's Cave by B. Gratz Brown. This latter regiment, on May 31st, had changed its quarters from Bechtner's Varieties to Uhrig's Cave, and on the 16th of June embarked on the cars for Rolla.

—Morgan L. Smith opened a recruiting office at No. 78 [illegible]th Street, in the latter part of May, for a Zouave corps.

—Capt. Totten, in command of four hundred regulars, which had been quartered over Thornton's livery-stable, on June 1st changed his quarters to the Abbey.

—Mayor Taylor, on June 4th, tendered his resignation to the Council, which was accepted. On the 7th the Council reconsidered its action, and the mayor withdrew his resignation, thus continuing in office.

—Mr. Finnicliffe and two other deputy United States marshals on June 15th arrested Joseph W. Tucker, editor of the *State Journal*, and seized all of his private papers in his office, upon the charge, made by John D. Stevenson, that he "conspired with, and corresponded with," "traitorous bodies of men." He was taken before Judge Treat, of the United States District Court, who released him upon his giving bond in the sum of ten thousand dollars.

—In compliance with orders issued from the War Department on July 3d, Gen. John C. Fremont on the 25th assumed command of the Western Department. The following officers were at this time announced as constituting his staff: Capt. J. C. Kelpon, Asst. Adjt.-Gen. and Act. Com. Subst.; Brevet Maj. J. McKinstry, Asst. Quartermaster; Sergt. S. G. I. De Camp, Medical Director; Lieut.-Col. T. P. Andrews, Deputy Paymaster-General.

—The *Republican* of August 15th contains the following in relation to military movements in the city:

"Martial law was declared yesterday forenoon, and Maj. McKinstry appointed provost-marshal. So far, however, there has been no change, and probably will not be, in the police department, and the civil business will be conducted as heretofore. In certain contingencies only, we presume, or in cases not properly coming within the jurisdiction of the police, will the military power be exercised. Although there was very general inquiry as to the effect of martial law, and a sort of general apprehension that it would require people to remain indoors after nine o'clock in the evening, and compel them to obtain passes to leave the town, etc., yet, 'so far as heard from,' nothing of the kind will be required, and, in point of fact, martial law as yet does not differ from any other law.

"Mr. Brownlee, the president of the board of police commissioners, was arrested yesterday about noon and taken to the Arsenal. Mr. Basil Duke was appointed president of the board instead.

"In the afternoon the residence of Capt. William Wade, on St. Charles Street, near Fifth, was surrounded by soldiers and searched, but nothing contraband discovered. It was reported that a search was instituted for Capt. Wade with a view to his arrest, but that he was not to be found. Capt. McKellops' residence on Olive Street, near Fifth, was also searched, with a like result. Crowds of spectators gathered on the streets at both the above-named places while the search was being instituted, but there was no disturbance, loud talk, or excitement manifested. The city was perfectly quiet all day yesterday and last evening. About five o'clock last evening the *Bulletin*, *Missourian*, and *Herald* offices were taken possession of by soldiers, and orders issued for the suppression of those papers. The *Missourian* was printed at the *State Journal* establishment on Pine Street, between Third and Fourth; the *Bulletin*, on the same street, between Fourth and Fifth, at the *Christian Advocate* office; and the *Herald*, at the *Herald* office, on Market Street, between Second and Third. These papers have of late published the South side of accounts of affairs, as well as what have been regarded as very improbable and absurd rumors.

"The following is the form of the order for the suppression of the *Herald*:

"ORDER No. 12.

"OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL,

"ST. LOUIS, Aug. 14, 1861.

"*To Col. McNeil, Commanding Home Guards:*

"You are hereby ordered to suppress the newspaper called the *Morning Herald* (James L. Faucett, proprietor), and not allow the publication of the same from the date of this order.

(Signed) "J. MCKINSTRY,

"*Major U. S. Army, Provost-Marshal.*"

On the 16th the same paper gave the following account of the movements of steamboats in the harbor:

"A very large number of arrivals of steamboats at this port occurred yesterday morning. No less than nine steamers came up from Widow Waters' landing and vicinity and were landed at our Levee. We understand that the United States government ordered them to be brought up for greater safety.

"The boats to which we refer are the 'Continental,' Capt. B. F. Hutchinson; 'T. L. McGill,' Capt. N. Robirds; 'Planet,' Capt. ——; 'John Warner,' Capt. Chas. P. Warner; 'Gladiator,' Capt. John Klinefelter; 'Champion,' Capt. E. B. Moore; 'Edward Walsh,' Capt. Burke; 'Platte Valley,' Capt. ——, and 'John H. Dickey,' Capt. Danable.

"Nearly all these steamers are St. Louis and New Orleans packets, which were resting from their labors during the continuance of the blockade.

"The 'Princeton,' a celebrated stern-wheel boat, said to be worth $75,000 by the charitable individual who presented her to the United States government some time ago, is em-
1861. ployed in cruising around the harbor, for what particular purpose we are not advised."

—Maj. J. Kinstry, provost-marshal, on August 14th strictly prohibited under severe penalties "the wearing of concealed weapons by any person not in the military service of the United States or in the regularly constituted police force of the city." Notice was also given by the same officer "to gunsmiths and dealers in fire-arms resident in the city and county of St. Louis that no description of fire-arms would be permitted to be sold or given away" without a special permit from him.

—On the 16th Maj. McKinstry issued the following order:

"All places of public amusement—theatres, concerts, negro minstrels, etc.—will not be permitted to open for the reception of visitors on Sundays.

"All dance-houses, theatres, concerts, negro minstrels, or any other places of public resort of like character will be closed at 10.30 P.M. When any disturbance of the peace or disorderly conduct occurs, or is permitted by the proprietors, at any of the above-mentioned places of amusement, they will be closed forthwith permanently.

"Assemblage of persons on the streets or sidewalks, interfering with the free passage of the same, will not be permitted at any time or place. It is hereby made the especial duty of the Chief of Police of this city to carry out the prompt execution of the foregoing orders."

The sale of spirituous liquors within the city and county between the hours of twelve o'clock Saturday and seven o'clock on Monday following were at the same time strictly prohibited. The sale of malt liquors was not prohibited.

—The collection of troops and war material in the neighborhood of St. Louis in August was of the most formidable character. At Camp Benton, immediately west of the Fair Grounds, extensive preparations were being made for the accommodation of a large body of troops, but only two regiments had taken post in this vicinity on the 21st. The Twenty-second Indiana was encamped in tents a few hundred yards south of the Fair Grounds, and the Thirty-ninth Ohio, under Col. Groesbeck, which had just arrived, was establishing its quarters immediately adjoining the western inclosure of the Fair Grounds. Much the larger portion of the troops encamped in the neighborhood of St. Louis in the latter part of August were located at the barracks, Arsenal, and Lafayette Park. There were at this time about fifteen thousand troops, well armed and equipped, in the vicinity of the city, and every day one or more regiments was added to the number. The city was also strongly fortified. Two large columbiads were mounted a short distance from the city on the Gravois road, and one was placed at Rock Spring. Sulphur Springs, on the Iron Mountain Railroad, where it left the river, was considered a strategical point, and three columbiads were mounted there about the 1st of September. The work of erecting fortifications on all the commanding elevations in and near the city continued during the summer and fall. At some of these fortifications heavy guns, as we have stated above, were mounted to command the river and the main avenues leading to the city.

—About three hundred of the soldiers wounded at the battle of Springfield were placed under treatment, about the middle of August, at the new House of Refuge, west of the work-house. The building was of brick, five stories high, and the rooms being very large were well adapted for the purposes of a hospital. A large number of ladies from the city visited the hospital, and rendered very material assistance by furnishing bandages and other necessary articles.

—Early in August Gen. Fremont determined to form in the vicinity of St. Louis a camp of instruction capable of accommodating twenty thousand men. Accordingly, A. B. Ogden was instructed to make a thorough survey of the land west of the city from Bellefontaine cemetery to the Arsenal, for the purpose of selecting a suitable location for the camp. After a careful examination of various sites near the outskirts of the city, he finally selected a tract of one hundred and fifty acres owned by Col. John O'Fallon, immediately west of the Fair Grounds. Mr. Ogden addressed a note to Col. O'Fallon, stating that the land belonging to him had been selected for military barracks by the government, and that liberal and patriotic gentleman responded, stating that he would give the government the use of the land for one year at the nominal price of one hundred and fifty dollars. The ground was at this time in a high state of cultivation, and the generous offer of Col. O'Fallon was gratefully accepted by Gen. Fremont. The site chosen was admirably adapted for a military camp, being level, free from obstruction, and covered with a beautiful greensward. It was immediately graded to a perfect plane, and an effective system of underground sewerage was constructed, so that after a rain the water was speedily carried off, and the ground thereby kept in an excellent condition for parade purposes. A large number of mechanics were employed in the erection of barracks for men and of stables for horses. The barracks were constructed in five rows, each seven hundred and forty feet in length, extending from east to west. Each row of barracks was about forty feet in width, exclusive of covered walks on each side.

which extended six or eight feet from the main building. The interior was divided into compartments of convenient size, and these were lined on all
1861. sides with bunks for sleeping. Good provision was made for ventilation by means of openings in the walls, and there were sleeping accommodations for one hundred men in each seventy feet of the barrack building.

In General Orders No. 4, Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, on September 18th, directed that the barracks should be known as "Camp of Instruction, Benton Barracks," and added that troops were to be stationed at this post "especially to recruit, organize, and drill." Besides the grounds included in the chain of sentinels which surrounded the barracks and Fair Grounds, his command extended a mile in all directions from his headquarters. The saloons and hotels within this circle were liable to special and stringent supervision and suppression for disorder or riot.

A contemporary writer, who visited the barracks on the 1st of December, gives the following interesting description of the place:

"For a full mile to the west the ground is as level as a house floor, and along the entire distance regiments of infantry and cavalry are moving in grand and solid columns here and there, performing all sorts of military evolutions, while drums are beating, fifes screaming, and bugles sounding far and near. . . . The barracks are built in two straight lines, running directly west, and are about one-third of a mile apart. Laterally they are divided off into separate compartments, each compartment being capable of accommodating two companies. The quarters of the officers are so arranged in these different compartments that they can have an oversight of their different companies at all times. There are two tiers of bunks, and each bunk is furnished with clean straw and a thick blanket; a coal-stove is also furnished to each compartment, so that even in the coldest day the soldiers will be as comfortable as people living in houses furnished with all the modern improvements. Immediately back of the two lines of barracks is a strip of ground four hundred feet in width, and extending the length of the barracks, upon which temporary shanties have been erected to cover the cooking ranges. At first the common plan of digging a hole in the ground and building a fire in it for cooking purposes was adopted, but it was found that an immense amount of fuel was consumed in this way, and accordingly Capt. Dodds, the commissary and quartermaster, introduced camp cooking ranges, one for each company, and the saving in fuel is already nearly sufficient to pay the cost of the ranges.

"The two lines of barracks extend westward for the distance of nearly half a mile, and directly in the centre of the parade-ground at the west end, on a lot of ground about four hundred feet square, other barracks are erected. A wide space is left on each side of these barracks, so that the troops can move in regular bodies out upon the drill-ground, which is still farther west, and embraces some seventy acres.

"The commanding general's headquarters and the quarters for the field-officers are located on the eastern portion of the ground, the former, a two-story frame building, a short distance from the entrance and midway between the parallel line of barracks, and the latter at the extreme east end. The field-officers' quarters consist of a row of barracks, neatly and comfortably furnished, and the house occupied by the commanding general, externally and internally, is all that could be desired. The barracks are all whitewashed outside, and, in consequence of the strict discipline which is maintained, present a neat appearance throughout. On the north side of the barracks, for a considerable distance to the west, a large number of stables for cavalry horses are being erected, while still farther west are two great warehouses, in which are stored supplies for the soldiers and forage for the horses. In the immediate vicinity of the warehouses are various little frame buildings, used as daguerrean saloons and restaurants. Since Gen. Strong assumed command, however, the sale of all intoxicating liquors on the grounds, or within a radius of a mile, has been prohibited.

"The quartermaster's office is in one of the large warehouses, alongside of which a railroad track has been laid, so that stores can be put aboard horse-cars (built especially for the purpose) here in the city, and in a short space of time be delivered at their proper destination.

"Gen. William K. Strong is at present in command of the barracks. He succeeded Gen. Curtis. He was formerly connected with the staff of Gen. Fremont. Capt. Henry Z. Curtis is acting assistant adjutant-general, and Capt. Joseph L. Dodds quartermaster of the post and acting commissary.

"The barracks were built at a cost of sixty thousand dollars, but the improvements which have since been made, such as the introduction of water, the laundry, etc., will reach the sum of one hundred thousand dollars. About one thousand laborers were employed in constructing the barracks."

At one time (in April, 1862) over twenty-three thousand men were stationed at the barracks. About September, 1865, the grounds were turned over by the government to the owner.

—On August 26th, Provost-Marshal McKinstry issued the following order:

"The disturbance of the public peace to-day having been traced by this department to the unauthorized and improper sale of liquors to soldiers by irresponsible and ill-disposed persons, it is hereby ordered that from and after this date, until further orders, all saloons and bar-rooms and other places kept for retailing of spirituous and intoxicating liquors in the city and county of St. Louis, except the saloons connected with the principal hotels, and such others as may after due investigation receive special permission to open, be and remain closed; and the sale, exchange, or giving away of any such intoxicating liquors or beverages at retail, except as hereinbefore excepted, is hereby expressly forbidden. Any violation or evasion of this order will be visited with severe punishment."

The same officer on the 28th issued the following:

"The distribution, sale, exchange, or giving away of any copy or copies of the *New York News*, *Day-Book*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Freeman's Journal*, or *Brooklyn Eagle*, newspapers lately presented by the United States grand jury of the Southern District of New York as aiders and abettors of the enemy, also of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, *Jr.*, is prohibited in the city and county of St. Louis from this date. All railroad and express agents in the city are ordered to deliver into the possession of the provost-marshal all packages of the papers above named that may hereafter come into their possession.

"The delivery from the post-office of any number of either of the above-named treasonable sheets is also prohibited."

—On the 30th, Maj.-Gen. John C. Fremont, commanding the Western Department, issued the following proclamation, placing the entire State under
1861. martial law, as he had heretofore done the city and county of St. Louis:

"Circumstances, in my judgment of sufficient urgency, render it necessary that the commanding general of this department should assume the administrative powers of the State.

"Its disorganized condition, the helplessness of the civil authority, the total insecurity of life, and the devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders who infest nearly every county in the State, and avail themselves of the public misfortunes and the vicinity of a hostile force to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages, which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State.

"In this condition the public safety and the success of our arms require unity of purpose, without let or hindrance, to the prompt administration of affairs.

"In order, therefore, to suppress disorders, to maintain as far as now practicable the public peace, and to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare established martial law throughout the State of Missouri.

"The lines of the army of occupation in this State are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth, by way of the post of Jefferson City, Rolla, and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi River.

"All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty will be shot.

"The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.[1]

"All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed after the publication of this order railroad tracks, bridges, or telegraphs shall suffer the extreme penalty of this law.

"All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemies of the United States, in fomenting tumults, in disturbing the public tranquillity by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents are, in their own interest, warned that they are exposing themselves to sudden and severe punishment.

"All persons who have been led away from their allegiance are required to return forthwith to their homes. Any such absence without sufficient cause will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

"The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of the military authorities the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of war demand. But it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country, where the law will be administered by the civil officers in the usual manner and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably exercised.

"The commanding general will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and in his efforts for their safety hopes to obtain not only the acquiescence, but the active support of the loyal people of the country."

To prevent any disturbance caused by the declaration of martial law, Col. Groesbeck's command was ordered into the city and stationed around the court-house, and Lucas, Biddle, and Broadway Markets. They took twenty rounds of ammunition with them for an emergency, and remained until the following morning, when they were marched back to camp. On the same day (August 30th) Provost-Marshal McKinstry issued the following "Order No. 107":

"It appearing to this department, by satisfactory evidence, that individuals are daily leaving this city for the purpose of treasonably communicating with the enemy, and giving them

[1] At the beginning of the war slaves escaping from their masters were promptly returned by the officers of the army. Gen. W. S. Harney, commanding in St. Louis in the early part of the war, in responding to the claims of slaveholders for their slaves, said,—

"Already, since the commencement of these unhappy disturbances, slaves have escaped from their owners and have sought refuge in the camps of the United States troops from the Northern States and commanded by a northern general. *They were carefully sent back to their owners.*"

The above proclamation from Gen. Fremont was the first official paper issued after the commencement of the war that declared slaves under certain contingencies free men. Gen. Fremont, in accordance with his proclamation, gave freedom to a number of slaves; his mode of action may be seen in the following deed of manumission:

"*Whereas*, Thomas L. Snead, of the city and county of St. Louis, State of Missouri, has been taking an active part with the enemies of the United States in the present insurrectionary movement against the government of the United States; now, therefore, I, John Charles Fremont, major-general commanding the Western Department of the Army of the United States, by authority of law and the power vested in me as such commanding general, declare Hiram Reed, heretofore held to service or labor by Thomas L. Snead, to be FREE and forever discharged from the bonds of servitude, giving him full right and authority to have, use, and control his own labor or service as to him may seem proper, without any accountability whatever to said Thomas L. Snead, or any one to claim by, through, or under him.

"And this deed of manumission shall be respected and treated by all persons, and in all courts of justice, as the full and complete evidence of the freedom of said Hiram Reed.

"In testimony whereof, this act is done at headquarters of the Western Department of the Army of the United States, in the city of St. Louis, State of Missouri, on this 12th day of September, A.D. eighteen hundred and sixty-one, as is evidenced by the departmental seal hereto affixed by my order.

"J. C. FREMONT,
"*Major-General Commanding.*"

"Done at the office of the provost-marshal, in the city of St. Louis, the 12th day of September, A.D. eighteen hundred and sixty-one, at nine o'clock in the evening of said day.

"Witness my hand and seal of office hereto affixed.

"J. McKINSTRY,
"*Brigadier-General, Provost-Marshal.*"

This proclamation of Gen. Fremont caused considerable comment, and being displeasing to President Lincoln, Gen. Fremont was removed from the command of the Western Department, and his proclamation annulled.

information, aid, and comfort, in violation of law, it is hereby directed that from and after this date all persons are peremptorily forbidden to pass beyond the limits of the city and
1861. county of St. Louis without first obtaining a special permit from this office.

"All ferry, steamboat, and railway officers and agents, and all other carriers of passengers, are hereby forbidden to sell or transfer any tickets entitling the holder to go beyond the limits of this county to any person, or to carry, or allow to be carried, any person not exhibiting a permit from this office."

The following is a copy of the provost-marshal's pass that was issued to applicants:

"OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL,
"ST. LOUIS, MO., 1861.

"Permission is granted to —— —— to pass beyond the limits of the city and county of St. Louis, to go to ——.

"J. MCKINSTRY, *Major U.S.A.*,
"*Provost-Marshal-General.*"

On the back of the pass was the following description of the person:

"Age, ——.
"Height, ——.
"Color of eyes, ——.
"Color of hair, ——.
"Peculiarities, ——.

"It is understood that the within named subscriber accepts this pass on his word of honor that he is and will be ever loyal to the United States; and if hereafter found in arms against the Union, or in any way aiding her enemies, the penalty will be death.

(Signed) "—— ——."

"There were some amusing scenes," says the *Republican* of September 2d, "enacted at the office of the provost-marshal on Saturday morning in consequence of the rather unexpected order requiring every individual to obtain a pass before leaving the town. The rush for passes commenced at an early hour, and must have taken Maj. McKinstry somewhat by surprise, but, like a skillful general, he proved equal to the emergency. Every pass had to be written for the individual applying. This was done by one of the clerks, after which it had to be taken to the provost-marshal, McKinstry, for his signature. This process being found altogether too slow to accommodate the rush of passengers going east, the marshal caused the announcement to be made that all passengers going east on the morning trains would be allowed to leave the city without passes. This decimated the crowd somewhat, but large numbers intending to go out on the Iron Mountain, Pacific, and North Missouri roads remained to be attended to. There was but one alternative. The provost-marshal pulled off his coat, seated himself at his desk, and was speedily surrounded by a dense crowd armed with passes obtained from the clerk, and only awaiting the simple signature of 'J. McKinstry,' etc. As each individual submitted his pass the provost-marshal signed his name, looking all the while with his keen searching eyes directly at the applicant, and propounding two or three inquiries, such, for instance, as the following to a young and smart-looking chap who had a pass for Springfield: 'Going to Springfield?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Live there?' 'Yes, sir.' In an undertone, 'Not very profitable to be a minute-man, is it?' No reply, but a slightly confused and indignant look. In the mean time the signature has been affixed to the pass in a bold hand. Directly the young man is in possession of the important 'open sesame' and is leaving the room, when down falls the hand of the provost-marshal upon a little silver bell at his side, and simultaneously he cries out, 'Spot!' Two minutes later and the young man bound for Springfield is politely requested by an officer to consider himself under arrest. What follows is, of course, outside the ken of the reporter. The cries of 'spot' were numerous during the provost-marshal's eight hours' sitting for the purpose of signing passes on Saturday."

—On September 3d, James Taussig, Dr. Thomas O'Reilly, and E. W. Fox were appointed by the provost-marshal a committee to receive, examine, and report to him upon all applications for the reopening of all public places which he had heretofore directed to be closed. The committee met on the 4th, and decided upon the following order of business:

"1. All persons making applications shall state the number and street of their place of business, and shall have their application indorsed by two persons known to the committee as reliable Union men, who shall vouch for the orderly character of the house, and the loyalty of the proprietor to the United States government. No permit will be granted to persons who have not obtained their city and county licenses according to law.

"2. All applications not already presented shall be handed to Capt. Cozzens, at his office, No. 91 Washington Avenue, for examination by the committee; and all persons whose permits are ready will be notified of the fact and of the place of delivery by publication in the newspapers.

"3. All persons to whom permits are granted will be required to subscribe the following declaration: It is understood that the undersigned accepts this permit or license on his word of honor that he is and will be ever loyal to the United States, and if hereafter found in arms against the Union, or in any way aiding her enemies, the penalty will be death.

"4. A printed copy of the declaration so subscribed shall be kept posted up by the proprietor in a conspicuous place in each bar-room or saloon having a permit.

"Any violation of these rules or disorderly conduct will cause an immediate withdrawal of permits granted.

"By order of

"JAS. TAUSSIG,
"THOS. O'REILLY,
"E. W. FOX,
"*Committee.*

"Approved,
"J. MCKINSTRY,
"*Maj. U.S.A., Provost-Marshal.*"

On the 17th this committee was also authorized to grant permits to keepers of public gardens and parks located in the suburbs of the city to keep their places open on Sunday, under such regulations as the committee saw proper to impose.

The committee also issued the following notice:

"PROVOST-MARSHAL'S OFFICE,
"ST. LOUIS, Sept. 4, 1861.

"All persons who have heretofore obtained permission from the provost-marshal to reopen drinking saloons are required to comply with the rules established by the committee by subscribing the declaration, exhibiting their city and county license and permits heretofore obtained at the office of Capt. Cozzens, No. 91 Washington Avenue, between Fourth and Fifth Streets,

on Saturday, the 7th of September, 1861, between 9 o'clock A.M. and 12 o'clock P.M. of said day.

"The permissions granted to persons not complying with this order will be revoked.

1861.

"JAMES TAUSSIG,
"THOS. O'REILLY,
"E. W. FOX,
"*Committee.*

"Approved,
"J. MCKINSTRY,
"*Maj. U.S.A. and Provost-Marshal.*"

—The two-story brick building at the corner of Fifth and Myrtle Streets, which had been known as "Lynch's Slave-Pen," was on September 3d taken under the control of the military authorities and converted into a military prison.

—The prohibition of the circulation of the New York *Journal of Commerce* within the city and county of St. Louis, as well as of the *Journal of Commerce, Jr.*, was removed on September 4th.

—Brig.-Gen. J. McKinstry, on September 6th, was assigned temporarily as acting quartermaster-general of the Western Department, and on the 10th forbade any person in his command to deal with any one who was not known to be loyal to the United States.

—On September 11th, Gen. J. McKinstry, provost-marshal, issued an order prohibiting the distribution, sale, exchange, or giving away of any copy or copies of the *Dubuque Herald*, a newspaper published at Dubuque, Iowa.

—Maj.-Gen. Fremont, on September 15th, placed Col. F. P. Blair under arrest. The act gave rise to a great deal of excited comment in the city, and was received with astonishment throughout the country. Commenting upon it, the *Missouri Democrat* said,—

"Col. Blair's chief offense is the writing of certain letters to the President, members of the cabinet, and other leading parties in Washington City, complaining, among other things, of the inefficiency and incompetency of Gen. Fremont, speaking disrespectfully of him, and asking his removal from the Department of the West."

—A correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette* thus describes Gen. Fremont's headquarters at this time:

"Taking the cars on Fourth Street, from the Planters' Hotel you ride about four or five squares, when you come to the broad avenue, near the market on Fifth Street, known as Chouteau Avenue, named after the celebrated wealthy Indian trader of St. Louis. Two blocks up this avenue, you follow the crowd which emerges from the cars, and which is mostly composed of men in uniform, and in two minutes you are standing before a plain, two-storied stuccoed residence, situated on a raised eminence, and surrounded by a brick wall, before the entrance to which two fine-looking young men, dressed in plain blue, with the French fatigue-cap set jauntily on their heads, are pacing to and fro, armed with Colt's navy revolvers set on carbine stocks. The house mentioned, on which I had forgotten to state was displayed the glorious Stars and Stripes, was none other than the headquarters of the Western Department, the residence of Gen. Fremont.

"At the brick residence just above the general's quarters, and from which waves the flag of our Union, is the Subsistence Department, while to the left is an immense dome, surmounted by another flag, and overshadowing the building known as McDowell's College, and now the headquarters of the Recruiting Department of St. Louis. In the plain brick house back of Fremont's residence, on Gratiot Street, is the Adjutant General's Department, the duties of which are well executed by Capt. Kelton and his able employés. Hitherto these quarters have been much scattered, but now they are within call of Gen. Fremont, and within reach of officers wishing to join their commands or transact business connected with the army."

On September 20th the following officers were announced as constituting Gen. Fremont's staff:

"Chief of Staff, Brig.-Gen. A. Asboth; Assistant Adjutant General, Capt. Chauncey McKeever; Military Secretary and Aide-de-Camp, Col. J. H. Eaton; Chief Topographical Engineer, Col. John T. Fiala; Chief of Ordnance, Col. Gustave Wagner; Chief of Artillery, Lieut.-Col. James Totten; Judge-Advocate, Maj. R. M. Corwin; Division Surgeon, Dr. T. Telkampf; Assistant Surgeon, Dr. John Cooper; Acting Assistant Quartermaster-General, Brig.-Gen. J. McKinstry; Deputy Paymaster-General, Lieut.-Col. T. P. Andrews; Commander of Body-Guard, Maj. Charles Zagonyi; Musical Director, Capt. A. Waldauer; Aides-de-Camp, Col. A. Albert, Col. Gustave Koerner, Col. J. P. C. Schenck, Col. Owen Lovejoy, Col. John A. Gurley, Col. J. C. Woods, Maj. James W. Savage, Maj. Frank J. White, Maj. William Dorsheimer, Maj. H. Ramming, Maj. B. Rush Plumley, Capt. J. R. Howard, Capt. Leonidas Haskell, Capt. Joseph Reminyey; Chaplain, Rev. C. M. Blake.

"II. The special duties assigned to the aides-de-camp were as follows: Col. Albert Adlatus to be chief of staff; Col. Woods, director of transportation; Maj. Savage, military registrator and expeditor; Maj. Plumley, postal director; Capt. Haskell, police director; Maj. Dorsheimer and Capt. Howard, private secretaries.

"By order of Maj.-Gen. Fremont.

"CHAUNCEY MCKEEVER,
"*Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

On the same day the following officers were placed on duty in command of divisions as acting major-generals:

Brig.-Gen. Pope, Brig.-Gen. Sigel, Brig.-Gen. Asboth, Brig.-Gen. McKinstry.

The following officers were placed on duty in command of brigades as acting brigadier-generals:

Col. Davis, Col. Mulligan, Col. Kelton, Lieut.-Col. Totten.

—On the 24th, Brig.-Gen. Samuel R. Curtis assumed command of the city of St. Louis and vicinity.

—In September a new military hospital was established in the building at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, under the charge of Surgeon Mills, of the United States army, assisted by Drs. Wagner and Horton, of the army, and Dr. A. S. Barnes, of the city.

—In consequence of the Cherokee nation of Indians having joined the Confederate cause, the as-

sistant provost-marshal, John McNeil, colonel of the Nineteenth Regiment of Missouri volunteers, on

1861. October 2d confiscated about thirty-three thousand dollars belonging to the Indians, which they had on deposit in the "St. Louis Building and Savings Association."

—The Fremont Relief Society, for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers in camp and hospital, was organized in October by the election of the following officers; Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont, president; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. T. B. Edgar and Mrs. Dr. Heussler; Secretary, Mrs. Clinton B. Fisk; Treasurer, Mrs. Amalia Abeles. Rooms for the use of the society were provided at the residence of T. B. Edgar, on Chouteau Avenue opposite Fourteenth Street.

—Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, accompanied by Adjt.-Gen. Thomas and others of his suite, arrived in St. Louis on October 12th, and left immediately for Gen. Fremont's headquarters at Tipton, Mo. On his return he was serenaded by Col. Morphy's Eighth Wisconsin Regiment at Barnum's Hotel. Secretary Cameron made a short speech in response. Before his departure from the city, Secretary Cameron, on October 14th, issued the following order to Gen. Fremont:

"In view of the heavy sums due, especially in the quartermaster's department in this city, amounting to some four million five hundred thousand dollars, it is important that the money which may now be in the hands of the disbursing officers, or be received by them, be applied to the current expenses of your army in Missouri, and these debts to remain unpaid until they can be properly examined and sent to Washington for settlement; the disbursing officers of the army to disburse the funds and not transfer them to irresponsible agents,—in other words, those who do not hold commissions from the President and are not under bonds. All contracts necessary to be made by the disbursing officers. The senior quartermaster here has been verbally instructed by the secretary as above.

"It is deemed unnecessary to erect field-works around this city, and you will direct their discontinuance; also those, if any, in course of construction at Jefferson City. In this connection it is seen that a number of commissions have been given by you. No payments will be made to such officers, except to those whose appointments have been approved by the President. This, of course, does not apply to the officers with volunteer troops. Col. Andrews has been verbally so instructed by the secretary; also not to make transfers of funds, except for the purpose of paying the troops. The erection of barracks near your quarters in this city to be at once discontinued."

The *Republican*, in commenting on this order of the Secretary of War, said,—

"We must adhere to this our firm conviction, which even Gen. Lyon was prudent enough to entertain, for it is well known that before his march to Boonville he instructed Col. Fisk to select the proper strategical points for the erection of works of defense around the city, and that the necessity of erecting such fortifications was strongly apparent to the far-sighted mind.

"Gen. Lyon made preparations for the building of similar works of defense at Jefferson City, Rolla, Ironton, and Cape Girardeau. These four latter points have been the salvation of St. Louis during all the time that Gen. Fremont was preparing his grand army for the forward movement which he has now so happily inaugurated, for they form, with the Missouri River at the north, the great strategic circle which constitutes the first line of defense of the metropolis of the State.

"The acts of Gen. Fremont have been brilliant enough to warrant the recognition of merit, even from Mr. Lincoln. Gen. Fremont raised and organized an army of nearly ninety thousand men in less than half the time it took Gen. Scott to organize an army of the same number, and during the process of organization Gen. Fremont not only held the whole line of defense of St. Louis, from Bird's Point and Cape Girardeau *via* Pilot Knob and Rolla to Jefferson City, and all along the Missouri River to Kansas City, but even inaugurated the brilliant *coup de main* in Kentucky which saved that noble State to the cause of the Union, and put our troops in possession of Paducah and Smithland."

—The full commission appointed by the President to examine into the military accounts of the Department of the West, assembled at St. Louis in the fall of this year (1861). It was composed of Hon. David Davis, of Illinois; Hon. Joseph Holt, of Kentucky; and Hugh Campbell, of St. Louis, and was instructed to examine and report upon all unsettled claims against the Military Department of the West which originated prior to the appointment of Gen. Fremont. J. S. Fullerton was secretary, and Samuel T. Glover, of St. Louis, was the counsel for the government.

Joseph Scott Fullerton, the secretary of the commission, was a young lawyer who had removed to St. Louis from Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1858, and whose brilliant talents had already brought him into prominence. Mr. Fullerton performed the duties of this office with such ability and zeal that, on endeavoring to procure a release from the commission in order to enter the army, in which he afterwards became a distinguished officer, his application was twice refused, and it was not until the commission's labors were ended that he was enabled to carry out his cherished desire.

Gen. Fullerton traces his ancestry back to an old and well-known English family of the same name. The branch from which he descended removed to Scotland, where it played quite a conspicuous part in the political and religious dissensions of that country in early days. In 1602, Fergus Fullerton left Arran with Ramdal Na Arran (afterwards Earl of Antrim), and built Bush Mills, in the north of Ireland. He was the first of the Irish family. In 1641, William Fullerton, then the head of the family, successfully defended Ballantoy Castle against the insurgents. In

1690, Humphrey Fullerton distinguished himself at the battle of the Boyne, and for his bravery a sword was given to him by William of Orange. The
1861. sword was brought to this country by his son Humphrey, who came here in 1723.[1]

Humphrey, son of the last-named Humphrey, a man greatly respected, lived at Lancaster, Pa. His son Humphrey, who was one of the largest land-owners in Pennsylvania, lived near Greencastle, a man six feet two inches in height, who weighed over four hundred and thirty pounds. His son Humphrey moved to Chillicothe, Ohio, in the year 1806, taking with him his infant son, Humphrey (who was the sixth Humphrey in succession), the father of Joseph Scott Fullerton, the subject of this sketch, who was born at Chillicothe, Ohio, Dec. 3, 1836.

Gen. Fullerton's mother was Elizabeth T. Scott, daughter of Dr. Joseph Scott, a very prominent physician of Lexington, Ky., descended from an ancient Scotch family, whose father and uncle rendered distinguished service in the war of the Revolution.

In those early days of the West educational advantages were very limited, seminaries and schools for girls being unknown, and Mrs. Fullerton's father, a highly-educated man, who appreciated the advantages of a good school, placed her at one in Baltimore, Md. She made the journey with him in midwinter, traveling all the way from Lexington on horseback, their baggage being carried on pack-horses.

Gen. Fullerton's education was carefully superintended by his mother, who was a devout and earnest Christian, and, moreover, a woman of great force of character, and renowned for her goodness and sweetness of temper.

After completing the course of the Chillicothe Academy, young Fullerton, at the age of sixteen, entered the freshman class at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, one of the oldest colleges in the West, and which perhaps has graduated more men who subsequently became famous than any other college in the West or South. Fullerton was not distinguished as a student; he paid more attention to the literary and secret societies than to study, and was rather too fond of college jokes to be a very earnest scholar, yet he stood among the first twelve of his class throughout the four years of his college life, and graduated without ever having been "conditioned" or "rusticated." He was then nineteen years of age, and he and Whitelaw Reid (now editor of the *New York Tribune*) were the youngest of their class (that of 1855), one of the largest classes that ever graduated from Miami University.

Young Fullerton then spent a year at Chillicothe, reading history and law, and in 1857 entered the Cincinnati Law School, from which institution he graduated in 1858. His class, though small, became rather noted; two of its members have been Governors of States, four are now on the bench, Gen. Noyes, one of them, was Minister to France under President Hayes, and several of them were distinguished in political life.

In the fall of 1858 Mr. Fullerton removed to St. Louis, and having had but little experience in the practical branches of his profession, he spent some time in the service of the clerk of the St. Louis Court of Common Pleas, giving his work for the advantages he derived from the experience as a deputy clerk of the court. His assiduity attracted the attention of the Hon. Henry Hitchcock, upon whose invitation, in 1859, Mr. Fullerton took a desk in that gentleman's office.

The next year was one of great political excitement, and Fullerton, as a "Douglas Democrat" and a strong Unionist, was thrown into sharp antagonism with most of his associates. His nearest friends were Southern people and sympathized strongly with secession, and a club of young men to which he belonged sent twenty-six members to the Confederate army and but four to the Union army,—Capt. Gratz, who was killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek, Andrew A. Alexander and Winfield Sumner, now in the regular army, and J. S. Fullerton. Though too young to have much influence, Fullerton exerted all his power to stem the torrent of disunionism which threatened to flood Missouri, and was one of a Committee of Safety of Union men, who organized to protect themselves and other Unionists in St. Louis.

The war broke out, and Fullerton was anxious to enter the service under the old flag, but unfortunate complications in his father's business seemed to forbid; besides, more men were offering themselves than the government could accept; so he continued the practice of his profession, and patiently bided his time. He had never belonged to a militia company or performed any kind of military duty or exercise, and had no taste for anything of the sort.

In the fall of 1861 he was appointed secretary of the commission, as heretofore stated, which sat at St. Louis to decide upon the claims of certain contractors and others against the government. It was reported that the work of the commission would occupy but a few weeks, but its labors were prolonged far into 1862. Meanwhile circumstances at home now favored Ful-

[1] Nearly a hundred years afterwards, being of excellent steel, one of the family, into whose hands it came, had the sword made into carving-knives.



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J. S. Fullerton

lerton's desire to take an active part in the war, and the delay was very irksome. Twice he resigned, but the commission refused to accept his resigna-
1861. tion. One day he told Mr. Holt, one of the members, that he would not stay in the rear another day, that he must go with the army, and was ashamed to stay back when so many were giving their lives for their country; "and the war, too," he added, "is nearly over!"

"Tut, tut, young man," said Holt, "you will have opportunity enough! Be patient till this important task is through. Even the shell of this rebellion is not cracked yet!"

In July, 1862, Mr. Fullerton finally finished the work of the commission, and then joined the "Halleck Guards," a volunteer company of young men of his acquaintance in St. Louis, who were at once mustered into the State service and accompanied an expedition of volunteers against guerrillas up the Missouri River.

Upon his return Mr. Fullerton was offered a major's commission by Governor Gamble, but having so little military experience he declined to accept such a high rank. He continued drilling with his company, and eventually, Oct. 14, 1862, at the request of Gen. Gordon Granger, was appointed second lieutenant in the Second Missouri Infantry, and assigned to duty as aide-de-camp to the general, who was organizing a force in Kentucky to move on Gen. E. Kirby Smith, commanding the Confederate forces in that State. Lieut. Fullerton remained on the staff of Gen. Gordon Granger in the campaign through Kentucky, and in 1863 went with him to Tennessee, where Gen. Granger took command of the reserve corps of the Army of the Cumberland.

In April, 1863, he was appointed assistant adjutant-general, with the rank of major, and was again assigned to Gen. Granger as chief of staff. He assisted that officer in reorganizing the reserve corps, which corps Granger took into battle at Chickamauga, Sept. 19 and 20, 1863, thus probably saving the day. So desperate was the situation that all depended on Longstreet being driven from a position in a gorge, which, had he held an hour longer, might have cost the North an army. Realizing the importance of the crisis, Granger threw one division of the corps into the gorge, without orders, and completely routed Longstreet. Of three thousand three hundred men who made this attack, about one thousand seven hundred were killed and wounded in less than an hour.

As chief of staff, Maj. Fullerton's gallantry attracted the attention of Gen. Thomas, and he was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and assigned to the Fourth Army Corps as chief of staff. Subsequently he was engaged in all the fights of that army until the end of the Atlanta campaign. Then Gen. Howard, commanding the Army of the Tennessee, requested his assignment to the staff of that army, but Gen. Thomas, commanding the Army of the Cumberland, refused to allow him to be transferred.

When Sherman left Atlanta on his famous march to the sea, Col. Fullerton went back as chief of staff under Gen. Stanley, with a part of the Army of the Cumberland, to fight Hood, and was engaged in all the battles of the command until the end of the war. Among the engagements in which he participated were those of Shelbyville, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Missionary Ridge, Buzzard Roost Gap, Dalton, Resaca, New Hope Church, Pine Top Mountain, Kenesaw Mountain, Allatoona, the two battles at Atlanta, Jonesboro', Lovejoy Station, Columbia, Spring Hill, Franklin, and Nashville, besides many smaller fights and skirmishes. Although usually in the thickest of every engagement he seemed to lead a charmed life, never having been wounded or even received a bullet in his clothes. Yet he had many narrow escapes. Twice his horse was shot under him, several of his orderlies were shot, and once a twig, which he was holding in his hand, and afterwards a vine he had picked up and was examining, were shot away.

The character of his military services appears from a simple statement of the fact that he was recommended for brevet for distinguished services and gallantry in the Atlanta campaign, and was again recommended for brevet by Gen. T. J. Wood, commanding the Fourth Army Corps, and Gen. George H. Thomas, commanding the Army of the Cumberland, for "zealous, intelligent, and efficient performance of duty, and for most valuable services and distinguished personal gallantry in the field, especially displayed at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864, and in the several conflicts of the battle fought at Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 15 and 16, 1864."

In May, 1865, Gen. Howard, who had been appointed commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, requested that Gen. Fullerton be assigned as his assistant; but the latter refused to accept the position, although urged to do so by many of his friends (including Frank P. Blair), and, the war being over, he tendered his resignation from the army. It was not accepted, however, and he was ordered to report to Gen. Howard for the purpose mentioned. Fullerton foresaw that the bureau was likely to become a very convenient political machine, and he accepted service

under Gen. Howard with the distinct understanding that politics were to be kept out of it. For several months he succeeded in excluding the pseudo-philanthropists and adventurers from the North from the bureau, admitting none but those connected with the United States army; but during the summer of 1865 he again sought to resign, but was persuaded to remain for a while with the bureau. In October he was ordered to Louisiana to strive to bring about an adjustment of difficulties existing there, and to secure a better understanding between the State authorities and the officers of the military department and of the bureau. In this he was very successful. Under the administration of his predecessor the negroes had formed a very exaggerated idea of their importance, having been taught by demagogues and agitators that they were to have "forty acres and a mule." Consequently many of them had become demoralized and refused to work; the planters could not make contracts; the labor system was disorganized, and ruin stared the community in the face. On the other hand, there was a large class of influential whites who seemed disposed to harass the negro as much as possible. Gen. Fullerton directed himself to bringing about a better understanding between the two races. The negroes were told that freedom did not mean idleness, and that they would not be supported by the government, but must work for themselves; and the whites were informed that their late slaves were freemen, and must be treated by them as such; that their labor was necessary, and must be fairly paid for; and that the black man, never having had opportunities for self-improvement, should in all cases be treated with consideration, and when arraigned for infringement of the law, should have justice tempered with mercy.

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In this wise and humane spirit Gen. Fullerton instituted the work of reform, and very soon succeeded in modifying the hostility which had existed between the two races. When he was relieved, in November, 1865, the *New Orleans Crescent* said, "The short administration of Gen. Fullerton has been marked by intelligence of the highest order, and has shown a regard for private rights and civil liberty which has won him the esteem of this community. . . . We would not willingly see Gen. Fullerton leave New Orleans without this acknowledgment on our part of the very great service he has rendered the public in his able administration of the bureau over which he has presided."

His administration in Louisiana was much commented upon by the newspapers. The radical Republican press generally abused him, while he was strongly upheld by the conservative papers. But even such a radical journal as the *Washington Chronicle*, after his return from Louisiana, said (Nov. 23, 1865), "Gen. Fullerton is a young man who served faithfully and fearlessly through the war. . . . We shall be greatly disappointed if his administration of the Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana fails to give satisfaction. The work assigned an assistant commissioner of the bureau is a delicate and difficult task, and it is peculiarly so in Louisiana."

After leaving New Orleans, Gen. Fullerton returned to Washington. Congress had convened, and Gen. Howard, commissioner of the bureau, was unable to withstand the pressure which certain members brought to bear upon him to control the bureau politically. The gates were opened, and floods of adventurers poured into the South, filling the land with corruption and bringing shame upon the bureau. Feeling that he could no longer accomplish any good, Gen. Fullerton asked to be relieved from duty in the bureau, and to be mustered out, so that he might return to St. Louis. His application to be relieved was granted, but he was not mustered out, but was requested to report at the White House, where he acted as President Johnson's military secretary until April, 1866, when he was commissioned, in company with Gen. Steedman, of Ohio, to visit the South and make an inspection of the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the political and social condition of the people in that section. This commission occupied him until August, and the result was the exposure of a vast amount of corruption and incompetency in the administration of the bureau. The report of Generals Steedman and Fullerton was virulently assailed by the radical Republican press, and was the occasion of a long and acrimonious newspaper controversy. As in the Louisiana affair, the radical papers unsparingly denounced the report, but the conservative press as strongly approved it. The *New York Times*, a leading Republican journal, had the frankness to say that the two commissioners had performed "an important public service," and under date of Aug. 19, 1866, it remarked "Gens. Steedman and Fullerton have pricked some very pretty bubbles. They have exposed the hollowness of much maudlin sympathy (for the negro). They have stripped disguise off proceedings that were not intended for the public eye, and have reduced divers humanitarians to the level of peculators and squanderers of public moneys."

This duty performed, Gen. Fullerton again urged (this time with success) that his resignation be accepted. In September, 1866, he was mustered out and returned to St. Louis. Upon this occasion the

National Republican, of Washington, D. C., which was then, as it is now, an organ of the Republican party, remarked, "Gen. Fullerton returns to his pur-
1861. suits of civil life crowned with unnumbered laurels fairly won in the military service, and secure of the lasting esteem of all whom he has met in social life in the national metropolis."

Gen. Fullerton had engaged in the war from a sense of duty, and had no fancy for military service in time of peace. When, therefore, upon the reorganization of the army, after the war, the President offered him the colonelcy of one of the new regiments, he declined it. He also, in the fall of 1866, declined an appointment to examine certain war claims, as it would interfere with his plan of returning to St. Louis to resume his professional work.

He arrived in St. Louis in December, 1866, and began to review his knowledge of the law, but while engaged in his studies he was surprised, in February, 1867, at receiving the unsolicited honor, at the hands of President Johnson, of being appointed postmaster of St. Louis. At first he was disposed to refuse, but finally accepted and held the office until Gen. Grant became President. During his administration he instituted many reforms, and greatly increased the efficiency of the service in St. Louis. He conducted the affairs of the office on strict civil service principles, and it is worthy of note that his was the first office so conducted in the Post-Office Department. No man was appointed or discharged for political reasons, nor were political assessments permitted. When a circular was received from the Republican Central Committee at Washington requesting him to pay a certain sum for campaign purposes, he returned it with the indorsement that he would not pay one cent, and that no man in his office should pay assessments unless he did so voluntarily. When his final accounts were examined, the auditor of the Post-Office Department complimented him on having had one of the very best conducted offices in the country, and his accounts on first trial were found exact to the last cent.

After leaving the post-office he then, as he is wont to say, began the study and practice of law, the war having deprived him of many of his best years.

The city and county of St. Louis being at that time in the hands of rings which were plundering the tax-payers, Gen. Fullerton, in December, 1872, co-operated with other leading citizens in the organization of the "Tax-Payers' League," "to aid in securing honesty, economy, and efficiency in the administration of municipal affairs and public business." The League appointed an executive committee, composed of Col. Robert Campbell, Col. Henry Hitchcock, J. R. Shepley, Maj. H. S. Turner, Hon. Albert Todd, Capt. Silas Bent, Judge John H. Fisse, and Gen. Fullerton as secretary; and for over three years (until October, 1876) this committee worked efficiently, exposed many rascalities, broke up many rings, pointed out many gross cases of misconduct and willful failure of duty on the part of certain officials, and brought about numerous reforms. The action of the League, more than anything else, led to the adoption of the "Scheme and Charter" for the government of St. Louis. As secretary of the committee, Gen. Fullerton necessarily performed his full share of the laborious work essential in a movement of such magnitude.

Gen. Fullerton also took a prominent part in suppressing the riots of 1877, his military experience serving him well in this unhappy emergency.

He is a member of and an active worker in Christ Church (Episcopalian), St. Louis, being a vestryman and trustee. As in politics, so in religion he is conservative, not a partisan, and not blinded to the good that exists in all parties and all churches.

Since 1868 he has been treasurer of the Army of the Cumberland, and is now treasurer of the Thomas Monument Fund, raised by the Army of the Cumberland for the erection of the statue of Gen. Geo. H. Thomas at Washington, D. C.

On the 29th of October, 1879, Gen. Fullerton married Miss Mary C. Morgan, only daughter of George D. Morgan, a retired New York merchant living at Irvington-on-the-Hudson. Mr. Morgan, with his cousin, ex-Governor Morgan, founded the well-known firm of E. D. Morgan & Co. Gen. Fullerton's tastes are eminently domestic. He avoids the crowd, and never cared for or worked for popularity. He never sought or asked for political preferment or office; but having held office, is one of the few persons who, after holding such, did not think the public owed him another as a debt. In his career he has always been moved by a strict sense of duty; and for this reason he has often, in business and public life, been obliged to act in conflict with his feelings, and at times to wound good friends by opposing them; but they were wounds that hurt him more than they did his friends.

Such is a hasty sketch of an unusually busy and brilliant career. It carries its own comment with it, but may be summed up as the history of one who, as a volunteer soldier, showed great bravery and gallantry on twenty battle-fields; as a lawyer, the possession of high legal attainments and a logical and observing mind; as a citizen, unselfish zeal for the public welfare; and who in private life is loved as a gentleman of the kindest heart and finest character.

—Gen. Curtis, on October 26th, issued an order, in which he said,—

"Entire secrecy must be preserved in regard to the armament and interior arrangements of our defenses.

"It is enjoined on all the officers and guards of the fort, now nearly completed, in St. Louis to admit *no visitors* without a pass signed by the commanding officer, Col. Almstedt, or by the commanding general, dated *after* the publicity of this order."

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—Lieut.-Col. B. W. Glover, who was dangerously wounded in the battle of Lexington, died in St. Louis on October 30th. Lieut.-Col. Glover was a citizen of Johnson County, where he had resided a number of years. He had been a member of the State Senate, and was at one time Grand Master of the Masonic order of Missouri. He was buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery.

—Capt. George E. Leighton, of the Nineteenth Missouri Volunteers, and provost-marshal of St. Louis, on November 2d prohibited all steamboats, railways, and express companies from receiving or transporting any boots, shoes, saddles, bridles, or ready-made clothing from St. Louis to the interior of Missouri without a special permit.

—Provost-Marshal Leighton, on November 2d, gave notice that "on and after Monday, November 4th, no passes would be issued to visit the military prison, except to the immediate relatives of prisoners confined therein or to persons having important business, in which a personal interview is absolutely necessary."

—At the suggestion of Hon. Thomas Allen, a memorial of the citizens of St. Louis was signed and presented to Congress, praying that the collection of Federal taxes throughout the State of Missouri for 1862 be suspended.

—On November 6th, Gen. Fremont was relieved of the command of the Western Department, and Gen. Hunter took his place. The removal of Gen. Fremont created the greatest excitement in St. Louis as soon as it was announced, and the German citizens were loud in their expressions of indignation, especially against Col. Frank Blair, whom they regarded as chiefly responsible for the change of commanders. Gen. Curtis, in command at Benton Barracks, sent into the city a troop of cavalry to preserve the peace, and a large force of police were also on duty at points where the popular gatherings were largest.

The Germans determined to give Gen. Fremont a grand reception upon his return to the city from the Southwest, and accordingly, on November 7th, largely attended meetings were held at Soulard Market, Washington Hall, Gerdermann's and Sturgeon Market, at which a general plan was submitted by a committee composed of Dr. G. Fischer, G. Hoeber, John C. Vogel, Louis Wagner, and Capt. T. Niederwieser. The plan was adopted by all the meetings, and the following committee was appointed to make the necessary preparations for the demonstration:

First Ward, John H. Fisse, J. G. Woerner.
Second Ward, Charles W. Gottschalk, Gustavus Fisher.
Third Ward, Felix Coste, Gustavus Hoeber.
Fourth Ward, Philip Weigel, Tony Neiderweiser.
Fifth Ward, E. Anheuser, Julius Hestler.
Sixth Ward, Adam Hindricker, Thomas O'Reilly.
Seventh Ward, John G. Gerdeman, Charles Daunerman.
Eighth Ward, John C. Vogel, Henry Meyer.
Ninth Ward, S. E. Beckman, Louis Wagner.
Tenth Ward, Henry Block.

John C. Vogel, a highly-honored German citizen from the Eighth ward, was chosen president, and mainly through his efforts the reception was a great success.

St. Louis owes much to her citizens of German birth, many of whom, not only during the trying period of the war, but in the various walks of civil business, and private life, have conspicuously illustrated the peculiar virtues of their native land, and have won recognition in the home of their adoption as broad-minded and able men. Among this number John C. Vogel occupies a praiseworthy position as a type of the foreign-born citizen fully imbued with the spirit of American institutions, and thoroughly devoted to serving the best interests of the community with which he has been identified. He was born at Klanglangheim, a village in Bavaria, Germany, Oct. 9, 1816. His parents were people of education and refinement, and in easy circumstances. Their son enjoyed the advantages of a good education; but though education was compulsory in Germany, the boy needed no other spur than his thirst for knowledge. Upon leaving school he served an apprenticeship as baker, and having fulfilled his term entered upon the prosecution of an active and useful career with the reputation of being a first-class workman. Business opportunities, however, were not abundant in the land of his birth, and having heard much of the successes of his countrymen in America he in April, 1835, came hither, with the intention however, of returning to perform military service which was compulsory on every German male, under penalty of confiscation of property. After two years residence in this country he decided to remain permanently, and hired a substitute to perform his military service in Germany, while he devoted himself to bettering his condition in his new home. The estimate which he placed upon his prospects in the United States may be judged from the fact that he paid four hundred florins for his military substitute.



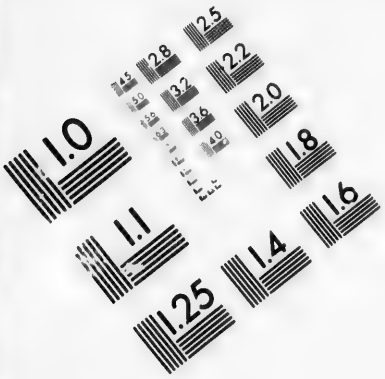
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ket, at which a general plan was submitted by a committee composed of Dr. G. Fischer, G. Hoeber, John

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John C. Vogel



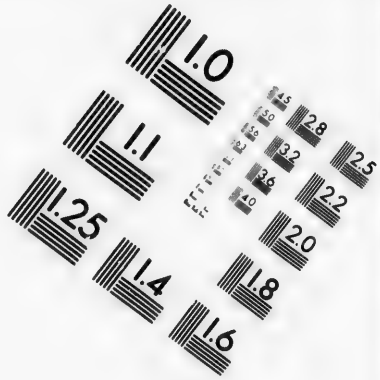
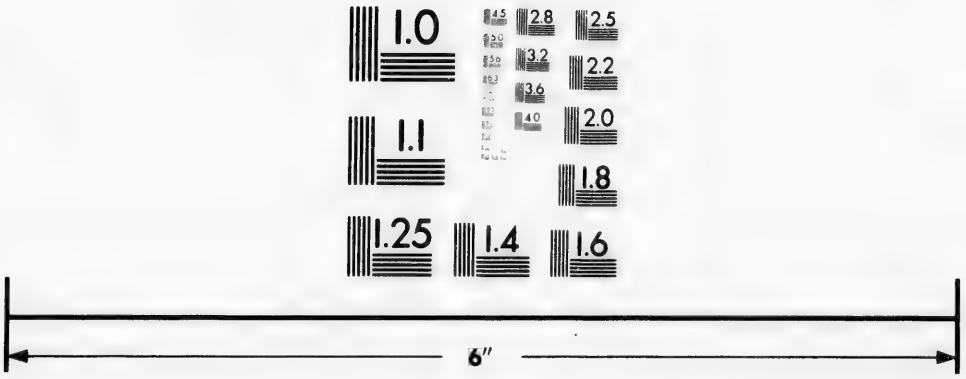
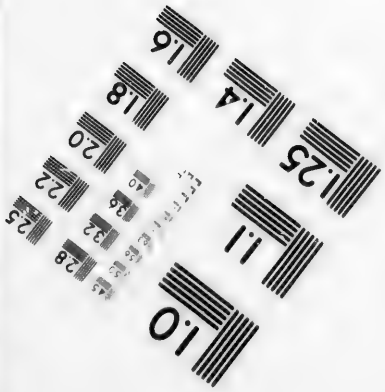
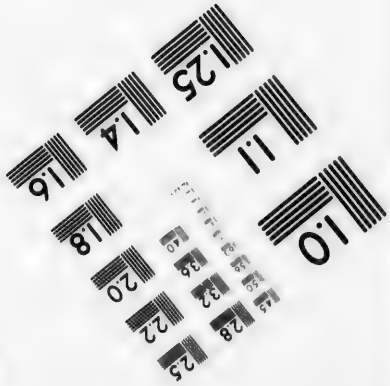


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He reached St. Louis in 1836, and worked for two years at his trade, during which time his economy and intelligent labor enabled him to save sufficient money to go into business on his own account. His naturalization as a citizen of the United States in 1841 was simply the legal and visible record of a fact that was already accomplished, for he was in thought and fibre a citizen of the great republic.

1861.

In 1843 he was appointed city weigher, which office he held for three years, after which he served as clerk in the post-office for one year with credit to himself and satisfaction to the department. In 1847 he established the first omnibus line on Franklin Avenue, which proved highly successful. From 1851 to 1858 he was a justice of the peace, and served as a member of the City Council from 1855 to 1861. At the expiration of this term of office he served three months in the Fourth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry (Home Guards).

Meanwhile, in 1851, he had become connected with the St. Louis Fire and Marine Insurance Company, an institution that takes high rank in the insurance world, and has been its president for many years, directing its operations and its policy, and making it one of the most honored and prosperous of such institutions in the West.

Mr. Vogel has always taken an active interest in politics, and his influence in the political world was early recognized as considerable. His assistance was eagerly sought, and he displayed such ability as to be regarded as a leader. When he received a nomination for sheriff of St. Louis County in 1862, his personal and political popularity carried him through triumphantly and secured his election.

As a business man of many years' standing, he enjoys a high reputation, and his judgment has been largely sought in banking and other corporations, in many of which he has served as director.

His social qualities have given him prominence in various societies, especially the Odd-Fellows, of which order Wildey Lodge has numbered him as a member since 1844, he having passed all the chairs. He assisted in the organization of the St. Louis Immigration Society, being one of the few liberal and earnest men who foresaw Missouri's prospective greatness, and who early applied themselves to the work of attracting immigration hither. As an enlightened gentleman of foreign birth, Mr. Vogel had much weight in the organization of the movement, and his counsels have ever been regarded as of unusual value in all matter pertaining to immigration.

Notwithstanding the love Mr. Vogel has ever borne his adopted country, and his reliance on her institutions, he has made several extended visits to his native land, attracted thither by a natural love for the home of his birth, and the recreation that liberal culture craves.

In December, 1840, Mr. Vogel was married to Miss Sophia Wilhelmina Franke, daughter of Christian Henry Franke, a native of Prussia and a well-known citizen of St. Louis. Four children resulted from this marriage, none of whom are now living.

Mr. Vogel's parents were members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in which faith he was reared, and to which he has steadily adhered. He is a leading member of that communion, and has been a liberal contributor to all its enterprises, as well as a generous supporter of every project designed to advance the interests of the city. His life has been a successful and useful one in a marked degree, and he enjoys the esteem and confidence of the entire community as one of its most honored and honorable members. Broadly liberal in both thought and action, he has done so much that deserves well at the hands of his fellow-citizens that he is both remembered and appreciated with a regard that might well satisfy a more ambitious man.

Gen. Fremont and staff arrived in the city on the 8th, and were received in the most enthusiastic manner by an assemblage numbering twenty thousand citizens. A torchlight procession was formed, which finally reached the front of Gen. Fremont's headquarters, where the committee appointed to deliver the address left the line to perform the duty assigned them. Gen. Fremont received them in one of the large rooms, and John C. Vogel, stepping forward, delivered an address highly eulogistic of the general, after which the following resolutions were read and then presented to Gen. Fremont:

"We, the citizens of St. Louis of German extraction, in mass-meeting assembled to give expression of our sentiments towards Maj.-Gen. John C. Fremont, have solemnly and unanimously resolved,

"1. That we recognize in John C. Fremont the embodiment of our patriotic feeling and political faith.

"2. That, notwithstanding many paralyzing circumstances, he has performed his arduous and responsible task with all possible energy and honesty.

"3. That we admire his impartiality and sagacity in selecting his military counselors, without national prejudices, from among such men as he considered true and worthy of his confidence.

"4. That we will stand by him as long as he shall prove true to us.

"5. That while we submit to the action of the government, as behooves loyal citizens, we regret to be deprived at the present moment of his services in conquering the rebel army, and believe we recognize in this event a wise providence which

may have reserved him for a still wider sphere of action in future times."

Gen. Fremont, during the reading of the resolutions and the delivery of the address, apparently found it difficult to restrain his emotions, and when he responded his voice was quite tremulous.

1861.

During Gen. Fremont's administration of the affairs of this military department, says the *Republican*, he made an arrangement by which the North Missouri Railroad Company was to be connected with the Iron Mountain and Pacific Railroad Companies.

"The consideration was that the company would repay to the United States twenty-five thousand dollars in transportation thereafter to be done on the road, and a part of that money has thus been paid. The road, two and a half miles in length, was constructed under the express orders of Gen. Fremont, at a cost of a little less than thirty-seven thousand dollars. Anybody can see the manner in which it has been done by examining it. A more substantial road cannot be built, and to suit the peculiar locality (on the Levee) it has been planked with thick stuff, so as to offer no obstacle to drays, wagons, etc., passing over it. The account of this work is before the committee of claims, and suspended under circumstances of peculiar hardship. Not a dollar has been paid to the laborers who built the road, although the United States is the responsible party for it."

—Brig.-Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, on November 7th, assumed command "over all the local commands and military operations within fifty miles of St. Louis on the Missouri side of the Mississippi River."

—The *Republican* of November 20th gives the following account of the provost-marshal's office and the mode of issuing passes:

"The provost-marshal's general office for the issue of passports is on Washington Avenue below Fourth Street. It is under the superintendence of Mr. Samuel Greene. Besides this principal office, however, passes are issued to guests at the Planters' House, Barnum's, Virginia Hotel, Everett House, City and St. Charles Hotels, and to passengers at all the railroad ticket offices, as also at the Keokuk and Northern Line packet office, and at the Carondelet ferry.

"At the passport office twelve clerks are constantly employed in issuing and recording passes. The form of these passes is familiar to many of our readers. It is nothing more or less than permission to pass beyond the limits of the city and county of St. Louis, signed by George E. Leighton, captain Nineteenth Missouri Volunteers, provost-marshal, and also signed by the clerk issuing the pass. On the reverse side are recorded the name, age, height, color of eyes and hair, nativity and residence of the applicant, and also a printed pledge of loyalty to be signed by the party to whom the paper is issued. A change has recently been made in the form of the obligation. During Gen. McKinstry's administration it was in the following words:

"'It is understood that the within named subscriber accepts this pass on his word of honor that he is and will be ever loyal to the United States; and if hereafter found in arms against the Union, or in any way aiding her enemies, the penalty will be death.'

"When Capt. Leighton assumed the duties of the office the form was altered to read as subjoined:

"'I hereby acknowledge that I accept this pass upon my word of honor, solemnly pledged, that I will ever bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and that I will consider such allegiance as paramount to that due to any other power, sovereignty, or State whatsoever; that I will never take arms against the United States or those acting under its authority, or give aid, information, or comfort to its enemies, and that I will do all in my power as a citizen to discourage the present rebellion and preserve the Federal Union.'

"These passports are all numbered and recorded in books kept for the purpose, the clerks transferring number of pass, name, age, height, color of hair and eyes, nativity and residence, —an immense amount of labor being thus required.

"The office is constantly thronged during business hours, from 8 o'clock A.M. to 5 o'clock P.M., the principal pressure being in the afternoon. From eight hundred to one thousand passes are issued daily at the office. Many rich scenes and interesting incidents occurring here might be related were our space to justify it. The visitor may often hear utterances of impatience, ranging from the low murmur to the downright rip-roaring oath, fears expressed about being too late for the train or boat, and sundry excited ejaculations, together with some mirth about the general inconvenience of the thing anyhow. The clerks, however, appear as attentive and considerate as possible, and preserve, amidst the hurry and all the abuse they sometimes get, a most equitable temper and disposition.

"We have taken pains to ascertain the number of permits to leave the city that have been issued since martial law was declared in this county. Seventy-five thousand have been recorded, and, as near as can be conjectured, ten thousand more were issued in the grand rush following the declaration of martial law that were *not* recorded. Altogether, it is perhaps safe to put the whole number of passes issued from the 14th of August to the present time at eighty-five thousand.

"Foreign subjects, on presenting certificates that they are such from the acting consuls, are furnished passports without being required to sign the obligation or pledge. Returns to the superintendent's office are made every morning from the hotels, railroad offices, and packets, where passes are issued. In all respects the issuing and recording are the same at the hotels, etc., as at the passport office.

"Parties are stationed at all the ferries, depots, and steamboats, as well as at all the roads leading out of the county, to inspect passes and overhaul any suspected baggage. Persons losing their passes and applying for new ones are required to go before some justice of the peace and make affidavit as to the disposition they have made of their old ones."

—Brig.-Gen. McKinstry, acting major-general of one of the divisions of the army, arrived in St. Louis December 13th under arrest, in accordance with an order from the War Department. He turned over his command to Gen. Sturgis.

—By an order of the War Department, Gen. H. W. Halleck was transferred from California November 9th, and placed in "command of the Department of the Missouri, including the States of Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, and that portion of Kentucky west of Cumberland River," with headquarters in St. Louis. He arrived in the city on the 10th, accompanied by Gen. S. Hamilton.

and established himself at the Planters' Hotel. On the 18th, Maj.-Gen. Hunter, who had been assigned to the Department of Kansas, relinquished his command of the Department of Missouri to him, and on the 19th Gen. Halleck took command.

1861.

—John F. Wielandy, agent for pensions, announced that he had succeeded in procuring the first pension to a disabled soldier in the Western Department. The pensioner was W. H. Wencker, a private of Company I, Third Regiment Missouri Volunteers, who was wounded at Wilson's Creek. His half pension began Oct. 14, 1861.

—Immediately upon assuming command Gen. Halleck proceeded to establish thorough discipline in the army, and to adopt measures for the successful prosecution of the war. On November 26th he issued General Order No. 8, through his assistant adjutant-general, John C. Kelton, in which he said,—

"Numerous cases have been brought to the attention of the commanding general of alleged seizure and destruction of private property in this department, showing an outrageous abuse of power and a violation of the laws of war. To avoid a recurrence of these evils the following rules will hereafter be observed:

"1. No private property will be taken except where necessary for the subsistence or transportation of the troops, or in cases of persons in arms against the United States, or affording aid and assistance to the enemy.

"2. Where it becomes necessary to take private property for the former purpose, intelligent and responsible officers will be detailed for that purpose, who will take an accurate account of the property so taken, and give receipts therefor. All such property must be duly returned and accounted for, and the authority for the seizure must be stated in the receipts and returns. Any unauthorized and unnecessary seizure or destruction of private property will be punished with the extreme penalty imposed by the laws of war, which is *death*.

"3. The seizure and conversion of the private property of an enemy (where not required for immediate supplies, as provided in the foregoing paragraph) is justifiable only in particular cases, provided for by the laws of the United States and the general laws of war, and should never be made except by the orders of the officer highest in command, who will be held accountable for the exercise of this power. Great caution should be used in this matter, as much injustice has been done to individuals who are not enemies, and much discredit cast upon our patriotic army by excesses committed by unauthorized persons pretending to act in the name of the United States. All property taken from alleged enemies must be inventoried and duly accounted for.

"Any person violating these rules will be immediately arrested and reported to headquarters.

"4. In all cases where prisoners taken at other posts or in the field are taken to St. Louis, they will be accompanied with a written statement of the charges against them, and the evidence on which the arrest was based. Otherwise prisoners so sent will be released on their arrival here.

"5. No person will be hereafter arrested without good and substantial reasons, and officers making arrests without sufficient cause, or without authority, will be held to account and punished. And officers sending prisoners to St. Louis without charges, proofs, or proper explanations will be charged with the expenses of their transportation."

—On November 27th, Gen. Curtis, through Maj. N. P. Chipman, his assistant adjutant-general, issued an order "to check communication with the enemy, prevent conveyance of contraband goods, and avoid the recurrence of assaults upon our steamboats" on the Mississippi River. It required boats entering the river to report at the first military post and stop, and to proceed under military orders at the discretion of the military commander. "Freight and baggage will be subject to careful inspection; an oath to which no patriot can object and no traitor forget shall be taken and subscribed to by all employés and passengers, except such alien friends as may be excepted by commanding generals. The plans of landing and departure will conform as near as may be to the custom of the trade, but all commission and storage business must be transacted with openly avowed and reliable Union men." The officers of boats and officers of the army were directed, and those of the navy were requested, to vigorously carry out the order.

—Gen. Halleck, on November 30th, issued an order, through J. C. Kelton, his assistant adjutant-general, recognizing the following officers of his staff who had reported for duty:

Brig.-Gen. George W. Cullum, chief of staff and chief of engineers; Brig.-Gen. Schuyler Hamilton, assistant chief of staff; Capt. J. C. Kelton, assistant adjutant-general, in charge of office; Capt. William McMichael, assistant adjutant-general; Capt. S. M. Preston, assistant adjutant-general; Maj. Robert Allen, chief of quartermaster's department; Capt. Thomas J. Haines, chief of subsistence department; Surg. J. J. B. Wright, chief of medical department; Lieut.-Col. T. P. Andrews, chief of pay department; Lieut.-Col. J. B. McPherson, aide-de-camp and assistant to chief of engineers; Col. George Thom, aide-de-camp and chief of topographical engineers; Col. Richard D. Cutts, aide-de-camp on topographical duty; Capt. Franklin D. Callender, chief of ordnance department; Lieut.-Col. James Totten, chief of artillery; Capt. George Hoskin, acting aide-de-camp.

—On December 1st, Governor H. R. Gamble issued an order assigning to duty at his headquarters, "upon the staff of the commander-in-chief," the following officers:

Col. Chester Harding, Jr., adjutant-general; Col. Samuel G. Reed, quartermaster-general; Col. Alton R. Easton, inspector-general; Col. Franklin D. Callender, aide-de-camp and chief of ordnance; Col. Hamilton Gamble, aide-de-camp, assigned to duty as assistant inspector-general; Col. William D. Wood, aide-de-camp, assigned to duty as assistant inspector-general; Col. William T. Mason, aide-de-camp, assigned to duty as assistant inspector-general.

—On October 16th the State Convention adopted an ordinance requiring test oaths of loyalty for all

civil officers, the same to be filed within sixty days, and providing that the offices of those who failed to comply with the ordinance before the 17th of December, 1861, should be declared vacant, and that the vacancy should be filled by appointment. On the 2d of December, M. Oliver, the Secretary of State, called the special attention of those "whom it may concern" to the provisions of the law, and submitted the following as the "approved form of the oath required by the ordinance:"

1861.

"I, A. B. (stating the office), do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the State of Missouri, and that I will not take up arms against the government of the United States, nor the provisional government of the State of Missouri, nor give aid or comfort to the enemies of either during the present civil war, so help me God."

Notwithstanding this was a State measure and only applied to State and city officials, Gen. Halleck deemed it necessary on December 7th to issue the following general order requiring the enforcement of the ordinance:

"The mayor of the city of St. Louis will require all municipal officers to immediately subscribe to the oath of allegiance prescribed in the ordinance passed by the convention of this State on the 16th day of October, 1861.

"The provost-marshal-general will take measures to ascertain whether any civil officer of this State fails, within the time fixed by said ordinance, to subscribe and file the oath there prescribed; and any person having failed to take such oath who attempts to exercise civil authority, in violation of the terms of said ordinance, will be arrested."

—During the year Maj.-Gen. Sterling Price, of the Confederate army, requested D. Robert Barclay, J. R. Barret, and D. H. Armstrong, of St. Louis, to act in his behalf in conducting the exchange of prisoners of war. These gentlemen accepted the humane mission, and having been applied to frequently by ladies for information as to whether they would be permitted to supply the prisoners confined in the military prison in the city with such clothing and other necessaries as their comfort seemed from time to time to demand, they referred the matter to Capt. George E. Leighton, the provost-marshal, with the belief that he would act justly and humanely in the premises. In this anticipation they were not disappointed, as will be seen by the following letter:

"Office of Provost-Marshal.
"St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 3, 1861.

"Gentlemen,—Your communication of this day is at hand. In reply thereto, I have to say that the privilege of furnishing any clothing, or whatever may conduce to the personal comfort of any prisoner, has never been denied. It has not been deemed necessary by the government, while confining the person of the prisoner, to prohibit the ordinary offices of humanity or friendship, and while every reasonable effort is made by those in charge of the prison to secure the personal comfort of every prisoner, yet, if desired, anything of the character mentioned by you, upon being left at the prison, will be immediately delivered to the person for whom it is designed.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"George E. Leighton,
"*Captain, Provost-Marshal.*

"To Messrs. D. Robert Barclay, and others."

—Gen. Halleck on December 4th issued General Orders No. 13, which, with the exception of Section II. (of little interest), were as follows:

"I. Lieut.-Col. Bernard G. Farrar is hereby appointed provost-marshal-general of this department. Capt. George E. Leighton is provost-marshal of the city of St. Louis and its vicinity. All local provost-marshals will be subject to the orders of the provost-marshal-general, who will receive his instructions direct from these headquarters.

"III. Commanding officers of districts, posts, and corps will arrest and place in confinement all persons in arms against the lawful authorities of the United States, or who give aid, assistance, or encouragement to the enemy. The evidence against persons so arrested will be reduced to writing and verified on oath, and the originals or certified copies of such affidavits will be immediately furnished to the provost-marshal-general in this city. All arms, ammunition, and other personal property required for the use of the army, such as horses, wagons, provisions, etc., belonging to persons so in arms or so assisting and encouraging the enemy, will be taken possession of, and turned over and accounted for. Such property, not of a proper character for issue, will be examined by a board of officers, and sold as directed by the army regulations.

"IV. Commissions will be ordered from these headquarters for the trial of persons charged with aiding and assisting the enemy, the destruction of bridges, roads, and buildings, and the taking of public or private property for hostile purposes, and also for the condemnation of property taken by our forces from disloyal inhabitants for the use of the army.

"V. In all certificates given for private property taken for public use, in accordance with General Orders No. 8 of this department, it will be stated whether the property was taken from loyal or disloyal persons, and as a test of the loyalty of persons claiming to be such, from whom property is so taken, officers commanding districts, posts, divisions, or separate brigades are authorized to appoint some competent and reliable officer to require and administer the usual oath of allegiance to the United States.

"VI. All persons found in disguise as pretended loyal citizens, or under other false pretenses, within our lines, giving information to or communicating with the enemy, will be arrested, tried, condemned, and shot as spies. It should be remembered that in this respect the laws of war make no distinction of sex,—all are liable to the same penalty.

"VII. Persons not commissioned or enlisted in the service of the so-called Confederate States, who commit acts of hostility, will not be treated as prisoners of war, but will be held and punished as criminals. And all persons found guilty of murder, robbery, theft, pillaging, and marauding, under whatever authority, will either be shot or otherwise less severely punished, as is prescribed by the rules and articles of war, or authorized by the usages and customs of war in like cases.

"VIII. The law of military retaliation has fixed and well-established rules. While it allows no cruel or barbarous acts on our part in retaliation for like acts of the enemy, it permits any

retaliatory measures within the prescribed limits of military usage. If the enemy murders and robs Union men, we are not justified in murdering and robbing other persons who 1861. are in a legal sense enemies to our government, but we may enforce on them the severest penalties justified by the laws of war for the crimes of their fellow-rebels. The rebel forces in the Southwestern counties of this State have robbed and plundered the peaceful non-combatant inhabitants, taking from them their clothing and means of subsistence. Men, women, and children have alike been stripped and plundered. Thousands of such persons are finding their way to this city, barefooted, half-clad, and in a destitute and starving condition. Humanity and justice require that these sufferings should be relieved, and that the outrages committed upon them should be retaliated upon the enemy. The individuals who have directly caused these sufferings are at present mostly beyond our reach. But there are in this city, and in other places within our lines, numerous wealthy secessionists, who render aid, assistance, and encouragement to those who commit these outrages. They do not themselves rob and plunder, but they abet and countenance these acts in others. Although less bold they are equally guilty. It is therefore ordered and directed that the provost-marshals immediately inquire into the condition of the persons so driven from their homes, and that measures be taken to quarter them in the houses and to feed and clothe them at the expense of avowed secessionists, and of those who are found guilty of giving aid, assistance, and encouragement to the enemy.

"IX. The laws of the United States confiscate the property of any master in a slave used for insurrectionary purposes. Should Congress extend this penalty to the property of all rebels in arms, or giving aid, assistance, and encouragement to the enemy, such provisions will be strictly enforced. Military officers do not make laws, but they should obey and enforce them when made.

"X. Where the necessities of service require it, the forced labor of citizens, slaves, and even prisoners of war may be employed in the construction of military defenses, but no one will be forced to such labor without orders from these headquarters, except in cases of siege or attack. All persons so impressed will be fed and quartered at the public expense, and an account will be taken of their labor, to be settled as may be directed by the War Department. All such working parties will be strictly guarded and kept, as far as possible, from communicating with the command where employed.

"XI. These orders may by some be regarded as severe; but they are certainly justified by the laws of war, and it is believed they are not only right but necessary. It is therefore expected that all loyal citizens in this department will assist the military authorities in strictly enforcing them. There is already a large military force in this State, which is daily increasing in numbers and improving in organization and discipline. In a few weeks this force will be able not only to expel or punish all traitors and rebels, but also to strike the enemy in his strongholds.

"XII. All communications relating to prisoners of war will be directed to the provost-marshal-general, to be by him laid before the commanding general, daily, at orderly hours."

In pursuance of this order Bernard G. Farrar, provost-marshal-general of the Department of the Missouri, on December 5th assumed the discharge of his duties. In his "Order No. 1" he required all local provost-marshals to report to him the corps from which and the commander by whom they were appointed, together with the limits of their jurisdiction. The order also contained the following provisions:

"IV. Provost-marshals will not issue orders for the arrest of persons or the seizure of property without satisfactory evidence by affidavit, or the official statements of army officers, showing probable cause to believe that the accused person or owner has been, or is, guilty of either of the crimes specified in the Department General Order No. 13, hereinbefore referred to. This, however, is not intended to refer to arrests or seizures, made by authority of military commanders, which are sent before the provost-marshals for investigation.

"V. Whenever a suspected person is arrested by order of, or sent before a local provost-marshal for examination, he shall immediately examine the witnesses under oath, reducing the several statements to writing, and shall immediately forward the same, together with his opinion thereon, to this office, detaining the prisoner in custody until directions are received for the disposition of the accused. Provided, however, if the evidence does not disclose any of the offenses specified, the prisoner shall be discharged upon taking the oath of allegiance by the local provost-marshal, and a report made to this office of such arrest, examination, and discharge.

"VI. When property is seized a correct description and inventory of the same shall be made and forwarded to this office, together with a sworn statement of the facts and circumstances upon which such seizure was founded, and the property safely held until directions are received from headquarters or the immediate military commander for its disposition.

"VII. The rank, name, and date of taking of all prisoners of war shall be immediately forwarded to this office for the information of the commanding general.

"VIII. Arrests and seizures made by provost-marshals for the mere purpose of enforcing camp and police discipline need not be reported to this office, but may be disposed of at the time, subject only to the orders of the immediate commander."

—To carry out the arrangements for protecting the commerce of the Mississippi, the following oath and blanks for names and description were prescribed by Brig.-Gen. Curtis on December 6th, for the use of the boats and houses engaged in this trade:

"I solemnly swear that I will bear true allegiance to the United States, and support and sustain the Constitution and laws thereof; and I will maintain the national sovereignty paramount to that of all State, county, or confederate powers; that I will discourage, discountenance, and forever oppose secession, rebellion, and disintegration of the Federal Union; that I disclaim and denounce all faith and fellowship with the so-called Confederate States and Confederate armies, and pledge my honor, my property, and my life to the sacred performance of this my solemn oath of allegiance to the government of the United States of America."

Name.	Residence.	Destination.	Age.	Height.		Eyes.	Hair.	Complexion.
			Years.	Feet.	Inches.			

This oath was also prescribed as the oath of allegiance to be taken and subscribed in obedience to

Paragraph V. of General Orders No. 13, heretofore mentioned, and in all other cases in the Missouri Department where an oath of allegiance was authorized and required.

1861.

—On December 4th, J. M. Schofield, brigadier-general commanding the Missouri State militia, ordered that the following officers of his staff should be recognized and obeyed:

"Lieut.-Col. Calvin W. Marsh, assistant adjutant-general.
"Lieut.-Col. Bernard G. Farrar, aide-de-camp.
"Lieut.-Col. John B. Gray, aide-de-camp and assistant inspector-general.
"Staff of the First Brigade:
"Maj. Henry Hescock, assistant adjutant-general.
"Maj. Henry L. McConnell, aide-de-camp.
"Maj. John F. Tyler, aide-de-camp."

—The following regulations for the river commerce from the port of St. Louis on the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers were put in force on December 10th by Brig.-Gen. S. R. Curtis:

"1. From and after this date the river commerce from the port of St. Louis will be entirely under military control and surveillance.

"2. No steamboats or other crafts will be permitted to take freights or passengers, or be allowed a clearance, except those authorized and commissioned by the major-general commanding the Department of the Missouri, or the general commanding the District of St. Louis.

"3. Every person or company owning a steamboat or other craft, and desiring to do business on the rivers from and to the port of St. Louis, will immediately after the publication of this notice be required to make written application to the chief quartermaster, United States army, in St. Louis, for permission, accompanying the same with a statement under oath of the true owner or owners of said steamboat or craft, and the amount of interest of each person or company in said steamboat or craft, whether in trust or otherwise, their places of residence and of business, and also the name and residence of each officer and pilot employed or to be employed on the same; and any change in the ownership of said steamboat or craft, or in the officers or pilots thereof, shall also be reported in like manner.

"4. All officers, pilots, and river employés on any steamboat or craft, shall take the following oath (the oath prescribed December 6th).

"5. When application has been made agreeably to the foregoing, it shall be the duty of the chief quartermaster in St. Louis to institute such further investigation as he may deem requisite as to the character and loyalty of the owner or owners, the officers and pilots of such steamboats or crafts, and if found UNEXCEPTIONABLE, he shall issue his commission to the owner or master thereof to do business on the rivers.

"6. The object of the foregoing is to SUPPRESS and ENTIRELY PREVENT any aid or ASSISTANCE to or COMMUNICATION WITH any person or persons (directly or indirectly) disloyal to or in arms against the Federal authority of the United States.

"7. ANY OWNER, officer, or pilot of any steamboat or other craft who shall do any act contrary to the object expressed in the foregoing section shall cause the immediate FORFEITURE of said steamboat or craft and her cargo to the Federal government, and such owner, officer, or pilot be subject to the pains and penalties prescribed by the articles of war for giving aid to the enemy. The articles of war referred to above are in the following words:

"'ART. 56. Whosoever shall relieve the enemy with money, victuals, or ammunition, or shall knowingly harbor or protect an enemy, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a court-martial.

"'ART. 57. Whoever shall be convicted of holding correspondence with or giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a court-martial.'"

In order to carry out the objects of Gen. Curtis in relation to the commerce and navigation of the Mississippi, Capt. John A. Scudder and Capt. Parsons were appointed, December 14th, to administer the

"oath of allegiance to the United States government to all officers, pilots, and river employés, consignors and consignees, and passengers on any steamboat or craft which shall, by permission of the proper authorities, quit the port of St. Louis.

"Masters of vessels and inspectors who have themselves been fully qualified, entered upon, and are still in the service are also authorized and appointed to administer the oath and carry out the object of the orders concerning the river commerce on the Mississippi and its tributaries."

—The city being crowded with Union refugees from the disturbed sections of the interior, Maj.-Gen. Halleck on December 12th issued the following "General Orders No. 24," for levying a contribution of ten thousand dollars on the Southern sympathizers for their support:

"I. The suffering families driven by rebels from Southwestern Missouri which have already arrived here have been supplied by voluntary contributions made by Union men. Others are on their way, to arrive in a few days. These must be supplied by the charity of men known to be hostile to the Union. A list will be prepared of the names of all persons of this class who do not voluntarily furnish their quota, and a contribution will be levied on them of *ten thousand dollars*, in clothing, provisions and quarters, or money in lieu thereof. This levy will be made upon the following class of persons, in proportion to the guilt and property of each individual: 1st, those in arms with the enemy who have property in this city; 2d, those who have furnished pecuniary or other aid to the enemy, or to persons in the enemy's service; 3d, those who have verbally, in writing, or by publication given encouragement to insurgents and rebels.

"II. Brig.-Gen. S. R. Curtis, United States volunteers, Lieut.-Col. B. G. Farrar, provost-marshal-general, and Charles Borg, Esq., assessor of the county of St. Louis, will constitute a board of assessors for levying the aforementioned contribution. In determining the amount of property of the individuals assessed, the board will take into consideration the official assessment lists for municipal taxes.

"III. As soon as any part of this contribution has been assessed by the board, the provost-marshal-general will notify the parties assessed, their agents or representatives, stating the amount of provisions, clothing or quarters, and the money value thereof required of each, and if not furnished within the time specified in such notice, he will issue an execution, and sufficient property will be taken and sold at public auction to satisfy the assessment, with costs and a penalty of twenty-five per cent. in addition. Where buildings or parts of build-

lings are to be used, and where any of the sufferers are to be quartered on families, care should be taken to produce as little inconvenience to the owners or families as possible, this
1861. not being considered a military contribution levied upon the enemy, but merely a collection to be made from friends of the enemy for charitable purposes.

"IV. If any person upon whom such assessment shall be made shall file with the provost-marshal-general an affidavit that he is a loyal citizen and has been true to his allegiance to the United States, he will be allowed one week to furnish evidence to the board to vindicate his character, and if at the end of that time he shall not be able to satisfy the board of his loyalty, the assessment shall be increased ten per cent. and the levy immediately made.

"V. The supplies so collected will be expended for the object designated, under the direction of the provost-marshal-general, with the advice of the State Sanitary Commission. Where moneys are received in lieu of supplies, it will be expended for them as they may be required. Any money not so expended will be turned over to the sanitary commission for the benefit of sick soldiers. A strict and accurate account of these receipts and expenditures will be kept and returned to these headquarters.

"VI. Any one who shall resist or attempt to resist the execution of these orders will be immediately arrested and imprisoned, and will be tried by a military commission."

On the following day Provost-Marshal Leighton, with a view to provide against the arrest or molestation of the large number of persons who were arriving in the city daily from the South,

"ordered that all persons who may arrive in St. Louis or its immediate vicinity from the States in rebellion against the authority of the government of the United States be required to report in person at the office of the provost-marshal of the city of St. Louis immediately upon their arrival.

"All such persons will be required to register their names and testify upon oath their allegiance to the government of the United States."

A "Ladies' Union Refugee Aid Society" was also formed for the relief of those who had thus sought the protection of the government. The rooms of the society for the reception of the refugees were at No. 68 Elm Street. The officers were Mrs. P. A. Child, president; Mrs. William Barr, secretary and treasurer; and the following directors: Mrs. Dr. Heusler, Mrs. Robert Holmes, Mrs. C. S. Kintzing, Mrs. Ferdinand Meyer, and Mrs. Professor Terrell. The following gentlemen acted as an executive committee: Messrs. Pearly, Childs, Robert Holmes, S. A. Braun, and James E. Cozzens.

The Southwestern Missouri refugees, for whose benefit the ten thousand dollar assessment was now being made, were quartered in an old mansion located on Elm between Fourth and Fifth Streets. It was furnished with beds and bedding sufficient to accommodate about sixty persons. The colored quarters in the rear of the house were also fitted up for the same purpose. The refugees, who numbered up to this time (December 20th) about six hundred persons, were quartered as fast as they arrived in the city at the mansion, and remained long enough to be fed and clothed, and were then sent forward to their final destinations in Illinois and other States. Their teams while in the city were quartered on a lot near the mansion. Everything was under the sole management of the officers of the Ladies' Union Refugee Aid Society. The sixty-four persons who were assessed for the ten thousand dollars for the benefit of the refugees on December 20th were served with the following notice:

"Office of the Provost-Marshal-General
"of the Department of the Missouri.
"St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 20, 1861.

"—— ——.

"You are hereby notified that, pursuant to General Orders No. 23 from the headquarters of the Department of the Missouri, directing a levy upon the friends of the enemy for charitable purposes, you have been assessed the sum of —— hundred dollars as your contribution in aid of the suffering families driven by the rebels from Southwestern Missouri.

"You will, therefore, pay the amount so assessed, or its equivalent in clothing, provisions, or quarters, to me within five days after the service of this notice upon you, or, in default thereof, execution will be issued against your property for sufficient to satisfy the assessments, costs, and twenty-five per cent. penalty in addition. Should you elect to pay your assessment in clothing, provisions, or quarters, you will give notice of such intention to this office, accompanying the same with an inventory and description of the articles, or of the situation and value of the quarters tendered, which will be accepted, subject to an appraisement of the same by me.

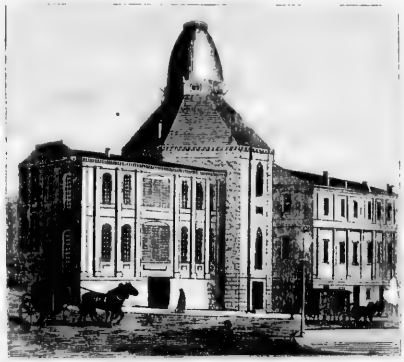
"Bernard G. Farrar, *Provost-Marshal-General.*"

On the same day Col. Farrar directed that all those who were desirous of availing themselves of the privilege contained in Section IV. of General Orders No. 24 should file their affidavits of loyalty in his office on or before the 26th of December.

—The main portion of the prisoners captured by Gen. Pope reached St. Louis on the 22d of December by the Pacific train. They numbered about thirteen hundred men. The train consisted of thirty-six cars, and the prisoners were packed into each car so closely as to leave but little more than comfortable standing-room. They were marched in a close column, which extended from Gratiot Street to the Seventh Street Station, to McDowell's College, where they were quartered. They were escorted by the Twenty-fifth Indiana and the Second Iowa Regiments, followed by a large crowd, which occasionally cheered the prisoners.

Gratiot Street Military Prison, which was used by the Federal authorities during the civil war for the confinement of prisoners charged with offenses against military law, was originally the McDowell Medical Col-

lege. It was situated on the northwest corner of Eighth and Gratiot Streets, and consisted of a large octagonal building of gray stone, with arched
1861. and square windows, "reminding one of portholes in some antiquated fort or castellated structure," surmounted by an oddly-shaped dome, and flanked by two wings, the southern situated directly on the corner of Eighth and Gratiot Streets, and the northern extending to the building of the Christian Brothers. The fortress-like appearance of the central structure gave some color of probability with the credulous to a story which gained a wide circulation that Dr. McDowell, in erecting it, contemplated the possibility of having some day to make a military defense of the structure. This statement, however, is believed to have had its origin in the fact that during the Know-Nothing political troubles Dr. McDowell purchased a number of muskets from the United States arsenal and several small cannon. The muskets were stored in the cupola, and on the breaking out of the civil war Dr. McDowell sent the arms to Memphis, and subsequently went South himself.



VIEW OF THE OLD McDOWELL MEDICAL COLLEGE AND MILITARY PRISON.

The college was established in 1840 by Dr. J. N. McDowell, who, aided by Dr. John S. Moore, of Tennessee, had matured the plan for the institution during the winter of 1839–40. The two physicians procured a charter for the department of Kemper College (afterwards the Poor-house farm), and under its provisions organized. The first session opened in November, 1840, with a class of thirty-seven matriculates, and was held in a building at the corner of Ninth and Cerré Streets, subsequently the Wainwright brewery. The institution was successful from the first, and in 1847 the building at Eighth and Gratiot Streets was erected. During the same year the college became the Medical Department of the State University at Columbia, Mo., and so continued until 1857, when it was organized under another charter. After the commencement of the war the military took possession of the building, using it first as a barracks, and subsequently transforming it into a prison. In 1865, Dr. McDowell returned to St. Louis and reorganized the institution with mostly a new faculty. In 1868 he died, and Professor Paul F. was chosen to fill his place. The college was then removed to the corner of Sixth and Elm Streets. After various changes the institution, under the name of the Missouri Medical College, was transferred to a new building on Twenty-third Street and Christy Avenue, in connection with St. John's Hospital.

Among the graduates of the old McDowell College were Drs. Hodgen, Maughs, Tuholske, Otto, A. W. Wall, S. G. Armor, John J. McDowell, Drake McDowell, T. B. Lester, of Kansas City, and B. Winston and son, of Jefferson City, besides many others.

The occupants of the building during the period of its use as a military prison were captured Confederate soldiers, Southern sympathizers, bushwhackers, spies, mail-carriers and deserters, bounty-jumpers, and other delinquents on the Union side. The prisoners incarcerated there from time to time included many persons of distinction, among them being prominent ministers of the gospel, United States senators, legislators, influential citizens of St. Louis, and leading officers of the Confederate army. Capts. Bishop, Masterson, and Robert Allen were among the commandants. The discipline maintained seems to have been severe, and complaints were frequent, on the part of prisoners, of harsh treatment and insufficiency of heat and food. Hardships, however, are inseparable from prison life, especially in time of war; and there is no evidence before us to show that the administration of the Gratiot prison was more severe than that of the military prisons established by the authorities elsewhere. Its appearance was gloomy and forbidding,—doubly so to those who knew its history, from the fact that it was frequently the scene of military executions.[1]

[1] Capt. Griffin Frost, of Quincy, Ill., who was twice incarcerated at Gratiot prison, kept a diary of his experiences there, in which occur some vivid glimpses of the life at Gratiot. The first entry is as follows:

"January, 1863, Capt. Frost arrived in St. Louis, in company with one hundred and four prisoners, and they were confined the same night in Gratiot Street prison, the weather being extremely cold. The next morning the captain discovered Gratiot to be a very hard place, and fare so rough it seemed an excellent place to starve. A few days thereafter their quarters were changed to the lower room of the square building, which was in many respects a better place, but very cold and im-

E...es of prisoners were of frequent occurrence, but, as a rule, the fugitives were recaptured. On the 24th of February, 1862, the roof of the prison
1861. was set on fire by the inmates, but the flames were extinguished without serious damage. Among the most daring and successful of the prisoners was Absalom C. Grimes, a famous mail carrier and spy, who survived the war, and returned to his former occupation of river pilot. Grimes joined the Confederate service in June, 1861, in company with Samuel Bower and Samuel Clemens, the latter of whom subsequently became the well-known humorist "Mark Twain." After having been captured several times but always escaping, Grimes was finally caught again and placed in Gratiot prison. He thus describes his capture and imprisonment, and we reproduce his narrative almost in full, as presenting a vivid picture of the perils encountered by Southern sympathizers in St. Louis during this period:

"I continued in the secret service until Sept. 2, 1862, when I was captured on the ferry-boat 'Christy' with a heavy mail for 'Dixie.' The circumstances leading to my capture are briefly related. I had been stopping at the Virginia Hotel, on Main Street, St. Louis, where the contraband letters were consigned to my charge. A new clerk named Little was put in charge one day, who mistrusted something was wrong from my asking for letters directed to other names than myself, and he thereupon informed the authorities. To guard against accident I sent my carpet-sack, containing the letters, to the ferry-boat, lying at the foot of Cherry Street, by a bell-boy. I went out at a side-door to keep track of the boy. I saw that he was followed by two men whom I knew to be detectives. They followed him on board the boat. When the bell-boy came ashore the detectives also came ashore. I went round the square to head the bell-boy off and to ascertain from him what the detectives had said to him. While doing so the detectives went back on board the ferry-boat and hid down in the engine-room. The names of the detectives were Newbury and Conners. The boy told me that they had asked whose carpet-sack it was and where it was going to. He told them he did not know whose it was or where it was going to, but was ordered to give it to the engineer. I went back to the ferry landing, waiting for the boat to return from the Illinois shore. I felt well assured that the 'jig was up,' but was determined, if possible, to destroy the mail contained in the carpet-sack. I boarded the boat and looked for the carpet-sack, and also the two detectives. I did not see anything of them, but when the boat had got out into the middle of the stream, I being then in the cabin, the detectives came out from their place of concealment, and wanted to know my name and see my passes for leaving the city. I told them my name was John Cooley, and that I had lots of passes. After showing them some bogus passes they wanted to search my baggage. I told them I had none. They ordered some man standing by, who seemed to be one of the party, to go and get that carpet-sack. They asked me for the key. I told them I would unlock it for them. As soon as I got my hands on it I sprang to the door of the boat and flung it into the river.

...sible to keep warm. There were only two stoves to over a hundred men."

Under date of January 5th he writes: "There are now about eight hundred prisoners in Gratiot, and more coming in every day from all parts of the country. We are allowed only two meals a day, and it keeps the cooks busy to get through with them by dark. Some two or three hundred eat at a time, and the tin plates and cups are never washed from the first to the last table. For breakfast we have one-fifth of a loaf of baker's bread, a small portion of bacon, and a tin cup of stuff they call coffee. For dinner the same amount of bread, a hunk of beef, and a pint of water the beef was boiled in, which is called soup, and sometimes a couple of boiled potatoes, all fished up and portioned out with the hands, knives, forks, and spoons not being allowed. Many leave the table as hungry as they went to it."

On the 7th of January he records that he and his companions had been moved into the officers' quarters, which they found "a great improvement on the old position,—much cleaner, and not so crowded." There were eight of them in a room sixteen feet square, Rev. Mr. McBounds, of Shelbyville, being among the number. The prisoners, however, were accorded the privilege of promenading in a large hall, at the windows of which they watched "for the Southern ladies to pass." On the 12th of January the following entry in the diary was made: "Yesterday (Sunday) was a very lonesome day, nothing to do or read, and had it not been for Father Ryan coming in and preaching us a good sermon, I scarcely know how we would have gotten through the day. We have two or three Methodist ministers in prison who are permitted to preach occasionally. The ladies of St. Louis are very kind; they are constantly relieving our necessities, and seem thankful that it is in their power to do so." Ladies accused of sympathizing with the South, or extending aid and encouragement to the enemy, were also imprisoned at Gratiot prison, their quarters being in the octagonal building.

Capt. Frost was exchanged, but recaptured, and on the 23d of October, 1863, re-entered Gratiot prison and again took up the thread of his prison narrative. He notes the 30th as being a dull day,—"snowing all day and no ladies on the street." Under date of November 9th, he compliments the troops then stationed at the prison, "who," he says, "have seen service and know how to treat a prisoner," and adds that some of the troops who had never been in the field "imagined that prisoners ought to be made to feel the lash on all occasions." In bright contrast with this picture were the visits of ladies who supplied the wants of the prisoners as far as they could. Among them Capt. Frost mentions Mrs. Chouteau, Miss Rayburn, and Miss Laura Elder. On the 11th of January, 1864, Capt. Frost made the following entry: "The prisoners are poorly fed, worse clothed, and nearly suffocated in the impure air. It is said there have been as many as seventeen hundred men at one time in these lower quarters. That number could scarcely find standing room, sleeping would be out of the question; of course they must suffer, sicken, and die."

A curious mistake of the prison authorities, recalling some of the incidents of the French Revolution, is thus described by Capt. Frost under date of May 26th:

"On Tuesday among a lot of prisoners brought down was a man named Highly, who has been the subject of a rather curious mistake. He was arrested, imprisoned, tried, and sentenced to be hung on the 20th of next month, and on being sent down was discovered to be the wrong man. Some one else bearing the same name is the individual sought for."

At this time Capt. Frost's mess consisted of Dr. James Hardinge, Samuel Winston, Joseph Soward, W. H. Selring, Joseph Elliott, James A. Carson, Dr. Victor Jourdan, and Capt. Frost.

While their attention was directed to the floating carpet sack, I drew from my pocket quickly some official documents written on tissue-paper and began to chew them up. One of the
1861. detectives drew a pistol on me, and said if I destroyed any more papers he would shoot me. I told him that was the last I had. I was then brought before Provost McConnell, and while being questioned the carpet-sack was brought in, which was last seen floating in the river, it having been recovered by some boys in a skiff. There were about five hundred letters on love, friendship, and business from parties in St. Louis to their friends in the Southern Confederacy. Several prominent persons were compromised by the letters. These letters were from prominent families, from Governor Trusten Polk's family and many more. All the military letters being on tissue-paper I chewed up, but the balance were saved.

"I was then sent to Gratiot Street prison, Sept. 2, 1862, the date being inscribed on the wall, and brought for trial, on the charge of being a rebel mail-carrier and spy, before a military commission of which Gen. John B. Gray was the president. They brought me in guilty, and I was sentenced to death, the day of execution being fixed for the second Friday in October, 1862. I was placed in solitary confinement, with handcuffs, ball and chain. The room was about fourteen feet square, in the interior of the building, and was formerly used by Dr. McDowell as a back-parlor. There was a window on one side, and on the other side there were folding-doors in the partition separating it from the front parlor on the Eighth Street side, which was used as a female prison. The folding-doors between were securely nailed up. In the female prison were then confined two well-known ladies and two other ladies. One day the ladies handed me a bottle of chloroform, and asked me if I wanted it. I answered it in the affirmative. I took it through the jointure of the folding-doors, which could be pressed apart near the bottom for the purpose." Mr. Grimes then relates how he used the chloroform on his guards, but without accomplishing anything, and continues: "As time wore on I fully matured a plan to escape and regain my liberty. . . . In prosecuting my plan for escape, I during the day would lay on my mattress in one corner of the room and cut a narrow groove across three of the floor planks. This I did in two places, and split the tongues of the grooves with a dirk-knife given to me by the women through a rat-hole in the folding-doors. After I got the planks up in the floor I could replace them, and by inserting thin strips of wood in the cut places, the floor looked perfectly sound and was not observed by the prison officials. I used to open the hole at night, and by crawling along under the floor, which was from two to four feet from the ground, in a northeast direction, brought me immediately under the room where the ladies were in, and with a bar of iron and a large butcher-knife, which had been passed to me by a brother prisoner named Chapman, I commenced making a breach through a wall which would let me into an alley-way. The implements were procured by Chapman from the cook-room. While I was working at the wall, the women, in accordance with a previous understanding, would dance and move the chairs about, and thereby keep up a racket so as to drown any noise I would be making in burrowing a hole through the wall. At the same time one of the women would watch the door and window in my room through a crack in the folding-doors between their room and mine, and with a string attached to the old rocking-chair, she would rock the chair once in a while, which led the guard to believe that I was lying on the mattress and rocking the chair with my foot, the chair being placed directly between the mattress and the window, with a coat thrown over the back of it. The guards could not get into my room without first going to the office and getting Officer Bishop, or his clerk, Streeter, to unlock the door. It took me two nights to cut through the wall, which was of brick eighteen inches thick, and the foundation of stone two feet thick.

"After effecting a breach through the wall, I knew that it would bring me into a narrow alley between the old stone building and McDowell's residence, which was about four feet wide, and filled with cord-wood. Knowing that the wood-pile was there before, I told Chapman to climb over the far end of the wood-pile before roll-call in his room, on the night agreed upon for our escape, and secrete himself, and then to pile the wood back, so I would have no wood-pile to contend with when I came to the alley.

"Our plan being thus nearly completed, the night of the 21 of October, a few days previous to the time fixed for my execution, was set to carry it into effect.

"My plan not being disarranged by any untoward event, I started in the dead of night to carry out the enterprise. I passed down through the hole in the floor underneath the women's prison-room to the breach in the wall, where I disengaged myself from my shackles and a thirty two-pound shell, but found that Chapman, who was by prearrangement to meet me, had piled back of him all the cord-wood he possibly could get back, yet I had to pull nearly half a cord in through the breach in the wall, which I piled up behind me under the floor. I then gained the alley-way, which brought me and Chapman together. We found on the outside of the alley a two-inch poplar partition, which shut off our entrance to the street. I then commenced to cut through the plank partition with a dirk-knife, only having to cut a groove across one sixteen-inch plank two inches thick. It took just twenty minutes to do the job. After the hole was cut, Chapman looked at his watch, and it was just twenty minutes of twelve, midnight. As we had the guard to pass, we waited until twelve o'clock, when the guards would be relieved."

The fugitives succeeded in eluding the guard and effecting their escape.

Many other attempts to "break jail" were made by Confederate prisoners, which were equally daring and ingenious. On the 13th of March, 1862, five Confederate officers made their escape, and on the night of December 12th sixty prisoners escaped by means of a tunnel about eighty feet in length, which had been constructed by one man at a time boring into the dirt, which was put in a tin pan and hauled out with its load by a cord to the beginning of the tunnel. On Christmas-night, 1863, Mr. Grimes, who had been recaptured, and others, made an ineffectual attempt to escape, and were detected and severely punished.[1]

[1] Mr. Grimes' narrative of this episode is as follows:

"On Christmas night, 1863, I cut a hole from my room into the large room below, filled with Confederate prisoners. After cutting my irons off I looked down through the hole, and saw four guards standing there waiting for me. I put the trip off that time, but next morning at eleven o'clock all the convicts in our room, seven in number, were marched down to the yard, where we were handcuffed together round a post, and were kept there till midnight without a mouthful to eat. The same punishment was repeated the next day, but on the morning of the third day the sergeant came into our room, and made a propo-

On the 20th of June, 1864, about fifteen or twenty prisoners overpowered the guard in the jail-yard and succeeded in getting outside the inclosure.

1861. Five of them escaped, two were shot dead, two wounded, and the rest recaptured. The killed were James H. Colclaisair, of Clay County, imprisoned on the charge of bushwhacking, and Leon Schultz, formerly of Arkansas, but afterwards a spy for both the Northern and Southern armies. The wounded were Absalom C. Grimes, mail-carrier, who had been convicted and sentenced to death, and William McElhany. Those who escaped were John C. Carlin, son of Governor Carlin, of Illinois and colonel in the Texas cavalry, Jasper C. Hill, captain in Clark's command, William H. Sebring, lieutenant in Wood's cavalry, Alfred Yates, private in the Third Missouri, C.S.A., and William M. Douglass, citizen.

Mr. Grimes thus graphically describes this desperate affair:

"There were in our room five prisoners, four of us being condemned men, viz.: Colclaisair and Vandever, two of Quantrell's men, Capt. William A. Douglass, and Schultz, who had been a spy and detective on both sides, with serious charges against him. We scrubbed out our room, and were set with three guards into a lower yard while the floor dried. Previous to going there we had formed a plan to attack the guard and try to effect our escape. Five slips of paper were prepared; on three of them were written 'catch the guard;' one of them, 'throw the axe out of the cook-house;' and on one, 'break the gate open.' The slips were put in a hat, and after being shaken up, Colclaisair drew first, 'catch the guard;' I drew next, 'break the gate open;' Vandever drew 'catch the guard;' Schultz drew 'throw the axe,' while Douglass drew 'catch the guard.' On leaving our room for the yard, we all put our hands on a Bible, and pledged to each other to die game or triumph, and that there should be no flinching. Our design was, after disarming the guard stationed in the yard in rear of the prison, which was barricaded by a high plank fence, and smashing down the gate with the axe, to escape. Each person had his duty assigned him.

"On arriving in the yard, Schultz quickly passed into the cook-house, as the guards took their positions in the yard, one in the middle and one at each end. I took my position next to the cook-house window. Colclaisair, Vandever, and Douglass played their part by walking carelessly, each pretending to be reading a paper as each singled out and approached his guard. Shultz threw the axe out of the cook-house window. I picked up the axe immediately, when the first guard ordered me to lay it down and drew his gun on me. At this moment the three prisoners seized the three guards from behind. I threatened the first guard with the axe and made him drop his gun. Douglass picked it up. The other guards seeing that we had them at a disadvantage, dropped their guns and surrendered at discretion by running out of the yard. I then broke open the outside gate with the axe, first smashing the lock. Two guards standing on each side of the gate outside the yard fired upon me, one shot passing through my right leg, to which I had a thirty-two-pound shell attached, and I was disabled from making any further movement. Colclaisair, on getting outside of the fence, was shot by a guard through the head, killing him instantly. Schultz fled in a northwest direction, and ran on two soldiers sitting on an embankment, who having heard the firing and seeing Schultz running, ordered him to stop. He refused, and a soldier shot him through the heart with a revolver, killing him almost instantly. Vandever, having a ball and chain, was overtaken after hobbling off a few hundred yards and brought back to prison. Douglass was the only one who made a clear escape.

"The boys in the strong room No. 2, some of them being condemned men, who had their room open to scrub out just as we were leaving our room for the yard, were notified by me that we were going to make the attack on the guard, and when the yell was given that we had made the attack and the gate open, John Carlin (son of Governor Carlin, of Illinois), Jasper Hill, Mr. Yates, Lieut. Sebring, and Mr. McElhany all made a break for our yard. John Carlin knocked down the guard having him in charge with a brick. Carlin, Sebring, Hill, and Yates all made good their escape, but McElhany had his knee-cap shot off. By this time reinforcements of the guards had arrived and the game was blocked."

"On that all those who would promise not to break out of prison would not be handcuffed around the post. Five of them made the promise, but Lieut. Sebring and myself pledged our word and honor together that we would die at that post before we would engage to make the promise. Therefore every morning we were handcuffed around the post and kept there till twelve o'clock, midnight. On New Year's eve the weather was extremely cold (the next day, Jan. 1, 1864, being the coldest day ever experienced in this latitude), and about ten o'clock we were unexpectedly untied from the post and returned to our room. I was so near freezing to death that I had to be carried to my room, having no overcoat on and wearing thin cloth shoes. I learned afterwards from the old sergeant, Mike Welsh, that the Misses Harrisons, living across the street from the prison, who could see from their upper windows, on commiserating our distressed condition, had gone up after dark to Col. Broadhead, and representing to him the punishment inflicted by Capt. Burns on us, he sent an order to Burns to return us to our rooms. I could not possibly have lived an hour longer."

In June, 1878, a portion of the prison, being considered unsafe, was demolished by order of the fire department, but the ruins of the octagonal tower and the wing adjoining the building of the Christian Brothers are still standing.

—On the 26th of December Gen. Halleck gave notice of the enforcement of martial law in the city, as will be seen by the following "General Orders No. 34":

"I. In virtue of authority conferred by the President of the United States, martial law, heretofore declared in this city, will be enforced. In virtue of the same authority, martial law is hereby declared and will be enforced in and about all railroads in this State.

"It is not intended by this declaration to interfere with the jurisdiction of any civil court which is loyal to the government of the United States, and which will aid the military authorities in enforcing order and punishing crimes.

"II. Commanding officers of troops and of posts will be held responsible that their commands are ready to move at a moment's warning. Excuses for delay and want of preparation will hereafter not be admitted.

"III. Copies of muster-rolls of volunteers must be filed with the adjutant-general of the State to which the troops belong before commissions can be issued to the officers."

—The following "protest" was laid before Gen. Halleck by the persons who had been assessed for the support of Union citizens of the Southwest

1861. who had taken refuge in St. Louis:

"St. Louis, Dec. 26, 1861.

"To Maj.-Gen. H. W. Halleck, *Commanding the Department of Missouri:*

"Sir,—The undersigned, citizens of the State of Missouri, residing in the city of St. Louis, have received from the provost-marshal-general of Missouri notices, by which we are respectively informed that, 'pursuant to General Orders No. 24 from the headquarters of the Department of Missouri, directing a levy upon the friends of the enemy for charitable purposes,' we have been assessed in sums varying in amount from one hundred to four hundred dollars, as our 'contribution in aid of the suffering families driven by the rebels from Southwestern Missouri.' Against this harsh, illegal, and most extraordinary measure we deem it our imperative duty to enter this our respectful but earnest and solemn protest. We do so for the following reasons:

"On the 3d day of August, 1861, Judge Hamilton R. Gamble, on assuming the duties of Provisional Governor of this State, to which he was called by the State Convention, did, by his proclamation of that date addressed to the people of Missouri, set forth in clear and explicit terms the object for, and the principles on which, such provisional government should be administered.

"Among other things, it was in that paper promulgated that 'the choice of temporary Governor gives the further assurance to all that every effort will be made to stop the practices on the part of the military which have occasioned so much irritation throughout the State, such as arresting citizens who have neither taken up arms against the government nor aided those who are in open hostility to it, and searching private houses without any reasonable ground to suspect the occupants of any improper conduct, and unnecessarily seizing or injuring private property. Such acts must be, and will be, discountenanced: and there is every reason to believe, from a general order recently issued by Lieut.-Gen. Scott, and from the known disposition of Maj.-Gen. Fremont, whose command embraces Missouri, that such oppressive conduct on the part of the military will in a short time be arrested.

. . . "'Civil government in this State has no concerns with men's opinions, except to protect all in their undisturbed enjoyment. It is only when they become the causes of acts that they bring those who entertain them into any responsibility to the law. While this freedom of opinion is the right of all, and while it is the duty of each to respect this right in others, it is plainly the duty of the government to suppress, as far as practicable, all combinations to violate this right, and all violence arising from a difference of opinion.'

"This proclamation, in its most material part,—namely, that respecting persons who had taken up arms against the government,—was sanctioned by the President of the United States, as announced by the publication therewith of the dispatch from the Secretary of War to the author of the proclamation.

"Furthermore, under date of Nov. 26, 1861, a few days after assuming command of this department, you issued your General Orders No. 8, from which we had reason to presume that to the fullest extent we should be protected in the enjoyment of our right of property. In that order you deemed it proper to admonish the army under your command respecting the 'numerous cases of alleged seizure and destruction of private property in this department,' showing an outrageous abuse of power and a violation of the laws of war; and, after prescribing the mode of seizing private property when deemed 'necessary for the subsistence and transportation of the troops,' you proceed to say,—

"'The seizure and conversion of the private property of the enemy (when not required for immediate supplies, as provided in the foregoing paragraph) is justifiable only in particular cases, provided for by the laws of the United States and the general laws of war, and should never be made except by the orders of the officer highest in command, who will be held accountable for the exercise of this power. Great caution should be used in this matter, as much injustice has been done to individuals who are not enemies, and much discredit cast upon our patriotic army by excesses committed by unauthorized persons pretending to act in the name of the United States.'

"On the 12th day of December, inst., you issued the order following: [Here follow General Orders No. 24, of Dec. 12, 1861, which can be found on a preceding page.]

"We have thus placed before you those parts of the proclamation above recited, extracts from General Orders No. 8, and General Orders No. 24 in full, to the end that you may the more readily discover the reasonableness of the ground on which we claim that General Orders No. 24 are in conflict with the assurance theretofore given out to the people of this State.

"But this order, and the proceedings taken under it against us, are open to objection upon weightier and still more serious grounds. They violate the provisions of the fundamental law of the land,—a law to you as well as to us,—prescribing the duties of the citizen, and clearly defining and limiting the powers of the government. That law provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law;' that the 'accused shall enjoy a speedy and *public* trial by an *impartial* jury, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.'

"And yet, in disregard of all these great and dearly-cherished principles of constitutional freedom, at a time when the Federal Congress is in session to enact laws, if new ones be deemed necessary, the courts in full operation to enforce them, civil officers with all the power of the army and navy at call to aid them in the execution of process, and all branches of government in full and harmonious operation, we have been tried before a secret inquisitorial tribunal, on what charge we know not, and condemned to pay a forced contribution, arbitrarily levied upon us for alleged charitable purposes. In case of failure to liquidate the amount adjudged against us within the number of days allowed for that purpose our property is threatened to be seized and sacrificed by sale at auction, to satisfy such demand and twenty-five per cent. additional. And what is the remedy prescribed for those considering themselves aggrieved by the secret edicts and decrees of this tribunal? They are allowed one week within which 'to furnish evidence to the board to vindicate their character,' and if at the end of that time they fail to satisfy those judges who have already prejudged their cases of their *loyalty*, they shall be adjudged to pay the further sum of ten per cent. on the sum assessed. How '*loyalty*' is to be defined, by what particular standard it shall be measured, and under what rules and by what evidence it will be required to be established we are left to conjecture. And why, we respectfully inquire, are we thus to be abused? Not for anything we have done, but because of acts alleged to have been committed by persons to us unknown, remote from the locality in which we move, and over whose acts we could have exercised no control whatever.

"If we have in any manner transgressed the law, we are

ready to make all the atonement which the violated law demands. Its avenging ministers are near to try, condemn, and punish us conformably to the established forms and
1861. usages of law. There exists no necessity, in our opinion, for overriding in the way proposed the great principles of the fundamental law, setting aside all the restraints and limitations it so guardedly places upon power, and the inaugurating new tests and arbitrary modes for ascertaining guilt. There exists no necessity for such summary proceedings. Within this jurisdiction the ordinary course of justice, except so far only as it has been interfered with by the military authority, has been, and is now, entirely free and unobstructed. All officers of the government, both judicial and ministerial, are in the full exercise of all their official functions, so that all persons charged with having offended against law may be as speedily tried, and, if found guilty, as surely and as certainly punished as when peace prevailed throughout the State. If, then, it be charged against us that we have in any way sinned against the Constitution, or violated any known provision of the law, in God's name let us be tried under and according to the established forms and prescribed rules, and under the solemn sanctions of that Constitution and those laws. Vouchsafe us a speedy and *public* trial by an *impartial* jury; make known to us the nature and cause of the accusations against us; let us be confronted with our accusers, that we may see the hand that would smite us, and do not leave us and all we own to the mercy of a Star Chamber court of inquiry, where malice may be the lurking motive that determines the question of guilt and pronounces the judgment that may loom us and ours to want and beggary. If two or three military officers of the United States, or other persons designated for such purpose, may meet in secret, and, without notice, single out such citizens as they may choose upon whom to levy forced contributions, and arbitrarily fix the amount of the same, what man who may perchance hold political opinions not altogether acceptable to the tribunal thus constituted can consider himself secure in his right of liberty or property? If the military, by the authority of the bayonet, may to-day force from us a contribution of hundreds of dollars, they may to-morrow, by the same authority, force from us thousands of dollars, or all we may own, and cast us and ours paupers on the world's wide common.

"We, moreover, claim it to be our right to dispose of and distribute in our own way such charity as it may be in our power to bestow, and respectfully deny the power of the government of the United States, or that of any officer thereof, civil or military, to assess us for such purposes, and protest against the exercise of any such power.

"We do not mean by anything we have already said to be understood as conceding that any 'necessity' can justify the assumption by any officer of the government of powers not given by law. The duty of obedience to the Constitution is due alike from the official and the citizen, from those whose privilege it may be to govern as well as those who are governed, and to admit the validity of a plea of necessity to justify the agents of the government in a plain violation of the Constitution, or in the assumption of powers not authorized thereby, 'is to say as explicitly as could be said in words that it justifies the Federal authorities in breaking up the government themselves under the guise of preventing it being broken up by others. The forms of government may outlast such a catastrophe, but the Federal government, known to and created by the Constitution, must end with it. What remains is revolution in the garb of government, and depending for its legitimacy upon bayonets.'

"In conclusion, we do not mean to resist the proceedings against us under the orders complained of, unjust and oppressive as we deem them to be. We are powerless in the premises. You have the armed hand to enforce your orders and decrees. We are defenseless, and resistance would be idle. We cannot, however, give to your authority in the premises even such recognition as might be implied from our voluntary payment of the sums required of us. We have, therefore, concluded respectfully to protest and remonstrate against it, and to decline paying the same.

"When the constitutional supremacy of the civil over the military power shall again be established, we shall prefer our appeal to it for a vindication of our violated rights.

"Yours, very respectfully,

"Samuel B. Churchill, William M. McPheeters, Louis C. Garnier, George Kingsland, Mrs. Trusten Polk, Erastus Wells, L. Ch. Boislinniere, Charles McLaran, Juliette B. Garesche, D. H. Armstrong, S. S. Farrington, Robert M. Renick, E. C. Sloan, William F. Ferguson, J. W. Wills, John Wickham, Robert M. Funkhouser, Daniel H. Donovan, D. Robert Barclay, Samuel Robbins, L. Dorsheimer, Wiley Rudolph, William G. Clark, Henry B. Belt.

"The undersigned begs leave to annex his individual respectful protest, and to suggest that the adage 'charity begins at home' might with particular grace be applied to the inhabitants of a city renowned for her unbiased benevolence, which now, already in the eighth month, with unmurmuring loyal fortitude, groans under the centre weight of war and blockade.

"Very respectfully,

"Alexander Kayser."

—On the 18th of December, Gen. Halleck released from prison sixteen runaway negro men, being the property of alleged Southern sympathizers. They were confined in the city jail, and were advertised for sale by the sheriff, "in pursuance of the provisions of the statute of the State of Missouri concerning slaves."

—On December 31st, Provost-Marshal G. E. Leighton issued an order that "from and after this date the shipment of printers' ink and book, manilla, news, or other paper for printing purposes from this city to all points in the State of Missouri is prohibited, except under special permits issued from this office."

—Provost-Marshal G. E. Leighton, on Jan-
1862. uary 5th, issued an order directing that

"from this date all saloons for the sale of intoxicating liquors in the city of St. Louis are required to be closed, and all sales to cease at eleven o'clock P. M. All special permits heretofore issued allowing saloons to be kept open until a later hour are revoked. No exceptions whatever will be made to this order, and in case of any violation of its provisions the house or saloon will be permanently closed.

"The police of the city, as well as the United States police, are from this date authorized and empowered to arrest soldiers guilty of riotous or disorderly conduct, or found in a state of intoxication in the city, whether with or without leave of absence from their quarters, and confine them in the military prison, reporting to the officer in charge a statement of the cause of the arrest.

"The sale of intoxicating liquor to soldiers already under its influence, the harboring of soldiers absent from their commands without proper leave, permitting houses to become places of resort for soldiers for drinking, gaming, or other illegal purposes will be regarded as serious offenses, and visited with severe punishment."

—On the 8th, Provost-Marshal-General B. G. Farrar

"ordered that from and after this date the publishers of newspapers in the State of Missouri (St. Louis City papers excepted) furnish to this office, immediately upon publication, one copy of each issue for inspection. A failure to comply with this order will render the newspapers liable to suppression.

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"Local provost-marshals will furnish the proprietors of newspapers with copies of this order, and attend to its immediate enforcement."

—On January 8th, Gen. Halleck promulgated the following regulations for the transportation and travel of the Department of the Missouri:

"1. From and after this date the transportation and travel of the Department of the Missouri, by land and water, will be under joint military and custom-house control and surveillance.

"2. No steamboat nor other craft will be permitted to carry freights or passengers except those commissioned by the quartermaster in charge of transportation in this city; and no boat or other craft shall be so commissioned which is not duly enrolled and registered at some custom-house on the Ohio River or the Mississippi above Cairo.

"3. No railroad car, stage-coach, or vehicle running west or westwardly from the Mississippi River will be permitted to convey freights or passengers without strict compliance with regulations of the Treasury Department at Washington, which require that all freights of whatever nature, except such as may be under military orders, shall be covered by a custom-house permit, and that all baggage of travelers shall be carefully inspected and duly sealed by a custom-house officer.

"4. Every person or company owning a steamboat or other craft, and desiring to do business on the rivers from and to the port of St. Louis, will, immediately after the publication of these regulations, be required to make written application to the quartermaster in charge of transportation in this city for permission, accompanying the same with a statement under oath of the true owner or owners of said steamboat or craft, and the amount of interest of each person or company in said steamboat or craft, whether in trust or otherwise, their place of residence and of business, and also the name and residence of each officer and pilot employed or to be employed on the same; and any change in the ownership of said steamboat or craft, or in the officers or pilots thereon, shall also be reported in like manner.

"5. All officers, pilots, and river employés on any steamboat or craft shall take the following oath, to wit:

"'I solemnly swear that I will bear true allegiance to the United States, and support and sustain the constitution and laws thereof; that I will maintain the national sovereignty paramount to that of all State, county, or confederate powers; that I will discourage, discountenance, and forever oppose secession, rebellion, and disintegration of the Federal Union; that I disclaim and denounce all faith and fellowship with the so-called Confederate States and Confederate armies, and pledge my honor, my property, and my life to the sacred performance of this my solemn oath of allegiance to the government of the United States of America.'

"6. When application has been made agreeably to the foregoing rule, it shall be the duty of the quartermaster in charge of transportation to institute such further investigation as he may deem requisite as to the character and loyalty of the owner or owners and the officers and pilots of such steamboat or craft, and if they be found unexceptionable, he shall issue his commission to the owners or masters thereof to carry freights and passengers on the rivers within this military district; but such commission shall entitle no boat to receive freight, other than such as may be under military orders, which is not covered by a custom-house permit, and every boat must take out the customary clearance before leaving this port.

"7. The object of the foregoing is to suppress and entirely prevent any aid or assistance to or communication with any person or persons (directly or indirectly) disloyal to or in arms against the Federal authority of the United States.

"8. If any owner, officer, or pilot of any steamboat or other craft shall do any act contrary to the object expressed in the foregoing section, such act shall cause the forfeiture of said steamboat or craft to the Federal government, and such owner, officer, or pilot be subject to the pains and penalties prescribed by the articles of war for giving aid to the enemy.

"The articles of war referred to above are in the following words:

"'ART. 56. Whosoever shall relieve the enemy with money, victuals, or ammunition, or shall knowingly harbor or protect an enemy, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a court-martial.

"'ART. 57. Whosoever shall be convicted of holding correspondence with or giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a court-martial.'

"At any point within this military department where there may be no inspector or other custom-house agent, it shall be the duty of the officer in command of the nearest military post to act in the place of such inspector or agent; and when any duly appointed custom-house officer at any point shall need assistance to enforce the revenue laws of the United States or the instructions of the Treasury Department, and make application for the same, it shall be the duty of the military officer nearest in command to render such assistance."

In order to carry out these regulations and to accommodate the traveling public, and to avoid any unnecessary delay to the several railroads, R. J. Howard, the collector of St. Louis, made the following arrangements:

"The custom-house inspector, Henry S. Lasar, will visit the following hotels, viz.: Planters', Barnum's, Everett, Virginia, Monroe, St. Charles, and the City Hotel, between the hours of 6 and 10 P.M., where and when he will examine and seal all the baggage destined for the Iron Mountain, Pacific, and North Missouri Railroads.

"He will also be ready to attend to all orders left at the custom house office for him to visit private dwellings, in order there, too, to examine and seal the baggage of travelers ready for reception at the depots of the above-named railroads. The hours alloted for this purpose will be from 10 A.M. till 3 P.M., and orders to this end should be left sufficiently in time at the herein-named office previous to the departure of those railroad trains."

—On January 6th, Brig.-Gen. Schuyler Hamilton announced, through his assistant adjutant-general, J Shaw Gregory, that he had entered upon the command of the St. Louis district, which included the "country bounded by the Missouri, Mississippi, and Maramec Rivers, including the line of the railroad from Pacific to Rolla, as far as Linsey's Station, and a line drawn through that point from the mouth of the Osage

River to the Maramec River, excepting the camp of instruction at Benton Barracks."

—In view of the fact that the organization
1862. of the six months' militia entailed great expense upon the State without any corresponding benefit, the Governor, through Chester Harding, Jr., his adjutant-general, on January 14th, ordered that this class of troops be disbanded on the 25th of January. In this order the following instructions were given:

"Commanding officers of the six months' militia will muster their commands for pay and discharge upon the 25th day of January, 1862, and will be prepared to deliver up all property of the State in their control, and to account for such as has been lost, consumed, or destroyed in the service. Upon compliance with these requirements, or as soon thereafter as the rolls can be examined, the officers and men will be paid by the State.

"Companies which shall report themselves ready for muster into the State service for the term of the war, in accordance with the conditions of the agreement made between the United States and the government of this State, as set forth in General Orders No. 1, series of 1861, will be accepted and mustered without delay. After muster they will be subsisted, clothed, armed, and paid by the United States.

"The following places are designated as points at which the six months' troops will be mustered out of service on the day above named, viz.: St. Joseph, Cameron, Chillicothe, Macon City, Mexico, and Louisiana.

"Officers commanding these troops will march their men to the nearest and most convenient of the above-named places, in time to be present at the muster for pay and discharge as above ordered."

—The aggregate of all the claims filed up to Jan. 18, 1862, before the commission appointed to investigate claims on the government arising out of the war in the Department of the West which accrued prior to Oct. 14, 1861, amounted to $9,667,371.55.

The following persons were employed by the commission in addition to those whose names have already been given:

William H. McHenry, commissioner to qualify witnesses, etc.; R. R. Hitt, phonographic reporter; R. C. Totten, clerk to receive claims; P. A. Hall, expert in railroad matters; John B. Turner, expert in railroad matters; Edward W. Wallace, clerk of railroad accounts; C. Woodward, expert in steamboat matters; Benson S. Hopkins, expert in mercantile accounts; P. B. Haagena, clerk in mercantile accounts; James H. Bowen, compiler of receipt register; William B. Alford, certificate and copying clerk; G. A. Gannett, certificate and copying clerk; Lawrence D. Alexander, certificate and copying clerk; J. J. Wilcox, certificate and copying clerk; O. T. Fishbuck, certificate and copying clerk; John P. Camp, messenger; Charles Kick, janitor.

The following is a list of the claims which came under the head of moneys loaned and taken by government. They were among the first to be filed, and were soon after allowed and paid in full, with legal interest added in cases where loans had been made in coin:

Boatmen's Saving Institution, $154,300.55; Buildings and Savings Association, $127,613.17; Mechanics' Bank, $36,000; Merchants' Bank, $75,000; German Savings Institution, $10,000; Commercial Bank of Kentucky, $6100; Robert S. Hays, $42,000; Webb & Kaime, $5000; Southern Bank, $10,000; Belcher's Sugar Refining Company, assignee, $10,000; Partridge & Co., $5000; People's Savings' Association, $10,000; Reed & Co., $4500; McMechan & Ballentine, $2500; George D. Hall, assignee, $10,000; Bank of Missouri, $291,103.50; State Savings Association, assignee, $37,235.06; Exchange Bank, $141,337.74; Union Bank, $62,877.50.

—The following special order was issued by Gen. Halleck on January 26th:

"I. The president, secretary, librarian, directors, and other officers of the Mercantile Library Association of this city, and also the president, secretary, directors, and other officers of the Chamber or Chambers of Commerce of this city, are required to take and subscribe the oath of allegiance prescribed by Article VI. of the State ordinance of Oct. 16, 1861. Any of the above-named officers who shall neglect to file in the office of the provost-marshal-general within ten days of the date of this order the oath so subscribed will be deemed to have resigned, and any one who, after neglecting so to file his oath of allegiance within the time prescribed, shall attempt to exercise the functions of such office will be arrested for contempt of this order and punished according to the laws of war.

"II. It is officially reported that carriages bearing the enemy's flag are in the habit of driving to the vicinity of the military prison in McDowell College. The commanding officer of the prison-guard will seize and take possession of any carriage bearing an enemy's flag, and the horses, carriages, and harness will be confiscated.

"III. It is also officially reported that certain women are in the habit of approaching the vicinity of the military prison and waving hostile flags, for the purpose of insulting our troops and carrying on communications with the prisoners of war. The commanding officer of the prison-guard will arrest and place in confinement all women so offending.

"IV. Any carriage or other vehicle bearing a hostile flag in the city will be seized and confiscated. The city police and patrol guards are directed to arrest any persons in vehicles under such flag, and also any person wearing or displaying a hostile flag in the city."[1]

—The Governor, on February 1st, appointed a medical board, to consist of Dr. John C. Hodgen (president), Dr. Charles Rosch, and Dr. S. H. Melcher, to convene in St. Louis on February 4th, for the purpose of examining candidates for appointments as surgeons to the State troops.

—On the 2d of February, Gen. Halleck issued the following "General Orders No. 29:"

"I. The president, professors, curators, and other officers of the University of Missouri are required to take and subscribe the oath of allegiance prescribed by the sixth article of the State ordinance of Oct. 16, 1861, and to file the same in the office of the provost-marshal-general in this city. Those who

[1] The "Union Merchants' Exchange" having exhibited to Gen. Halleck their book of membership, in which each officer and member had signed a pledge equivalent to the oath of allegiance required by the above orders, the latter, so far as they related to its officers and members, were rescinded.

fail to comply with this order within the period of thirty days will be considered as having resigned their respective offices, and if any one who fails shall thereafter attempt to ob-
1862. tain pay, or perform the functions of such office, he will be tried and punished for military offense. This institution having been endowed by the government of the United States, its funds should not be used to teach treason or to instruct traitors. The authorities of the university should, therefore, expel from its walls all persons who by word or deed favor, assist, or abet rebellion.

"II. The presidents and directors of all railroad companies in this State will be required to take and subscribe the oath of allegiance, in the form, within the time, and under the penalties prescribed in the preceding paragraph. They will also be required to file bonds for such sums as may be designated by the provost-marshal-general that they will employ no conductors, engineers, station-masters, or other officers, agents, or employés who have not taken the oath of allegiance, and who are not loyal to the Union.

"III. No contracts will hereafter be made by quartermasters or commissaries in this department with persons who do not take and subscribe to an oath of allegiance similar to that prescribed by the act of Congress approved Aug. 6, 1861. Purchasing officers are prohibited from making purchases of persons of known disloyalty to the government. When articles necessary for the public service are held only by disloyal persons, and cannot be purchased of Union men, the fact will be reported to these headquarters, when the proper instructions will be given.

"IV. All clerks, agents, and civil employés in the service of the United States in this department will be required to take and subscribe the oath prescribed by the aforesaid act of Congress. The attention of all military officers is called to this order, and any one who shall hereafter keep in the government employment persons who fail to take the said oath of allegiance, or who announce and advocate disloyalty to the Union, will be arrested and tried for disobedience of orders.

"V. It is recommended that all clergymen, professors, and teachers, and all officers of public and private institutions for education, benevolence, business, and trade, who are in favor of the perpetuation of the Union, voluntarily subscribe and file the oath of allegiance prescribed by the State ordinance, in order that their patriotism may be known and recognized, and that they may be distinguished from those who wish to encourage rebellion, and to prevent the government from restoring peace and prosperity to the city and State."

—On February 3d the "Ladies' Union Aid Society" made their semi-annual report, in which they presented the following statistics: From the organization of the society, Aug. 2, 1861, to Jan. 1, 1862, their receipts were twelve hundred and forty dollars and fifty cents in cash, besides donations of clothing material, etc. The society was in successful operation under the supervision of Mrs. Alfred Clapp, president; Mrs. S. C. Davis, vice-president; Mrs. S. B. Kellogg, treasurer; Miss H. A. Adams, secretary; Mrs. T. M. Post, Mrs. M. O. Darrah, Mrs. Willys King, Mrs. C. S. Greeley, prudential committee; Mrs. Joseph Cranshaw, Mrs. C. L. McMurray, Mrs. N. B. Thayer, Mrs. N. H. Clark, Mrs. Robert Anderson, Mrs. J. E. D. Cousins, and Miss Sarah Tildon, managers; Mrs. N. H. Clark, Mrs. S. F. Thayer, distributors; Miss Bella Anderson, inspector.

—*The Republican* of February 4th contained the following:

"The sale of the property levied upon to satisfy the assessments against sundry citizens, as friends of the enemy, for the relief of the Union refugees from Southwest Missouri, commenced yesterday at Morgan's auction rooms, on Fourth Street. An immense crowd, more than could obtain entrance, was present yesterday morning.

"The articles sold were those which had been advertised in the papers, being the property of some thirteen or fourteen citizens of secession proclivities, viz.: Samuel Engler, John Kennard, Sr., John Kennard, Jr., Wm. M. McPheeters, D. Robert Barclay, D. H. Armstrong, Chas. L. Boisliniere, R. M. Funkhouser, Geo. Kingsland, Alexander Kayser, Charles McLaren, Andrew Park, Trusten Polk, and Mrs. Rebecca Sire. The amount of the assessment on each ranged from one hundred to five hundred dollars (the majority being assessed for three hundred), with twenty-five per cent. penalty and costs of sale, storage, etc. Only so much of the property of each was sold as would satisfy the levy. Three lots belonging to Messrs. Boisliniere, McPheeters, and Kingsland did not bring sufficient to liquidate the amounts charged against these gentlemen, but in the other cases only a portion of the articles seized were put up.

"As a general thing, considering the times, the furniture, etc., brought fair prices, though in some instances great bargains were had. An elegant piano, nearly new, said to have cost Mr. Kayser between five and six hundred dollars in Europe, was sold for two hundred and forty dollars. Another, for which Mr. Polk is reputed to have given over a thousand, went for three hundred and thirty dollars. A set of brocatelle rosewood furniture (sofa, arm-chairs, and fancy chairs), owned by Mr. Park, brought one hundred and forty-five dollars. A lot of miscellaneous books, one hundred and ten in number, the property of Mr. Funkhouser, netted about twenty-nine dollars. Some of the fine carpets, velvet and Brussels, were sold low, whilst others brought full retail prices."

—Gen. Halleck, on February 3d, adopted the following tariff, prepared by Maj.-Gen. Sterling Price, for the exchange of prisoners:

"Where the same grades cannot be exchanged for each other, two of the next lower grade will be substituted; that is, one major-general for two brigadiers, or four colonels, or eight lieutenant-colonels, or sixteen majors, or thirty-two captains, or sixty-four lieutenants, or one hundred and twenty-eight non-commissioned officers, or two hundred and fifty-six privates. In this tariff no distinction will be made between first and second lieutenants, or between sergeants and corporals. Of course alterations of grades can be made, when necessary, on the same basis. Musicians, wagoners, and others will be exchanged as privates or non-commissioned officers, according as they are rated in our service."

—On February 5th the *Republican* announced that a writ of attachment had been issued by the provost-marshal-general, and was

"executed on Tuesday afternoon upon Dr. William Johnson, assessed under Order 24 for the sum of four hundred dollars. The officers proceeded to his residence on Pine Street near Thirteenth, and seized sundry articles of household furniture, consisting of two sofas, three sofa-bottom chairs, one easy-chair, six cane-seat chairs, one marble-top centre-table, one mirror,

two Brussels carpets, two window-blinds, one bedstead, one wash-stand, and one lounge.

"Similar writs were also executed upon property belonging to Gen. D. M. Frost and Mrs. T. C. Beckwith. The assessment of Gen. Frost, with costs, amounts to seven hundred and fifty dollars. Mrs. Beckwith's assessment was for but ninety dollars."

1862.

On the 11th of the same month the same paper said:—

"Another sale of property, seized from certain citizens of St. Louis, came off yesterday at Morgan's auction-rooms, No. 107 Fourth Street. The sale was attended by a large crowd. In addition to the seized St. Louis property were sold some contraband goods sent here from Sedalia."

The following is a list of the owners of the property that was sold: A. Kayser, T. Polk, S. Robbins, W. G. Clarke, Dr. Johnson, John Wickham, J. W. Wills, George Kingsland.

—The following "circular" was issued by Gen. Halleck on February 14th:

"I. All persons who are known to have been in arms against the United States, or to have actively aided the rebellion, by *word or deed*, are to be arrested. Those who are accused of acts in violation of the laws of war, such as the destruction of railroads and bridges, or private property, firing into trains, assassination, etc., will not be released on any terms, but will be held for trial before a military commission.

"II. Notoriously bad and dangerous men, though no specific act of disloyalty can be proved against them, will be kept in custody, and their cases referred to the commanding general.

"III. Prisoners not included in either of the above classes may be released upon subscribing to the usual oath, and giving a sufficient bond, with good security, for their future good conduct.

"IV. The bond and oath should be of the form inclosed herewith. The amount of the bond should in no case be less than one thousand dollars, and in some cases should be much larger, varying according to the wealth, influence, and previous conduct of the party. The security should in preference be a secessionist.

"V. Persons now engaged in recruiting for the rebel army, also those enrolled for the rebel service, will be arrested and held as prisoners of war. In addition to this all property belonging to such persons, and which can be used for military purposes, such as horses, mules, harness and wagons, beef cattle, forage, etc., will be seized and turned over to the provost-marshal, to be disposed of according to the orders of the commanding general of the department.

"VI. Where persons who have been in the rebel service voluntarily come forward and take and subscribe to the oath of allegiance and parole, and are released on bonds, all property not of a military character taken from them will be restored."

On the same day he issued the following "General Orders No. 39," in relation to the courts and judicial officers of the city:

"I. Information having been received that certain judicial officers intrusted with the administration of the criminal laws and ordinances in this department have misunderstood the objects and purposes of the establishment of martial law in this city of St. Louis, and in consequence of such misunderstanding have failed to enforce all those laws and ordinances, and as crimes and misdemeanors should at all times be strictly suppressed, it is hereby enjoined upon all such civil officers, whether as judges, attorneys, sheriffs, marshals, coroners, clerks, justices of the peace, presiding officers of police courts, constables, or members of the police, to strictly enforce all criminal laws and ordinances; to have arrested, tried, and punished in the courts established in the State, and in the manner prescribed by the laws of the State, all persons guilty of any violation of such laws and ordinances, in the same manner as if martial law had not been declared to exist.

"II. And it is especially enjoined upon the judge of the St. Louis Criminal Court to have a full complement of grand jurors at every sitting of the court; to strictly charge said grand jurors to diligently inquire into all crimes and misdemeanors under the laws of the State that may come to their knowledge, and present for trial such offenders known to them.

"And the assistant circuit attorney for this county is particularly required to faithfully aid and assist the said grand jurors and officers of the said court in the discharge of their duties, and to strictly perform all charges devolving upon him by the laws of the State.

"III. By the establishment of martial law in the city of St. Louis it is not designed to interfere with or suspend the operation of the laws and ordinances of the State or city with reference to crimes and misdemeanors, nor the remedies and process of the civil courts, except so far as the interests of the government imperatively require. The civil authorities who attempt to interfere with the execution of military orders emanating from these headquarters will be punished for military offense, but in all other cases it is their duty to enforce the laws and punish crimes and misdemeanors."

—Brig.-Gen. Schuyler Hamilton, who had been in command of the St. Louis district, was, by order of Gen. Halleck, on February 15th, relieved of his command, and Brig.-Gen. John M. Schofield on the same day assumed command of the district.

—In February the following places were designated as recruiting and mustering stations for the Missouri State militia:

St. Louis, St. Charles, Hudson, Louisiana, Columbia, Palmyra, Alexander, Chillicothe, Cameron, St. Joseph, Lexington, Kansas City, Sedalia, Pilot Knob, Greenville, Linn Creek, Springfield, and Boonville.

—Considerable excitement was created on the Levee on the 17th of February, in consequence of the seizure of a large number of steamboats by the government, for the purpose of transporting troops and army supplies. The boats seized were the "Northerner," "Pembina," "John J. Roe," "D. G. Taylor," "War Eagle," "Henry Clay," "John D. Perry," "John H. Dickey," and "Edward Walsh."

—The Confederates captured at Fort Donelson were brought to St. Louis on or about February 20th. The following steamboats, as will be seen, brought up 10,685 men: "Empress," 2485; "Gladiator," 1100; "D. A. January," 1200; "White Cloud," 1000; "Emma Duncan," 600; "Tecumseh," 800; "Lebanon," 600; "Stephen Decatur," 500; "Alex. Scott," 1800; "Dr. Kane," 600.

In addition to these, about 2000 were sent to Chicago by the Illinois Central Railroad. As fast as those who arrived by steamer were landed
1862. at St. Louis, they were forwarded by railroad to Springfield, Chicago, Indianapolis, Detroit, and other points.

—On February 20th, Gen. Halleck issued the following important "General Orders No. 44:"

"I. In consideration of the recent victories won by the Federal forces, and of the rapidly-increasing loyalty of citizens of Missouri, who for a time forgot their duty to their flag and country, the sentences of John C. Tompkins, William J. Forshey, John Patton, Thomas M. Smith, Stephen Scott, George H. Cunningham, Richard B. Crowder, and George M. Pullium, heretofore condemned to death, are provisionally mitigated to close confinement in the military prison at Alton. If rebel spies again destroy railroads and telegraph lines, and thus render it necessary for us to make severe examples, the original sentence against these men will be carried into execution.

"II. No further assessments will be levied or collected from any one who will now take the prescribed oath of allegiance.

"III. Boards or commissions will be appointed to examine the cases of prisoners of war who apply to take the oath of allegiance, and on their recommendation orders will be issued from these headquarters for their release."

—At the request of the acting Governor of Missouri, Gen. Halleck, on the 15th of February, ordered that in all future elections in the State, whether for State, municipal, county, or town officers, every voter should be required to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the State Convention of Oct. 16, 1861. Officers at the polls were to see that this order was executed, and if they received the votes of persons who had not taken the oath, they were to be arrested and tried for a military offense, and the election was to be declared null and void.

—On the 22d of February the members of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce contributed one thousand dollars for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers under Gen. Halleck's command. The money was handed over to James E. Yeatman, president of the Western Sanitary Commission.

—About two hundred and fifty sick of the Confederate prisoners captured at Fort Donelson were quartered in the large military hospital which then stood at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, and received very kind treatment from the hospital physicians and nurses and members of the Sanitary Commission.

—The Union residents of St. Louis desiring to testify their appreciation of the services of Gen. Halleck before his "departure for the more immediate field of war," tendered him on the 3d of March a public dinner through the following persons:

Willard P. Hall, acting Governor of Missouri, Daniel G. Taylor, mayor of St. Louis, C. B. Lord, J[illegible]n How, N. Paschall, Hudson E. Bridge, William McKee, Charles G. Ramsay, John R. Shepley, William M. McPherson, Lewis V. Bogy, Isaac H. Sturgeon, Hugh Campbell, Walter B. Foster, George R. Taylor, James H. Lucas, C. S. Greeley, John Cavender, George Partridge, John M. Taylor, Amos Cutter, George K. McGunnegle, James E. Yeatman, S. M. Breckinridge, Benjamin Farrar, James O. Broadhead, Henry Hitchcock, Henry J. Moore, John O'F. Farrar, Thomas Allen, James Harrison, J. O'Fallon, Charles Todd, S. Haskell, Gerard B. Allen, S. Treat.

Gen. Halleck, in his reply, said,—

"GENTLEMEN,—Your very complimentary letter, inviting me, in the name of the loyal residents of St. Louis, to a public dinner, is just received. I regret that the uncertainty of my own movements, and the fact that I may leave this city at any moment, compel me to decline your polite invitation. Accept my sincere thanks for the offer, and for the very complimentary terms in which it is made. Permit me to say, in conclusion, that the trade of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers is now open to the merchants of this city, and I hope in due time to add that of the Mississippi. The restraints which were necessarily imposed on commerce in order to crush the rebels in this State in their mad attempt to destroy the Constitution and the Union will very soon be removed, and St. Louis will assume her sway as the commercial queen of the West. Her own citizens should cheerfully assist in restoring to this metropolis its former prosperity."

—On the 24th of February the roof of Gratiot Street military prison was set on fire by some of the prisoners, but the flames were extinguished before much damage was done. There were one hundred and seventy-seven prisoners in confinement, some of whom were quite disorderly from the effects of liquor. During the progress of the fire Maj. Woods and several other prisoners gathered about the hose with the intention of cutting it. They were ordered away by the prison-keeper, Lieut. Bishop, but they refused to go. The guard was then summoned, and they were arrested and confined in irons.

In about half an hour after the flames at the roof were quenched, fire was again discovered bursting from a pile of mattresses in an entry on the second floor. The articles were at once thrown into the yard and drenched, thus averting a second danger.

Scarcely five minutes had elapsed after this event when flames again appeared in a new quarter of the premises. The bed in the apartment of the Confederate Col. Magoffin, in the southwest corner of the second story, was on fire. It was immediately extinguished, together with the flames of some still burning paper which the incendiary had used to effect his purpose.

Magoffin was at a distance from his room when the last fire occurred, and had not been in it for some time. He was not suspected as the perpetrator of the incendiarism.

—On February 26th, Gen. Halleck gave orders that any officer who published, "without proper au-

thority, information respecting the movements of the armies, even of battles won, or any official papers," would be arrested and tried by court-martial.

1862. He also warned the newspapers that the Secretary of War had directed that the whole edition of the newspaper publishing such information should be seized and destroyed.

—On March 3d, Gen. Halleck announced the restoration of commerce between the loyal section of the Department of Missouri and the country on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. Steamboats and other vessels trading on these rivers from St. Louis were required, in addition to the customary registration and enrollment required by the revenue laws of the United States, to take out a special license for their renewed intercourse, with some restrictions.

—Union officers wearing gray or mixed uniforms or overcoats in the field were ordered to be arrested by Gen. Halleck on March 10th, and tried for disobedience and neglect of duty. Commanders of divisions, brigades, and regiments were required to see that no man under their command wore any gray or mixed clothing.

—In compliance with the orders of the President, Gen. Halleck, on March 13th, assumed command of the Department of the Mississippi, which included the Departments of Kansas and the Missouri and the Department of the Ohio, the country west of a north and south line drawn through Knoxville, Tenn., and east of the western boundaries of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, with headquarters at St. Louis.

—On March 13th, Gen. Halleck issued the following "General Orders No. 2:"

"I. Martial law has never been legally declared in Missouri, except in the city of St. Louis, and on and in the immediate vicinity of the railroads and telegraph lines; and even in these localities military officers are specially directed not to interfere with the lawful process of any loyal civil court. It is believed that the time will soon come when the rebellion in Missouri may be considered as terminated, and when even the partial and temporary military restraint which has been exercised in particular places may be entirely withdrawn. By none is this more desired than by the general commanding.

"II. It must, however, be borne in mind that in all places subject to the incursions of the enemy, or to the depredations of insurgents and guerrilla bands, the military are authorized, without any formal declaration of martial law, to adopt such measures as may be necessary to restore the authority of the government, and to punish all violations of the laws of war. This power will be exercised only where the peace of the country and the success of the Union cause absolutely require it.

"III. Evidence has been received at these headquarters that Maj.-Gen. Sterling Price has issued commissions or licenses to certain bandits in this State, authorizing them to raise 'guerrilla forces,' for the purpose of plunder and marauding. Gen. Price ought to know that such a course is contrary to the rules of civilized warfare, and that every man who enlists in such an organization forfeits his life and becomes an outlaw. All persons are hereby warned that if they join any guerrilla band they will not, if captured, be treated as ordinary prisoners of war, but will be hung as robbers and murderers. Their lives shall atone for the barbarity of their general."

—The Union ladies of St. Louis, in token of their approbation of the vigorous and efficient services Gen. Halleck had rendered as military commander of the Department of the Mississippi, decided to present him with a magnificent sword. The general gave his consent, and designated Monday evening, March 17th, and the Planters' Hotel, as the time and place for the ceremony. At the time appointed the sword was presented to Gen. Halleck in the private parlors of the hotel by the following committee of young ladies: Miss Helen W. Budd, Miss Mary Crow, Miss Belle Bridge, Miss Sue Benton, Miss Belle Holmes, Miss Fannie Edgar, and Miss Ellen McKee. Miss Budd made the presentation speech in behalf of the committee.

Gen. Halleck, on receiving the sword handed to him by Miss Budd, addressed the committee as follows:

"LADIES OF THE COMMITTEE:

"I thank you and those whom you represent for the honor you have conferred on me in the presentation of this beautiful sword. I cannot believe that I have done anything to merit this distinguished favor from the ladies of St. Louis. I, however, accept it from them, with the promise that it will be used only in the defense of the rights of American citizens and of the flag of our common country. This sword is presented by the ladies; it shall be used, if occasion should require, in their service, and in defense of their rights and their honor.

"I thank you, ladies, for your address, and you, Miss Budd, for the manner of its delivery."

The ladies and gentlemen present were then individually introduced to the general by Charles D. Drake, and the company dispersed.

The following is a list of the contributors:

Mrs. George K. Budd, Miss Helen W. Budd, Mrs. A. Northrop, Mrs. Dennis Marks, Mrs. S. J. Bacon, Mrs. S. T. Hyde, Mrs. Arthur Benson, Mrs. A. L. Holmes, Mrs. Amos Cutter, Miss Mary Thomas, Mrs. George D. Humphreys, Mrs. William McKee, Miss Ellen McKee, Mrs. William Groshon, Mrs. Albert Pierce, Mrs. James Smith, Mrs. Maj. Weber, Mrs. Giles F. Filley, Mrs. T. Woodruff, Mrs. Stephen Ridgley, Mrs. Thomas Yeatman, Mrs. J. B. Sickles, Mrs. Benjamin Farrar, Mrs. Delano, Mrs. E. W. Foy, Mrs. C. B. Hubbell, Mrs. Edward A. Filley, Mrs. Charles Holmes, Mrs. Charles F. Holmes, Mrs. Samuel Kellogg, Mrs. A. F. Shapleigh, Mrs. George Partridge, Mrs. Wayman Crow, Mrs. J. Cheever, Mrs. John Beach, Mrs. Ely Ware, Mrs. H. Wilson, Mrs. L. Eaton, Miss Lizzie Albright, Mrs. Capt. Lowe, Mrs. Haren, Mrs. James Richardson, Mrs. E. J. Cheever, Mrs. Hannah Patterson, Mrs. Carlos S. Greeley, Mrs. R. J. Howard, Mrs. Ira Stansbury, Miss Garritt, Mrs. Edward Wyman, Mrs. Oliver, Miss Adriance, Miss Mary E. Tuttle, Miss Addie F. Tuttle, Miss M. Avery, Mrs. Charles S. Blood, Mrs. S. Treadway, Mrs. Wyllis King, Mrs. R. Scarritt, Mrs.

Isidor Busch, Mrs. Dwight Durkee, Mrs. J. W. Peck, Mrs. S. M. Allen, Miss Lucia Allen, Master Willie A. Allen, Mrs. Maj. Shaw, Mrs. Col. O'Fallon, Mrs. P. Allen, Mrs. B.
1862. Stickney, Mrs. O. Garrison, Mrs. T. B. Edgar, Mrs. W. L. Thoyel, Mrs. Dr. William Eliot, Mrs. Dr. T. M. Post, Mrs. Dr. H. A. Nelson, Mrs. J. J. Porter, Mrs. John How, Mrs. Col. A. R. Easton, Mrs. John J. Roe, Mrs. Robert Holmes, Mrs. Hudson E. Bridge, Miss Belle Bridge, Miss Sue Benton, Mrs. A. Knight, Mrs. C. B. Burnham, Mrs. Eben Richards, Mrs. L. H. Laflin, Miss Dodd, Mrs. James Duncan, Mrs. E. J. Cubbage, Mrs. William Barr, Mrs. James G. Brown, Mrs. John Avery, Mrs. S. J. Breckenridge, Mrs. Sol. Smith, Mrs. John V. Metlar, Mrs. Rumbold, Mrs. R. Barnett, Mrs. James Patrick, Mrs. E. H. Whedon, Mrs. William Patrick, Mrs. N. C. Chapman, Mrs. Dr. E. Hale, Mrs. John C. Porter, Mrs. Isaac Rosenfeld, Mrs. S. A. Ranlett, Mrs. James Blackman, Mrs. A. Valté, Mrs. M. W. Warne, Mrs. O. D. Filley, Mrs. S. M. Edgell, Mrs. Moody, Mrs. William G. Webb, Miss E. Glover, Miss Emily Young, Miss Minster, Miss Jennie Glover, Miss Fannie Edgar, Miss Belle Holmes, Miss M. D. Budd, Mrs. Clinton B. Fiske, Mrs. Dr. Fisher, Mrs. Adolphe Abeles, Mrs. Ferdinand Meyer, Mrs. Charles Kintzing, Mrs. A. G. Braun, Mrs. Isaac L. Garrison, Mrs. Daniel R. Garrison, Mrs. Kreigler, Mrs. Judge Krum, Mrs. J. H. Parsons.

In addition to this compliment, Gen. Halleck was honored on the same evening with a serenade. A large assemblage gathered, and in response to repeated calls the general appeared on the balcony and delivered a brief address. On the 15th an invitation signed by six hundred children of the public schools was sent to Gen. Halleck, soliciting his attendance at their concert and exhibition for the benefit of the poor.

—All jurors, whether in civil or criminal courts, in the State were required by Gen. Halleck, after March 14th, to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the convention on the 16th of October, 1861. Those refusing to take such oath were to be regarded as aliens. He also said,—

"Any neglect on the part of army or volunteer surgeons in their duties to the sick and wounded will be immediately reported to these headquarters. It is said that some of the medical officers, prisoners of war, have failed to give proper attention to their own sick and wounded. In all cases of this kind the medical officer will be deprived of his parole, and be placed in close confinement, and the facts reported to headquarters."

In view of the rapid extension of steamboat navigation into the Southern States and the importance of having the boats engaged in such navigation controlled by loyal citizens, Gen. Halleck, on March 28th, ordered that all licenses to pilots and engineers navigating the waters of his military department be revoked from and after the 15th of April; "and that said pilots and engineers take out new licenses from the 'supervising inspector,' who will only grant licenses to persons of approved loyalty, or, in case of doubt, will require bond with security for the loyal conduct of such engineers and pilots."

—On the 5th of April, Bernard G. Farrar, provost-marshal-general, issued the following "Special Orders No. 237:"

"The following-named judges of election are appointed to act as inspectors at the several election precincts of the city of Carondelet at the municipal election to be held in said city on the 7th instant. They are authorized to enforce General Orders No. 41, current series of Maj.-Gen. Halleck, in every particular; they will administer the oath of allegiance to each voter, and make a certificate thereof, and return the same to this office. A duplicate of said certificate, signed by either of the inspectors, will entitle each voter to vote at the election for clerk of the Land Court, by depositing the same with the inspector at that poll:

"For the First Ward, A. A. Blumenthal.
"Second Ward, L. M. Maxon.
"Third Ward, John Hewitt.
"Fourth Ward, John Schreiber."

—The steamboats "Crescent City" and "Woodford" arrived in St. Louis on April 14th from Tennessee River, the former conveying wounded soldiers and the latter Confederate prisoners. The "Crescent City," when she left the Tennessee, had had on board four hundred and fifteen wounded, four of whom were Confederates, but fifty who were badly injured were left at Paducah, and five died on the trip. This boat was in charge of Dr. J. P. Smith, surgeon of Gen. Thomas' brigade. The "Woodford" brought a large number of Confederate prisoners, in charge of Capt. Newsham, of Gen. C. F. Smith's staff, and a detachment of Union troops. They were all removed under guard and placed in the Gratiot Street military prison. On the same evening the steamer "Louisiana" arrived from the Tennessee with more wounded, many of them belonging to the Confederate army.

At this time the following hospitals in St. Louis were occupied by sick and wounded soldiers:

Fifth Street (corner Chestnut, opposite court-house), Dr. Hodgen.
Fourth Street (near Franklin Avenue), Dr. McGugin.
New House of Refuge (five miles out, southwest), Dr. Bailey.
Pacific House (Spruce Street, west of Seventh), Dr. Martin.
Good Samaritan (Twenty-fifth Street, near O'Fallon Street), Dr. McMartin.
Hickory Street (west of Seventh Street), Dr. Melcher.
City Hospital (St. Ange Avenue), Dr. Grinstead.
Sisters of Charity (Spruce Street, corner Fourth), Dr. Rox.
McDowell's College Hospital (for Confederate prisoners), Dr. Melcher.
Arsenal Hospital (three miles out, south), Dr. Getty.
Marine Hospital (four miles out, south), Dr. Melcher.
Duncan's Island (for smallpox, four miles down the river), Dr. Smith.
Jefferson Barracks (twelve miles out, south), Dr. Fish.
Benton Barracks, general hospital (four miles out, northwest), Dr. Dickinson.
Benton Barracks Convalescent No. 1 (Fair Ground), Dr. Dyer.
Benton Barracks Convalescent No. 2 (Parade Ground), Dr. Colegrove.

Rev. H. A. Reid was employed by the Western Sanitary Commission as relief agent to furnish all information, etc., and render all needful assistance to the sick and wounded soldiers.

1862.

—In compliance with orders from Gen. Halleck, Col. Lewis Merrill assumed command of the St. Louis division, which was bounded as follows:

"A line beginning at the north corner of Pike County, on the Mississippi, running west to the eastern line of Linn County, south to the mouth of Chariton River, down the Missouri to the mouth of the Gasconade, thence the line of the Gasconade and Big North Fork of White River to the southern line of Missouri, excluding the counties of Pemiscott, New Madrid, and Mississippi, and camp of instruction at Benton Barracks."

—Early in April Gen. Halleck left for Corinth, Miss., leaving Maj.-Gen. John M. Schofield in command of the greater part of the State; and on June 1st Gen. Schofield assumed command of the entire Department of Missouri, with headquarters in St. Louis.

—Bernard G. Farrar, provost-marshal-general of the Department of the Mississippi, on June 17th issued the following "Special Orders No. 300:"

"Whilst in the State of Missouri, and especially in the city of St. Louis, there has never been any well-founded expectation of success to the rebel cause, still the desperate though fruitless efforts of the rebels in this State have been productive of the greatest evils; the peace of the people has been destroyed, their lives constantly in danger, their industry paralyzed and its fruits ruthlessly seized and stolen. Whilst the interior of the State has been in a miserable condition, constant and effective aid, support, and encouragement have been given to the outlaws in arms by a large number of the inhabitants of this city, who have been equally guilty with those who have taken up arms. These outlaws in spirit amongst us are, many of them, individually well known to the military authorities as active and efficient supporters of this rebellion. Forbearance has been extended to these people in the hope that they would cease their misconduct, but they continue their acts of hatred to the government, deriding its power, and constantly claiming and asserting that it has no rightful existence here, and that it rightfully should and would be overthrown by the rebel government. Their abuse of the Federal government and all in authority under it, their obstinate support of the cause of the rebellion becomes a serious matter; it not only encourages and keeps alive the marauding guerrilla warfare in this State, but it has a great effect upon a large number of persons in this city and State whose disloyal tendencies would long since have been rooted out but for this continuing cause of support.

"In view of the evil consequences of treating these people with leniency, and that to do so tends to keep up the insurrectionary spirit in this city and State, the time has come when they should be recognized in their true character, and dealt with as active and efficient enemies of the government. The peace and welfare of this city and State suffer from the failure of the military authorities to take notice of the evils resulting from the conduct of these cunning traitors, who, while plotting treason, try to practice it in secret. It is therefore ordered that the provost-marshal of the city of St. Louis will cause all persons in this city suspected of disloyal sympathies to take the oath of allegiance to the United States government and the provisional government of the State, and all persons well known by their conduct, bearing, conversation, or companions to be disloyal shall be required to give bond for the observance of their oath, and the provost-marshal of the city will cause the arrest of all persons guilty, after the publication of this order, of any of the disloyal conduct hereinbefore mentioned, whether it consists in acts or language hostile to the government."

In compliance with this order, the provost-marshal of St. Louis sent the following circular letter to nearly a thousand Southern sympathizers in St. Louis, calling upon them to present themselves before him and take the oath and give bond for their loyal conduct:

"OFFICE OF THE PROVOST-MARSHAL,
"ST. LOUIS, MO., ——, 1862.

"SIR,—Your attention is called to the following extract from Special Orders No. 300, issued by the provost-marshal-general of this department:

"'The provost-marshal of the city of St. Louis will cause all persons in the city suspected of disloyal sympathies to take the oath of allegiance to the United States government and the provisional State government, and all persons well known by their conduct, bearing, conversation, or companions to be disloyal shall be required to give bond for the observance of their oath.'

"In pursuance of the same, you are directed to appear at my office within the next —— days, and take the oath and give a bond, as required by said order. The bond will be in the sum of —— thousand dollars.

"Very respectfully,
"GEO. E. LEIGHTON,
"*Provost-Marshal, St. Louis.*

"To —— ——, St. Louis."

For the information of those who were notified to appear at his office under the special orders of the provost-marshal-general, Major Leighton issued the following "General Orders No. 866:"

"I. No person who has once taken the oath of allegiance in any form since July 4, 1861, and before June 18, 1862, will be required to take it anew. Persons who have taken it, who have been or may hereafter be notified to appear, are requested to bring with them the evidence of the same.

"II. Numerous applications have been made for the privilege of taking the Convention oath. This oath cannot be administered under this order, nor be accepted when presented in lieu of the usual military oath, unless it shall have been taken previous to the 18th day of June, 1862. The objections of such persons to the form used present the strongest reasons in its favor.

"III. The oath which will be required of those who have not taken it previous to their notification to appear at this office, will be as follows:

"'I, —— ——, county of ——, State of ——, do solemnly swear that I will support, protect, and defend the Constitution and government of the United States, and the provisional government of the State of Missouri, against all enemies, whether domestic or foreign; that I will bear true faith, allegiance, and loyalty to the same, any ordinance, resolution, or law of any State Convention or Legislature to the contrary notwithstanding; and, further, that I will well and faithfully perform all the duties which may be required of me by the laws of the United States. And I take this oath without any mental reservation or evasion whatsoever, with a full and clear understanding that death or other punishment by the judgment of a military commission will be the penalty for the violation of this my solemn

oath. And I also swear that under no consideration will I go beyond the military lines of the United States forces, so help me God.'

"No modification will be made under any circumstances."

1862. —Lieut.-Col. B. G. Farrar, on June 27th, besides being appointed provost-marshal-general of the District of Missouri also had the military prison at Alton, Ill., included under his jurisdiction.

—A large mass-meeting of the citizens of St. Louis was held on July 12th in the rotunda of the court-house to take into consideration the subject of offering inducements to the government to locate the navy-yard, the establishment of which on the Upper Mississippi was in contemplation, at St. Louis.

Maj. Daniel G. Taylor was chosen to preside, with the following vice-presidents: C. S. Greeley, L. V. Bogy, J. G. Woerner, C. D. Wolf, A. W. Fagin. The object of the meeting having been stated, Messrs T. S. Nelson, J. E. Burnett, George Partridge, W. H. Benton, James H. Lucas, Benjamin Stickney, John O'Fallon, B. M. Runyon, A. Meier, and John Cairns were appointed a committee on resolutions. They reported a series of resolutions favorable to the proposition, which were adopted, and three members of the Council were requested to visit Washington and lay the matter before the government. During the evening speeches were made by Maj. Taylor, C. C. Whittelsey, and L. V. Bogy.

—Governor Gamble, on July 22d, authorized Brig.-Gen. John M. Schofield, in command of the Missouri State militia, to enroll and organize the entire militia of the State into companies, regiments, and brigades, "for the purpose of putting down all marauders, and defending the peaceable citizens of the State."

Gen. Schofield placed the enrollment and organization of the militia of St. Louis under the general direction of Col. Lewis Merrill, commanding the St. Louis division, who began to organize the militia of the city as follows:

"The militia of each ward will, as far as practicable, constitute a regiment, and will be at once enrolled for this purpose, reporting to the enrolling officers below named at their offices, which will be at the places where the elections are usually held in each ward.

"As soon as sixty-four men are enrolled they will be organized into a company, and proceed to elect their officers. When ten companies are organized in each ward they will be formed into a regiment, and the field and staff officers appointed.

"After the organization of the regiment, all persons enrolled will by the enrolling officer be assigned to companies already organized.

"Capt. R. A. Howard, Merrill's Horse, is hereby appointed superintendent of enrollment for the city of St. Louis, and the enrolling officer will report to him for further orders.

"The following enrolling officers are hereby appointed, and are authorized to detail from the militia the necessary clerks and assistants for the proper discharge of their duties

First Ward, John Nicolay.
Second Ward, Charles W. Gottschalk.
Third Ward, Jean J. Witzig.
Fourth Ward, Tony Niederwieser.
Fifth Ward, R. J. Howard.
Sixth Ward, George Doan.
Seventh Ward, Thomas J. Dailey.
Eighth Ward, George Kyler.
Ninth Ward, William Bailey.
Tenth Ward, Brainard M. Million.

Who will immediately enter upon the discharge of their duties, and report daily to the superintendent of the enrollment the progress made in the organization.

"All applications for furloughs for any militiaman will be made to Capt. Howard."

By order of the Governor the following persons were exempted from enrollment in the active militia of the State:

"Judges, justices, and clerks of court of record, sheriffs, coroners, and constables, secretary of State, auditors, treasurers, and registers of land and their clerks, postmasters, mail-carriers, mail agents, engine-drivers, conductors, brakemen, and watchmen in actual service upon railroads, millers, keepers of ferries, keepers of jails and other prisons, officers of the penitentiary, practicing physicians, priests, and preachers of any religious denomination when regularly ordained, instructors and pupils in schools established by law, and persons employed in the steam fire department of any city or town."

—On July 24th the board of police commissioners passed the following order, which required all persons doing business with the county wherein the payment of money from the county treasury was involved to first prove their loyalty before obtaining pecuniary satisfaction. In case the loyalty of persons was not established, the accounts against the county were not to be liquidated:

"*Ordered*, That the auditor inform by letter (including a copy of this order) all heads of departments and officers in the employ of the county, and all other persons and parties who by law are making purchases for which the county is liable, that hereafter no accounts of any person whatsoever in whatever capacity he or they be employed will be allowed unless they furnish satisfactory proof to the auditor that they have taken the oath of allegiance prescribed by the Convention of the State; and the auditor is hereby instructed to indorse on every bill or account presented the fact whether the party concerned has, to his knowledge, taken the oath or not."

—A very large and enthusiastic meeting was held at the court-house on July 25th to encourage enlistments for the war. The rotunda of the court-house, including all the galleries, was completely filled with people, and quite an assemblage gathered on Fourth Street in front of the building to listen to the remarks of volunteer speakers. The principal speeches were made in the rotunda. The meeting was called

to order by James Peckham, who proposed Mr. Lightner, of the board of county commissioners, as president, and having made a few patriotic re-
1862. marks, read the following resolutions, prepared for the occasion, which were adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the preservation of the Union is to St. Louis an interest greater than all other interests, and that we will, regardless of all other interests, contribute in men and means the last man and the last dollar of which our city is possessed, if necessary, to reinforce our armies;

"*Resolved*, That loyalty should be intolerant of treason, and no description of disloyalty to the government of the United States should be tolerated by the military authorities, and that we demand, as we have a right to do, security from home traitors and rebel spies by their removal from our midst.

"*Resolved*, That the chairman of this meeting appoint a committee of two persons from each ward of the city to act as a fund committee, who shall collect and dispose of means for raising and organizing the regiments to compose Gen. Blair's brigade."

The resolutions were received with great demonstrations of applause. Mr. Drake then addressed the meeting, and when he had finished loud calls were made for Gen. Blair, and that gentleman came forward and made an eloquent speech.

Speeches were also made by Thomas S. Nelson and others.

—On the 28th the following "General Orders No. 23," relating to exemptions from military duty, were issued:

"All persons who prefer to contribute money rather than personal service in the enrolled militia can procure exemption from military duty for one year by enrolling their names and paying an exemption fee into the military treasury of the State, or of the county in which they reside, at the option of the individual.

"The exemption fee will be ten dollars for each individual, and one-tenth of one per cent. upon all taxable property as shown by the last assessment.

"The exemption fee may be paid in money or in supplies for the support of the militia when in active service.

"It is expected that all persons of means, though legally exempt from military service, will voluntarily contribute, in proportion to their ability, to one of these funds, and thus enroll themselves among the loyal and willing supporters of law and order.

"All persons not exempt from military service by law, by general orders, or by payment of exemption fee as above stated will be enrolled and organized into companies, regiments, and brigades."

—On the 29th the county commissioners met, all the members being present except Mr. Tippet. Mr. Lightner submitted the following resolution for an appropriation for the relief of the families of volunteers, which was adopted:

"WHEREAS, It is right and proper that aid and comfort should be furnished all loyal Union people and interests; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That this board of St. Louis County commissioners pledges itself hereafter, as heretofore, to continue to aid all families in our midst whose male supporters may volunteer to fight our country's battles. This St. Louis County pledges herself to do to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, or as much more as may be necessary."

—In August the following donations among others were made to aid volunteers enlisting for the war and their families:

State Savings Association	$2500
Phœnix Insurance Company	500
Marine Insurance Company	1500
Atlantic Insurance Company	1000
St. Louis Insurance Company	500
Memphis Packet Company	500
St. Louis Shot-Tower Company	250
Bank of the State of Missouri	5000
Merchants' Bank	2000
Union Insurance Company	500
Board of Underwriters	100
United States Insurance Company	500
Merchants' Mutual Insurance Company	500
Citizens' Insurance Company	1000
Lumberman's and Mechanics' Insurance Company	1000
Boatmen's Savings Institution	4000
Southern Bank	500
Bank of St. Louis	600
Hope Mutual Fire Insurance Company	100
Globe Mutual Fire Insurance Company	400
Franklin Savings Institution	500
Franklin Insurance Company	500
Mechanics' Bank	2000
Merchants' Mutual Insurance Company	500
Pacific Insurance Company	500
L. A. Benoist & Co.	500
St. Louis Gaslight Company	1000
Exchange Bank of St. Louis	2000
Tesson & Danjen	100
Allen, Copp & Nesbit	100
Citizens' Railroad Company	200
Union Bank	500

—Gen. Schofield, on August 28th, by Special Orders No. 91, appointed Henry Moore, John Cavender, G. F. Filley, Charles Berg, and Ferdinand Meyer a county board for St. Louis County, "to assess and collect, without unnecessary delay, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars from the secessionists and Southern sympathizers in St. Louis County," the money thus realized to be "used in subsisting, clothing, and arming the enrolled militia while in active service, and in providing for the support of the families of such militiamen and United States volunteers as may be left destitute." On the 30th, Col. John O'Fallon, Daniel Garrison, and James S. Thomas were appointed additional members of the board, and John Cavender, who was president of the committee charged with the disbursement of the fund for the relief of soldiers' families, was relieved from serving as a member of the assessment board.

When this order was issued it created the greatest surprise and indignation among those citizens of St. Louis who sympathized with the South. The assessment was to be graded on a double scale, regulated by the wealth and supposed degree of sympathy for the South on the part of the persons assessed. The board

of citizens appointed to make the assessment was instructed to ascertain the facts, examine witnesses, and specify the amounts to be paid by each party.

1862. The *St. Louis Republican* long after the war gave a history of the assessment proceedings of 1862, which we reproduce here, and which we think will be found to be "very interesting reading:"

"*Ex parte* and secret evidence was received; little or no opportunity of defense was practicable. Many persons did not know they were under suspicion until the assessed amount was declared. The collection was to be summary, under the stringency of martial law. When the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars had been reached, and comparatively few persons knew where the blow would strike, the forced collection began, and had proceeded a little way, under the indignant protest but prudent submission of the sufferers, many of whom were good and true citizens in every sense of the word. All at once and quite unexpectedly an order, bearing date Dec. 15, 1862, appeared, which was understood to come direct from Washington, and took the 'assessors' themselves completely by surprise, stopping the assessment summarily and forever. There were probably not a dozen persons in St. Louis at the time to whom the immediate causes of the change were known. Great and bitter complaints were made by the board of assessment and by many others. A few months afterwards a leading member of the board, in a long letter arraigning the course of Governor Gamble, and published over his own name in the daily *Democrat* of June 13, 1863, makes the following statement:

"'On the 25th of December the board of assessment called on Gen. Curtis at his headquarters, when the general informed the board that ———, a good Union man, had got up a petition of remonstrance with many signatures (or 'rigmarole,' as the general called it), and that that petition was taken to Gen. Halleck at Washington; and on the strength of that petition and the letter of Governor Gamble the assessment was suspended by Gen. Halleck at Washington. The petition of ——— set forth that the assessment was an arbitrary and unjust proceeding.'

"This is partly right and partly wrong. The memorial or petition was written and signed by a clergyman of this city who was known to be very active in the Union cause and a personal friend of President Lincoln. It was addressed to Governor Gamble, and by him indorsed and forwarded to the President. Mr. Lincoln read the memorial with care, turned it over and indorsed upon it, 'Stop the whole thing by telegraph,' and sent it to Gen. Halleck.

"We have lately happened to have access to the original documents and to the order of repeal. They are as follows, and are well worth reading, now that the excitement of strife has passed. Undoubtedly the board of assessment labored to perform its duty faithfully, but few persons will now fail to see that the grounds of objection to the whole proceeding were just and sufficient:

"'*To His Excellency Governor H. R. Gamble:*

"'GOVERNOR,—The undersigned, your memorialists, who are now and always have been unconditional Union men and supporters of the government, most respectfully represent: That the 'assessment' now in progress, to be levied upon Southern sympathizers and secessionists, is working evil in this community and doing great harm to the Union cause. Among our citizens are all shades of opinion, from that kind of neutrality which is hatred in disguise, through all the grades of lukewarmness, 'sympathy,' and hesitating zeal up to the full loyalty which your memorialists, in common with yourself, claim to possess. To assort and classify these, so as to indicate the dividing line of loyalty and disloyalty, and to establish the rates of payment by those falling below it, is a task of great difficulty. If it can be done at all, it must be by patient investigation and after hearing evidence on both sides, giving each party the opportunity of self-defense. It would require not only a competent tribunal, sitting for a great length of time and possessed of full authority to examine witnesses under oath, but also a kind and degree of scrutiny inconsistent with republican institutions. Such an investigation has to some degree been attempted in the present case, but although the character and standing of the assessment board give assurance of the faithful endeavor to be just and impartial has been made, they have been compelled to admit hearsay evidence, 'opinions,' and 'general impressions,' and have in no case required witnesses to testify under oath. The natural consequence has been that many feel themselves deeply aggrieved, not having supposed themselves liable to the suspicion of disloyalty: many escape assessment who, if any, deserve it; and a general feeling of inequality in the rule and ratio of assessment prevails. This was unavoidable, for no two tribunals could agree upon the details of such an assessment, either as to the persons or the amounts to be assessed, without more complete knowledge of facts than can be attained from *ex parte* testimony and current reports. Nothing short of a thorough judicial investigation could lead to a satisfactory result. . . .

"'Your memorialists therefore respectfully petition that you will use your influence, Governor Gamble, with the commanding general and with the authorities at Washington, that the proceedings in assessment be stayed, at least until other methods of obtaining the funds required by the State shall have been first tried. Perhaps, if the case were fully presented before Congress, the just demand of the State would be met, and the employment of our State militia, in defense of the common cause, would be made. . . . It is the opinion of your memorialists that nothing anything short of congressional authority and judicial sanction such assessments as are now in progress would only amount to a *forced loan*, for which reclamation could ultimately be made and sustained.

"'All of which is respectfully submitted by your obedient servant,

"'ST. LOUIS, Dec. 2, 1862.'

"The memorial was written with the expectation of many signatures, but having been offered to a number of leading citizens without success, it was sent with a single name.

"The consequent order of Gen. Halleck is as follows:

"'HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 15, 1862.

"'*Maj.-Gen. S. R. Curtis, St. Louis:*

"'GENERAL,—I have received the documents forwarded by you in relation to the assessment ordered by Brig.-Gen. Schofield on the city and county of St. Louis, and have submitted them to the Secretary of War for his decision.

"'I am instructed to say in reply that, as there seems to be no present military necessity for the enforcement of this assessment, all proceedings under the order of Gen. Schofield will be suspended.

"'Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"'H. W. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief.*

"When this order appeared the whole community drew a long breath of relief, though there were many dissenting voices. It may seem to us at the present day unaccountable that any one could have expected permanent good results from an arbitrary proceeding like that which was discontinued. That there were many such is one among the many proofs of 'the madness which ruled the hour.'"

—On September 3d the headquarters of the different wards and of the districts of the city and county for the enrollment and organization of the militia were announced by Brig.-Gen. John B. Gray:

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"First Ward, Col. Nicholas Schuttner, headquarters St. George Market.

"Second Ward, Col. C. D. Wolf, Soulard Market.

"Third Ward, Col. Ford. Boyle, Chouteau Avenue, three doors west of Seventh Street.

"Fourth Ward, Col. Thomas Ritcheson, Turner Hall.

"Fifth Ward, Col. John Knapp, Lucas building, Pine Street west of Fourth.

"Sixth Ward, Col. John M. Krum, Washington Avenue, between Sixth and Seventh.

"Seventh Ward, Col. E. H. E. Jameson, Valley Hotel, corner of Seventh and Morgan Streets.

"Eighth Ward, Col. William Cuddy, Franklin Engine House, Eleventh Street, between Wash and Carr.

"Ninth Ward, Col. William Bailey, corner of Sixth and O'Fallon Streets.

"Tenth Ward, Col. B. M. Million, northwest corner of Jefferson and Main Streets, Marlow's factory.

"Districts Nos. 21, 22, 23, and 24, or St. Louis township, and Nos. 33, 34, and 35, or Central township, will be under command of George Knable, Jr., headquarters at the Mansion House.

"Districts Nos. 25, 26, 27, and 28, or Carondelet township, Col. E. Stafford, headquarters City Hall, Carondelet.

"Districts Nos. 36 and 37, or Bonhomme township, and Nos. 1 and 40, or Maramec township, Col. William P. Fenn, headquarters at Manchester.

"Districts Nos. 29, 30, 31, and 32, or St. Ferdinand township, Col. Julian Bates, headquarters Florissant."

—The following surgeons were appointed on the 3d of September for the examination of those claiming exemption from service in the enrolled Missouri militia of the city and county by reason of physical disability, the surgeons being instructed to report for duty to the colonels of their respective wards and districts as above mentioned:

Dr. William Taussig, Carondelet city and township; Dr. Gustave Fischer, First Ward; Dr. William E. Gempp, Second Ward; Dr. S. Pollak, Third Ward; Dr. Philip Wiegel, Fourth Ward; Dr. John Barnes, Fifth Ward; Dr. H. E. Martheus, Sixth Ward; Dr. F. W. White, Seventh Ward; Dr. John Conduman, Eighth Ward; Dr. S. Stark, Ninth Ward; Dr. Daniel A. Million, Tenth Ward; Dr. J. N. Morris, St. Ferdinand township; Dr. William A. McMurray, Central and St. Louis township; Dr. L. D. Morse, Bonhomme and Maramec townships.

These surgeons were authorized and instructed to collect a fee of fifty cents from each person examined, one-half of which sum they were to retain as remuneration for services rendered, and the other half they were to turn over weekly to the colonels of their districts, which was to be expended by said colonels in the necessary incidental expenses of organization, and properly accounted for monthly by them to headquarters.

—Maj. Charles L. McConnell, assistant provost-marshal-general, was, on September 5th, appointed provost-marshal-general *ad interim* of St. Louis district by Gen. Schofield, in place of Col. B. G. Farrar. On the 10th of September, Col. T. T. Gantt received the appointment from Gen. Schofield, succeeding Col. Farrar and Maj. McConnell.

—The unconditional Union men of St. Louis were requested by James S. Thomas, president of the county board to assess and collect the sum of five hundred thousand dollars from Southern sympathizers, to forward to his board "such information as they may have in their possession which will aid them in carrying out the requirements of Special Orders No. 91." He added, "The board wish it to be understood that all communications and evidence will be considered strictly private."

—On September 11th the following orders, under which the property of Missouri Confederates was to be confiscated, were issued by Gen. Schofield:

"I. In compliance with orders from Honorable Secretary of War, the provost-marshal-general of the District of Missouri will proceed without delay to carry into effect the provisions of the act of Congress approved July 17, 1862, and entitled 'An Act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes,' so far as the provisions of said act are subject to be carried into effect by the military authorities of the United States in the District of Missouri.

"II. Property seized in pursuance of Section 5 of said act will be reported to the United States district attorney for the district in which it may be, or may first be brought for condemnation and sale, as provided in Section 7 of said act.

"III. Inasmuch as the conviction or the establishment of the guilt of the owners of the property so seized before a court of competent jurisdiction is by the act of Congress aforesaid made the condition of the condemnation and sale thereof, the provost-marshal-general is hereby ordered to transmit at the same time to such United States attorney a list of the witnesses by whose evidence the guilt of such owners has been made to appear to him.

"IV. Whenever an inquiry into the guilt of any person supposed to have violated the act of Congress aforesaid shall be made by the provost-marshal-general, the testimony of the witnesses examined shall take the form of affidavits, and be by them subscribed and sworn to before the provost-marshal-general, and all such affidavits shall be preserved by him on file in his office.

"V. The provost-marshal-general will in no case suspend the payment of any indebtedness which may be a part of the credits of any person violating the provisions of the act of Congress aforesaid, but all such indebtedness will be paid provisionally to the credit of the suit instituted against the person prosecuted or the property libeled in a court of competent jurisdiction, and will abide the final judgment of said court."

—Capt. E. H. Tunnecliff, on October 1st, acting under orders from Maj. George E. Leighton, provost-marshal-general of St. Louis district, was relieved of his command as chief of the United States police,

and Capt. Henry A. Smith was appointed to fill the vacancy.

—On the 23d of October, William D. Wood, assistant adjutant-general of Missouri, issued the following "General Orders No. 45," relating to elections: **1862.**

"I. A general election is to take place throughout the State on the first Tuesday in November next. This is the first attempt of the people to choose their officers since the war of this rebellion commenced. It will be an occasion when angry passions, excited by the war, might produce strife, and prevent the full expression of the popular will in the selection of officers.

"The convention has provided by ordinance that every voter shall, before voting, take a prescribed oath, and that no vote shall be counted in favor of any candidate for a State or county office unless he shall have taken an oath prescribed for candidates. The ordinance of the Convention fixes heavy penalties upon those who take the oaths falsely. These are the safeguards which the Convention has judged necessary to keep unfaithful and disloyal persons from exercising power in the State. They are sufficient. No person must be allowed to interfere with the freedom of those qualified to vote under this ordinance.

"The enrolled militia, being citizens of the State, and very nearly all entitled by age to vote, will doubtless be generally at places of voting. They are a body organized for the purpose of preventing violations of the law of the State, and they all know that it is essential to the maintenance of our government that all qualified voters should be allowed, without molestation of any kind, to cast their votes as they please.

"II. It is required of all officers and men of the enrolled militia that they keep perfect order at the polls on the day of election, and that they see that no person is either kept from the polls by intimidation, or in any way interfered with in voting at the polls for whatever candidate he may choose.

"III. If any officer or private shall either interfere with the rights of voters or countenance such interference by others, it will be treated as a high military offense and punished with the utmost rigor.

"IV. Wherever there is any reason to apprehend any interference with the election on the part of bands of guerrillas, the commanding officer of the nearest regiment will detail a sufficient force to prevent any such interference, and station it where there is apprehended danger.

"V. In case of disturbance arising which cannot be arrested by the civil authorities, any commissioned officer present is hereby ordered, at the request of any judge, sheriff, or justice of the peace, to use the necessary military force to suppress it.

"VI. Commanding officers of the E. M. M.[1] are hereby directed to see that the foregoing orders are strictly obeyed."

—Col. T. T. Gantt, provost-marshal-general of the St. Louis district, was relieved by Gen. S. R. Curtis on the 1st of November, and Brig.-Gen. Eugene A. Carr assumed command of the St. Louis district on the 15th.

—On the 22d of November, Col. B. G. Farrar, of the Thirtieth Missouri Volunteers, was appointed by Maj.-Gen. Curtis to "attend specially to the procuring of evidence concerning property liable to confiscation under the law of July 17, 1862, and when he thinks evidence can be found showing the propriety of confiscation, he will take immediate possession of the property and institute proceedings, to determine the matter as defined by law."

On the 11th of December he was also placed by Gen. Curtis in charge of all contraband and confiscated property in the Department of the Missouri, and assigned the important duty of collecting all bonds that had been forfeited by Confederates and Southern sympathizers.

—The Army of Southeast Missouri being within the district of St. Louis, Gen. J. W. Davidson, on February 24th, assumed command of the whole, and Brig.-Gen. E. A. Carr, who had been in command of the district of St. Louis, was ordered to report to him. **1863.**

—Lieut.-Col. F. A. Dick, provost-marshal-general, on April 21st ordered Edward Wyman, principal of the City University, to hoist "the United States flag over his school building, and keep the same floating daily in a conspicuous position." The parades and military exercises of the school were also to be made under the same flag. In another order issued on the following day the loyalty of Mr. Wyman and his assistants was "fully conceded" by Gen. Curtis.

—The *Republican* of July 13th makes the following allusion to Maj.-Gen. Bowen, formerly of St. Louis, but then of the Confederate army, and who afterwards died in the service:

"This officer, who was taken prisoner at Vicksburg, graduated a few years ago at West Point, which institution he entered as a cadet from the State of Georgia. He is well known in St. Louis, where, previous to the war, he pursued the profession of an architect and draughtsman. He was connected with our city military organizations, and was adjutant-general on the staff of Gen. Frost at the time of the expedition to the border in search of Montgomery, who was said to have invaded Missouri with a force of Kansas men, and to have perpetrated numerous outrages in that quarter. Bowen remained on the border with a small command until about the time when the Rebellion broke out in the South, when he came to this city and took command of the Second Regiment of Frost's brigade as colonel. He was at Camp Jackson, and, as Frost's acting chief of staff, was the bearer of the letter from Gen. Frost to Capt. Lyon, at the Arsenal, asking to be assured that the rumors of a contemplated attack on Camp Jackson were incorrect, and protesting that the camp was not for any aggressive purpose. Shortly after the release of the Camp Jackson prisoners, Col. Bowen went South, and turned up soon at Columbus, Ky. He has been in several battles, but acted the most conspicuous part at Port Gibson, where he was defeated and compelled to retreat. He was prominent in the negotiations for the surrender of Vicksburg."

—One of the most notable events that took place during this excited period was the arrival at New Orleans on July 16th of the steamboat "Imperial"

[1] Enrolled Missouri Militia.

without obstruction or annoyance down the Mississippi River. This event stimulated the merchants of St. Louis to endeavor to open the commerce of the river, and as a consequence the Chamber of Commerce on July 24th passed the following resolution, which was introduced by E. W. Fox:

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"*Resolved*, That A. W. Fagin, Albert Pearce, Samuel R. Filler, John J. Roe, Samuel Gaty, Alexander B. Moreau, J. H. Oglesby, and J. H. Alexander are hereby appointed a committee to proceed to Washington and urge President Lincoln to remove all restrictions from the commerce of the Mississippi valley, so far as the same can be done with safety to the nation, and that the treasurer is hereby instructed to defray the expenses of said committee during the trip out of the funds of the Exchange."

On the same day the following dispatch was received from Washington announcing the opening of the Mississippi River to New Orleans:

"WASHINGTON CITY, July 23, 1863.

"TO THE SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS:

"Clear boats and cargoes, except of prohibited articles, for New Orleans, if desired, taking bonds not to land goods at intermediate points, except under permits authorized by existing regulations.

"S. P. CHASE, *Secretary Treasury*."

The *Republican*, commenting upon the internal trade regulations at this time, said,—

"Now that the trade through the whole line of the Mississippi is established by the fact of the arrival of the steamer 'Imperial' at Memphis, and her expected arrival here to-day, our mercantile community is strongly and justly exercised at the conditions imposed on it. One of these conditions is that five per cent. shall be paid on the value of all shipments. Of course a duty so onerous is felt to be a grievance, and although it has been paid on shipments to Memphis and Helena, we are confirmed that no such tax is exacted on shipments made coastwise from the Atlantic ports to New Orleans. The shipments heretofore to Memphis, etc., have been so inconsiderable that the burden has not been generally felt. Now, however, the case is different, and as it is discovered that the eastern cities are exempted from a tax which is imposed on St. Louis, the exaction is regarded as not only burdensome but inequitable. The interest felt on this subject will excuse some reference to these trade regulations and the law that authorizes them."

On the 8th of August the same journal said,—

"The free and unobstructed navigation of the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Balize was announced on Wednesday last by the steamer 'Imperial,' arrived at St. Louis from New Orleans. Out of its two years' imprisonment the commerce of the great river feebly revived in twenty-five boxes of lemons, the only consignment of the first boat up, but gives promise of an eager awakening."

—President Lincoln, on October 1st, issued the following instructions to Gen. Schofield:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,

"WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 1, 1863.

"GEN. JOHN M. SCHOFIELD:

"There is no organized military force in avowed opposition to the general government now in Missouri; and if any such shall reappear, your duty in regard to it will be too plain to require any special instruction. Still, the condition of things both there and elsewhere is such as to render it indispensable to maintain for a time the United States military establishment in that State, as well as to rely upon it for a fair contribution of support to that establishment generally. Your immediate duty in regard to Missouri now is to advance the efficiency of that establishment, and to so use it, as far as practicable, to compel the excited people there to leave one another alone.

"Under your recent orders, which I have approved, you will only arrest individuals and suppress assemblies or newspapers when they may be working *palpable* injury to the military in your charge; and in no other case will you interfere with the expression of opinion in any form, or allow it to be interfered with violently by others. In this you have a discretion to exercise with great caution, calmness, and forbearance.

"With the matters of removing the inhabitants of certain counties *en masse*, and of removing certain individuals from time to time who are supposed to be mischievous, I am not now interfering, but am leaving to your discretion.

"Nor am I interfering with what may still seem to you to be necessary restrictions upon trade and intercourse. I think proper, however, to enjoin upon you the following: Allow no part of the military under your command to be engaged in either returning fugitive slaves or in forcing or enticing slaves from their homes; and, so far as practicable, enforce the same forbearance upon the people.

"Report to me your opinion upon the availability for good of the enrolled militia of the State. Allow no one to enlist colored troops, except upon orders from you, or from here through you.

"Allow no one to assume the functions of confiscating property, under the law of Congress, or otherwise, except upon orders from here.

"At elections see that those and only those are allowed to vote who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including as of those laws the restriction laid by the Missouri Convention upon those who may have participated in the Rebellion.

"So far as practicable, you will, by means of your military force, expel guerrillas, marauders, and murderers, and all who are known to harbor, aid, or abet them. But, in like manner, you will repress assumptions of unauthorized individuals to perform the same service, because under pretense of doing this they become marauders and murderers themselves.

"To now restore peace, let the military obey orders; and those not of the military leave each other alone, thus not breaking the peace themselves.

"In giving the above directions it is not intended to restrain you in other expedient and necessary matters not falling within their range.

"Your obedient servant,

"A. LINCOLN."

—With a view to securing fairness and freedom in the election to be held on November 3d, Gen. Schofield, in the exercise of the powers vested in him, issued an order on the 20th of October, in which he directed that the county courts should make proper selections of judges of elections throughout the State from loyal men, and ordered that those citizen-soldiers who were entitled to vote at elections in Missouri, should vote in their camps, thus dispensing as far as possible with their presence at election precincts. In particular, he required that the oath prescribed by

the ordinance of the convention should be administered to all the voters before they were permitted to deposit their ballots.

—On the 27th of January of this year a number of Union citizens determined to give Gen. Grant, who was in St. Louis at the time, a public dinner.

1864. The members of the general committee were John How, James O. Broadhead, John R. Shepley, James Taussig, John H. Fife, William D'Oench, Samuel Reber, S. H. Laflin, Thomas Richeson. The committee of arrangements was composed of C. B. Lord, George E. Leighton, C. P. E. Johnson, Barton Able, J. H. Andrews, C. B. Hubbell, and W. J. and Romyn G. Hoeber.

—In compliance with orders from the War Department, Maj.-Gen. J. M. Schofield on the 30th of January relinquished the command of the Department of the Missouri to Maj.-Gen. W. S. Rosecrans. The staff of Gen. Rosecrans was as follows:

Brig.-Gen. John B. Gray, adjutant-general; Col. E. Anson Moro, quartermaster-general; Col. Silas Woodson, inspector-general; Col. John T. Hodgen, surgeon-general; Col. C. P. E. Johnson, paymaster-general; Col. F. D. Callender, aide-de-camp and chief of ordnance; Col. Allen P. Richardson, aide-de-camp; Col. William P. Harrison, aide-de-camp; Lieut.-Col. Melville Sawyer, department paymaster-general; Col. A. R. Easton, aide-de-camp; Maj. C. C. Bailey, aide-de-camp and military secretary.

The honorable aides-de-camp upon the staff of the late Governor were continued as such upon the staff of Gen. Rosecrans.

—Col. J. H. Baker, of the Tenth Regiment of Minnesota Infantry, commanding the post of St. Louis, on March 1st issued an order requiring citizens who had obtained soldiers' clothing by purchase and discharged soldiers to dye their soldier clothing another color. Any citizen who was found wearing soldiers' clothing or any part of the uniform was arrested and the clothing confiscated. Wearing the regulation officer's cord on their hats by either citizens or enlisted men was also prohibited.

—On the 7th of March Gen. Rosecrans issued the following "Special Orders No. 61:"

"7. While it is the determination of the general commanding this department that due protection shall be given within its limits to all religious convocations which may assemble to promote the cause of religion and morality, whether convening as conventions, synods, ministerial assemblies, conferences, council', or under any other name or title, the interests of the country at the present time require that no such assemblages of persons whose proceedings would be disloyal and tend to foment discord and encourage rebellion should be permitted. It is right and proper, therefore, that all members of such assemblages should give satisfactory evidence to the public of their loyalty to the government of the United States, that their patriotism may be known, and that they be distinguished from those who seek its overthrow.

"8. It is therefore deemed expedient and hereby ordered, as a condition precedent to such privilege of assemblage and protection, that each and every person attending such convention, synod, ministerium, assembly, conference, council, or by whatever name it may be called, and participating in the proceedings thereof, shall take and subscribe to an oath of allegiance, and file the same in the office of the assistant provost-marshal of the locality in which the assemblies are held.

"9. It is hereby made the duty of all such assemblages to ascertain, before proceeding to organize and transact business, those who have taken, subscribed, and filed the required oath, and permit only such to participate in their proceedings. And in case any such assemblage shall neglect or refuse so to do, or shall knowingly permit any one who has failed to comply with the requirements of this order to participate in its proceedings, it will be deemed a military offense, for which its members may be held amenable; and any provost-marshal present shall immediately order the assemblage to disperse and prevent the continuance of its proceedings.

"10. The form of the oath of allegiance to be taken, subscribed, and filed as aforesaid shall be in these words:

"'*Oath of Allegiance.*

"'I, ——, of —— County, State of ——, do hereby solemnly swear that I will bear true allegiance to the United States, and support and sustain the Constitution and laws thereof; that I will maintain the national sovereignty paramount to that of all State, County, or confederate powers; that I will discourage, discountenance, and forever oppose secession, rebellion, and the disintegration of the Federal Union; that I disclaim and denounce all faith and fellowship with the so-called Confederate armies, and pledge my honor, my property, and my life to the sacred performance of this my solemn oath of allegiance to the government of the United States of America.

"'_____.

"'Subscribed and sworn to before me this —— day of ——, 1864, at ——.

"'_____.

"'Witness, ——, of ——.'

"11. District provost-marshals will give their immediate and special attention to the enforcement of this order in the respective districts, and enjoin upon each assistant provost-marshal the duty of attending all such assemblages which may be held in his locality, advise those assembled of this order and enforce its directions. And they will also report immediately to these headquarters all cases of neglect or refusal, giving a full description of the character of the assemblage, the names of those present, and an account of its proceedings.

On the 29th Provost-Marshal Sanderson also issued the following "General Orders No. 7:"

"1. The sale, distribution, or circulation of such books as 'Pollard's Southern History of the War,' 'Confederate Official Reports,' 'Life of Stonewall Jackson,' 'Adventures of Morgan and his Men,' and all other publications based upon rebel views and representations, being forbidden by the general commanding, will be suppressed by provost-marshals by seizing the same and arresting the parties who knowingly sell, dispose of, or circulate the same."

—On March 15th "the exhibition and sale of photographs, engravings, paintings, and other kind of likenesses of public persons in the rebel service" was prohibited by Provost-Marshal-General J. P. Sanderson under the severest penalties. On the 26th al

the copies of a newspaper called the *Metropolitan Record* and published in New York were confiscated in St. Louis by the same officer for publishing

1864. "various articles of an incendiary, disloyal, and traitorous character."

—Brig.-Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr., on April 4th assumed command of the St. Louis district, and the following changes were made in the staff of the district: First Lieut. Harrison Hannahs, Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, was made aide de-camp and acting assistant adjutant-general, and First Lieut. Cyrus Leland, Jr., Tenth Kansas Volunteers, aide-de-camp.

—On April 12th, Gen. W. S. Rosecrans issued the following General Orders No. 15:

"I. The following regimental organizations of the Enrolled Missouri Militia are hereby broken up, and the commissions of all officers in the same consequently vacated:

"16th Regiment E. M. M., Col. M. W. Warne.
"17th Regiment E. M. M., Col. Charles L. Tucker.
"22d Regiment E. M. M., Col. Thomas Miller, Jr.
"23d Regiment E. M. M., Col. George R. Taylor.
"24th Regiment E. M. M., Col. F. D. Callender.

"II. By reason of such disbandment the members of these regiments will be required to re-enroll for the year 1864, in the respective wards or districts in which they reside, and to be assigned by the commissary of exemption of St. Louis County to such regiments as are deemed by him the most convenient and proper."

—Saturday, the 15th of April, was very generally observed by the civic and military authorities and citizens as a day of thanksgiving for recent great victories of the Union armies.

—The quartermaster's department up to April 16th had purchased, during the war, in St. Louis one hundred and seventy thousand horses and ninety thousand mules.

—The county court of St. Louis County on April 20th passed the following order:

"The court having duly considered the petition for an appropriation in aid of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, filed herein on the 14th of March last past, order that the valuable tract of land owned by St. Louis County, known as the Smizer farm, containing about five hundred acres, together with buildings, fencing, and all other improvements, valued at thirty or forty thousand dollars, be and the same is hereby donated to the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, to aid the humane and patriotic work of taking care of the sick and wounded soldiery of our valley."

—On the 29th of April, Gen. Rosecrans issued General Orders No. 65, in which he said,—

"I. No person shall, directly or indirectly, attempt to deter or prevent any other person from working on such terms as he may see upon in any manufacturing establishment where any articles ordinarily made which may be required for use in the prosecution of the Western waters, or in the military, naval, or transport service of the United States.

"II. No person shall watch around or hang about any such establishment for the purpose of annoying the employés thereof, or learning who are employed therein.

"III. No association or combination shall be formed or continue or meeting be held having for its object to prescribe to the proprietors of any such establishment whom they shall employ therein, or how they shall conduct the operations thereof.

"IV. All employés in such establishments will be protected by military authority against all attempts by any person to interfere with or annoy them in work, or in consequence of their being engaged in it."

—Brig.-Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr., on June 28th divided the St. Louis military district into sub-districts, as follows:

"First sub-district to include the counties of St. Louis, except Benton Barracks, Jefferson, and Franklin, and all that part of the counties of Gasconade, Osage, and Maries lying east of Gasconade River and north of the northern boundary of Washington County extended; headquarters at St. Louis, Lieut. Col. John N. Herder, 1st M. S. M. Infantry, commanding.

"Second sub-district to include the counties of Perry, Bollinger, Cape Girardeau, Scott, Stoddard, Mississippi, New Madrid, Pemiscot, and Dunklin; headquarters at Cape Girardeau, Lieut.-Col. John T. Burris, 10th Kansas Volunteers, commanding.

"Third sub-district to include the counties of Ste. Genevieve, St. François, Madison, Wayne, and Butler, and all of the counties of Washington, Iron, Reynolds, Carter, and Ripley lying east of the fifth principal meridian; headquarters at Pilot Knob, Col. John F. Tyler, 1st M. S. M. Infantry, commanding."

—At a preliminary meeting of citizens of St. Louis, held on the 4th of July, in pursuance of a call from Mayor Thomas, a committee was appointed, who subsequently issued the following address:

"St. Louis, July 4, 1864.

"*To the People of St. Louis County:*

"The undersigned, a committee appointed for that purpose, earnestly request a large attendance at the rotunda of the court-house at eight o'clock on Thursday evening, the 7th inst. The order from the War Department and the proclamation of the mayor explain the purpose for which the meeting is called.

"It is proposed to obtain a list of three classes of subscribers: 1st, those who will pay a certain amount to the proper committee to hire representative recruits; 2d, those who will directly furnish one or more recruits and make their own arrangements for their compensation; 3d, those who will agree to pay a monthly sum during the service to increase the pay of recruits, and thus aid in supporting their families. . . . The above plan is merely proposed by your committee. Of course it can be set aside and a better one adopted if the meeting see proper.

(Signed)

"James S. Thomas, Louis C. Hirschberg, E. W. Fox, R. J. Rombauer, James K. Knight, James C. Moody, Louis Bach, James Archer, A. G. Braun, William H. Godfrey."

—The following additional sub-districts for military purposes were on July 18th erected in the St. Louis military district:

"The seventh sub-district, consisting of the counties of Gasconade, Franklin, and that part of Jefferson County north of the southern boundary line of Franklin County, with headquarters at Franklin.

"The eighth sub-district, consisting of the counties of Ste.

Genevieve, Perry, and that part of Jefferson County south of the northern boundary of Franklin; headquarters at Ste. Genevieve.

"The ninth sub-district, consisting of the counties of
1864. Washington and St. François; headquarters at Potosi."

—George W. Ford, military harbor master of St. Louis, issued on the 16th of July the following order for the protection of steamers in port:

"All steamers plying to and from the port of St. Louis are required to report at this office at the earliest moment after their arrival.

"All boats permitted at the wharf, in discharging or receiving cargo, are required to keep steam up night and day, either in their main boiler or the doctor boiler, with sufficient engineers to man the same.

"Boats in the stream at anchor, using yawls to communicate with the shore, shall display at the bow of their small boats, when in such use, a white flag one yard square, with a black ball in the centre eight (8) inches in diameter. No small boats will be permitted to ply in the harbor (and those only belonging to steamers in the stream) between the hours of 8 P.M. and 4 A.M., except by special permit. Small boats, when not in use, shall be kept hoisted out of the water.

"All hay, hemp, cotton, and straw now on the landing must be removed at once, and hereafter must be removed in eight hours after being landed."

—H. A. Adams, secretary of the Ladies' Union Aid Society, corner Fifth and Chestnut Streets, on July 25th published an appeal for rags for hospitals and the Army of the Cumberland, and an ambulance and a corps of collectors canvassed the city for "linen and cotton rags, worn shirts and drawers, old handkerchiefs, bed and table linen," and women and children's apparel for refugees.

—Up to July 25th two hundred and sixty-two persons had procured and offered acceptable substitutes at the office of the board of enrollment in St. Louis. The *Republican*, giving an account of the "substitute market" at this period, says,—

"Eighteen of the principals reside elsewhere in the State, but the balance are from such portions of the city and county as lie within the district limits. The substitutes are nearly all aliens, the Irish having the largest representation among them, and the Germans next. English, Scotch, Welsh, French, and Italian names also adorn the list, but only to a small extent. The prices paid them by their principals have varied according to circumstances. About a year ago, when the original conscription act passed, a few were put in at the cheap rates of forty or fifty dollars each. At that time government bounties to recruits were liberal, and the fever of volunteering was not quite allayed, but when a draft became imminent some months afterwards prices rose to about one hundred and fifty. Withal, however, the substitute business remained at a low ebb until a recent period, that immediately preceding the repeal of the commutation clause. Just before that took place two hundred dollars got to be the ruling price, and when the repeal was at last effected by Congress there was an instant advance to three hundred per man. From that point there has been a steady addition to the cost each week, and closing rates are four hundred to four hundred and fifty dollars for a man competent to pass examination at the enrollment board.

"Occasionally a substitute is obtained by chance by the principal himself or through the medium of a 'runner.' But in a large majority of cases they are furnished by Messrs. Stafford, Topping, Cavender & Rowse, Mason & Clements, and others who have opened offices regularly for the transaction of a business of this kind. An applicant who leaves his name at one of these offices is soon supplied at the current rate, and gets his exemption papers made out and filled up in all due form sent directly to his hands.

"Since the business has thus been reduced to a system, aliens and other service-seekers have come to St. Louis in no inconsiderable numbers, some from the interior of this State and Illinois, and some from other cities where substitute hiring is not so well advanced. It is estimated that there are four or five hundred such now here who are open to purchase for the customary three years. None, we believe, have been engaged for a shorter time, although the President may issue his call and order a draft for two years, or for only one. A *locum tenens* is entitled to a bounty from government of three hundred dollars for the three years he engages to serve, in addition to such sum as he may receive from his principal, making together a very comfortable amount. Until a draft occurs, none but aliens and those who have been in the army or navy two years are eligible for purchase in the substitute market. Veterans, whose term of service is just expiring, having found this fact out, have declined to re-enlist, and will go back into the army as substitutes or not at all. Whenever a man's papers are adjusted by the enrollment, his representative is sent out without delay to Benton Barracks, and in a few days forwarded to some camp or garrison for active duty. Quite a delegation was sent off to Fort McHenry during the recent rebel raid upon the vicinity of Baltimore.

"With regard to the draft itself, we may state that everything is in readiness for carrying it out throughout the State. In this district over thirty thousand tickets bearing names copied from the enrollment-books have been prepared, assorted, and put into packages by sub-districts, and sealed up, ready to be opened and put into the draft-wheel whenever the proper day arrives. The President has just issued his preparatory mandate, fifty days after which a draft will take place. If the call be fixed for five hundred thousand, the quota of Missouri will be about eighteen thousand, and if for three hundred thousand, we are responsible for no more than twelve thousand. Even then there will be a considerable deduction on account of the excess over the last call, which lies to our credit on the books of the adjutant-general at Washington, and for all the substitutes that are now being so plentifully supplied. Those who are nervous with fear of being drafted may comfort themselves with the reflection that there are thirty chances to one in their favor against any such dreaded mishap."

—Maj.-Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, commanding the Department of Missouri, on July 28th issued the following appeal to the "citizens of St. Louis:"

"By authority from the War Department, I have called for some regiments of twelve and six months' volunteers, to meet the local demands of the military service, and give peace and protection to the State.

"Under this call I wish you to furnish two splendid regiments, models of soldiership and military bearing, to serve for twelve months in St. Louis.

"While it is expected that they will serve mainly or entirely here, I want no man in them who would hesitate for a moment to go wherever duty and country calls.

"The officers and soldiers ought to be picked men. None

should be proposed, and none will be recommended for commissions unless they are qualified to command and give promise of taking, if they do not possess, 'military polish.'

1864. "As it is, my wish is to make these regiments the pride and honor of St. Louis. They will be kept on duty here on condition that they shall make themselves worthy of it.

"May I not hope, nay, I do hope and expect from the people who got up the most complete, unique, and successful 'Sanitary Fair' in the United States, two regiments of the finest troops in the service, to be called the '*St. Louis Volunteer Guards.*'"

To encourage enlistments in the proposed St. Louis Volunteer Guards, a committee representing a number of tax-payers waited upon the judges of the county court on the 8th of August and presented a petition signed by more than one hundred tax-payers, asking that an appropriation of six hundred thousand dollars be made for bounties to recruits for the two regiments called for by Gen. Rosecrans. The members of the committee were

Dr. C. A. Pope, Judge John M. Krum, Hon. Henry T. Blow, A. G. Braun, Carlos S. Greeley, George H. Rea, Charles F. Myers, James Taussing, N. C. Chapman, George R. Taylor, E. W. Fox, Dr. M. L. Linton, J. P. Doan, George Gherke, Christopher Stachlin, James Blackman, James Clemens, Jr., Charles K. Dickson, Gen. A. G. Edwards, James O. Broadhead, Hudson E. Bridge, Oliver Garrison, Bernard Krickhard, and O. A. Hart.

After hearing the remarks of the committee, the court passed an order appropriating four hundred thousand dollars for bounties as requested.

Immediately after the passage of this appropriation measures were taken to organize the regiments. Col. Samuel A. Holmes was appointed to organize one regiment, and the following persons received commissions as second lieutenants, with the necessary authority to recruit six or twelve months' men: W. J. Whitwell, Monroe Harrison, Adam Box, H. Kallman, George W. Gilson, E. J. Castello, Robert C. Allen, M. Green, Henry R. Switzer, and D. G. Stillinger. It was understood that if they succeeded in raising companies they were to command them, with the rank and pay of captains.

The following persons were commissioned second lieutenants for the purpose of recruiting men for the other regiment, which was to be commanded by Col. Weydemeyer: Frederick Gratz, Henry Hulm, Henry J. Bischoff, Felix Lais, H. F. Dietz, Carroll P. Roetter, Christian Elrodt, A. C. Windmuller, James Schubert, and John E. Sanders.

—On the 9th of September, Gen. Rosecrans, under "General Orders No. 165," made an assessment upon the underwriters of St. Louis for the purpose of building or purchasing a tow-boat. A return, under oath, was

"required from the proper officer of each insurance company of the city, and from the agents of all other insurance companies having recognized agencies in the city, of one-half of all hull premiums, nett; of one-third of all cargo premiums, nett; and one-sixth of all fire premiums on steamboats, nett; the returns to be based upon the nett receipts for the six months ending on the 30th of June, 1864."

—Col. T. E. Chickering, provost-marshal-general of the Department of the Gulf, at New Orleans, gave notice in August that no permit was required for the shipment of merchandise or produce not contraband of war from St. Louis to New York *via* New Orleans. Commenting upon this fact, the *Republican* said that the advantage of this arrangement was

"that it removes a fruitful cause of corruption on the part of certain dishonest government officials at New Orleans, whose custom it has been to blackmail St. Louis merchants by extorting large extra fees from them for the privilege of giving them permits. We have heard of local shippers who have been mulcted by such sharpers a dollar and a half per barrel upon whiskey, for the benefit of their own pockets, and independent of the usual treasury regulation fee. Coincident with the abolishment of this permit system, we learn that New Orleans steamers have reduced the freight to that city from a dollar to seventy-five cents per hundred pounds."

—On the 9th of September a river guard was established at each of the six ferries at and near the city, for the purpose of preventing the crossing of soldiers and negroes who did not show papers signed by the military authorities. At night the guard was posted six miles along the river-front to prevent the passage of small boats.

—Gen. Rosecrans, on September 27th, requested the steamboat captains, pilots, engineers, and other boatmen to form a company for the protection of steamboat property in the harbor of St. Louis. The company was organized at the Merchants' Exchange on the 30th of September, with N. J. Eaton as captain, and Griff Prathin second lieutenant.

—In conformity with a letter of instructions from Gen. E. Kirby Smith, dated Aug. 11, 1864, Maj.-Gen. Sterling Price made immediate arrangements for a movement of Confederate troops into Missouri from Arkansas. He formed a junction with the force of Gen. J. O. Shelby, and on the 30th took up the line of march with twelve thousand men. On the 18th of September he divided his army into three divisions, commanded respectively by Maj.-Gen. J. F. Fagan, Maj.-Gen. J. S. Marmaduke, and Brig.-Gen. J. O. Shelby. He then invaded Missouri in three columns, and advanced within ten miles of St. Louis, on the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad. The close proximity of the Confederate army under its dashing leader created the greatest excitement in the city of St. Louis, and alarmed the commanding general. On the 25th all public business was suspended, to enable the authorities to complete the organization for local

defense. All the enrolled militia of the city was called into active service, and the "exempts from the military service capable of defending their homes" were requested to organize under the direction of the mayor. Officers and soldiers who had been discharged or were on veteran furloughs were requested to report at Schofield Barracks No. 2, where they were organized by Col. Laibold. The Guards were instructed by Gen. E. C. Pike "to arrest all residents of the district who are not with their regiments or show satisfactory evidence of exemption." Complete organizations of "loyal exempts" were also accepted for temporary service, and the chief quartermaster and chief commissary of subsistence were ordered to organize into companies all their employés who could bear arms. The Old Guard, under the command of Capt. N. H. Clark, tendered their services in the emergency, and their offer was accepted. The First Brigade of the enrolled Missouri militia in the city was officered as follows:

1864.

Brig.-Gen. E. C. Pike, commanding; Maj. D. K. Stickton, brigade quartermaster; Maj. M. P. Hanthorn, brigade commissary; Maj. E. Marthens, brigade surgeon; Capt. C. H. Tillson, A. A. A. G.; Capt. A. Wilhartitiz, A. A. A. G.; Capt. J. O'Brien, A. D. C.

Besides the organizations for local defense, a large number of men, white and colored, particularly Southern sympathizers residing in the city, were pressed into service, and set to work throwing up breastworks and building or completing fortifications.

Military reinforcements in the mean time began to pour in from every quarter, until there were at least fifteen thousand men under arms in the city. Gen. Price, in his official report of his campaign in Missouri in 1864, says,—

"I brought out with me over five thousand recruits, and they are still arriving daily. After I passed the German settlements in Missouri my march was an ovation; the people thronged around and welcomed us with open hearts and hands. Recruits flocked to our flag in such numbers as to threaten to become a burden instead of a benefit, being mostly unarmed. In some counties the question was not who should go to the army, but who should stay at home. I am satisfied that could I have remained in Missouri this winter the army would have increased fifty thousand men"

In order to deter young men in the State from joining the Confederate army, Gen. Rosecrans, on the 27th of September, issued the following "General Orders No. 179":

"1. Traitors and spies caught in the act of passing the Federal lines to the guerrillas or to the rebel forces now invading the State will be shot on the spot. Those captured prior to the promulgation of this order will be sent immediately to the nearest headquarters, accompanied by papers and witnesses, for trial.

"The provost-marshal-general is directed to send, without delay, those captured within the past two or three days before a military commission for trial."

—In view of the intense excitement caused by the Confederate invasion, and "to avoid everything calculated to arouse the passions and disturb the public peace and tranquillity," the Democratic Central Committee, through Robert W. Renick, president, D. M. Armstrong, secretary, and Christopher Kribben, chairman of the executive committee, thought it advisable to suspend all public meetings until further notice.

—The city was thrown into the greatest consternation on the 28th of September by the announcement that Gen. A. J. Smith's command had retreated to De Soto before the Confederate advance, that the railroad below Big River had been destroyed, and that Gen. Hugh S. Ewing was surrounded at Pilot Knob and besieged at that place.

In view of the threatened danger, as it was believed St. Louis was Gen. Price's objective-point, Maj.-Gen. Frank P. Blair, who was in the city on sick leave, tendered his services to Gen. Rosecrans, and on the 28th was assigned to the command of the county of St. Louis, and the troops of all kinds for the defense of the city. Col. J. H. Baker commanded the city proper, under the orders of Gen. Blair. Col. B. Gratz Brown was charged with the task of organizing the City Guard, and afterwards, by order of Gen. Rosecrans, was assigned to the command of the militia exempts organized for special duty in St. Louis. On the 28th a large number of veterans from Illinois arrived in the city. There were at this time about twelve thousand militia under arms in St. Louis. As a consequence of the Confederate invasion, the city was full of prominent citizens and other refugees who had fled before the advancing army from all parts of the State, but particularly from Southeast Missouri. To accommodate the refugees and contrabands quarters for twenty-five thousand persons were erected near the city. From a statement made by the Rev. Mr. Wright, who was the chaplain and superintendent of refugees and contrabands, we learn that there were four receptacles for these unfortunates,—two in St. Louis, one at Pilot Knob, and one at Cape Girardeau. At these stations there were on August 31st two thousand three hundred and ninety-seven persons, of whom nineteen hundred and ninety-five were refugees and four hundred and two contraband. They were distributed in the following manner:

	Refugees.	Contraband.
Pilot Knob	1180	1.5
Cape Girardeau	330	18
St. Louis	299	...
Benton Barracks	186	229
	1995	402

—Under an order issued September 29th, permits were required for the shipment by rail or steamer of merchandise to all that portion of the State
1864. lying south of the Missouri River.

—The organization of the citizens had so far progressed that business was resumed on October 1st, with the understanding that business houses were to close at three o'clock P.M., to give their employés an opportunity for drill.

—The militia was enrolled with the greatest rapidity, and the entire organization was formed into one division of three brigades, under the command of Brig.-Gen. E. C. Pike. The first brigade, under Col. Miller, went into rendezvous at Carondelet late in September. It was composed of the First, Second, Eighteenth, and Eighty-fifth Regiments, the two latter from Franklin County, Mo. The Second and Third Brigades went into camp at "Camp Sheridan," at the head of Olive Street. About the same time the Second Brigade was composed of the Third, Fourth, and Tenth Regiments, under the command of Col. C. D. Woiff, of the Fourth, acting brigadier-general. The Third Brigade was composed of the Seventh, Eleventh, and Thirteenth Regiments, under the command of Col. G. F. Meyer, of the Seventh Regiment, acting brigadier. The two appointees of Gen. Blair, Cols. Coleman and Gage, had not then assumed command. The Second and Third Brigades on September 30th had over three thousand men on parade. The troops were commanded by Brig.-Gen. E. C. Pike, with the following staff officers: Col. John Knapp and Capt. O'Brien, aides-de-camp; Maj. Hanthorn, commissary sergeant, with Maj. Hoffman, of the Fortieth Missouri, in company. The regiments were commanded as follows: Third, Col. F. Valcamp; Fourth, commanded by the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment; Tenth, Lieut.-Col. Cleveland; Eleventh, Lieut.-Col. Beckman; Thirteenth, Lieut.-Col. John R. Marcy. The First Battalion of cavalry was under the command of Maj. Walton.

—A small detachment of Confederate cavalry made a raid on the post-office at Cheltenham, on the Pacific Railroad, only four miles from the city, on September 29th.

—Maj.-Gen. A. Pleasonton assumed command of the St. Louis district on the 2d of October.

—To prevent supplies from reaching the Confederates, an order was issued October 5th prohibiting the shipment of goods outside the county of St. Louis without special permission. These restrictions were removed on November 4th. On account of the scarcity of hay, army horses were fed on half-rations in St. Louis, and the shipment of hay from the city was prohibited. All hay received in the city and not used for private purposes was confiscated by the military.

—In view of the close proximity of the Confederate raiders, two brigades of the First Division of Enrolled Missouri Militia, Gen. E. C. Pike commanding, on the 1st of October marched out of the city and encamped at Laclede Station on the Pacific Railroad.

—The distress in the city caused by the invasion of the State by the Confederates, and the consequent withdrawal from their homes of men having families dependent upon them for support, as well as by the large number of refugees who had been compelled to flee to St. Louis in a most destitute condition, induced Mayor J. S. Thomas to institute measures for their relief. Accordingly, on the 7th of October, he issued an appeal requesting the citizens to contribute such sums of money and such provisions or clothing as might be in their power. For the purpose of carrying his appeal into effect he appointed the following gentlemen a committee to make collections in each ward:

First Ward, Col. Schistner, Stephen Barlow, Aug. Kriekhaus, E. Anheuser.

Second Ward, George Gehrke, Hy. Gemp, Bernard Klein, Chas. Cady.

Third Ward, H. Schepmann, Amade Vallé, B. Kraft, C. C. Simmons.

Fourth Ward, Col. Chas. Fritz, George W. Cline, A. T. W. Goodwin, Ph. Danerheim, Th. Kalb.

Fifth Ward, J. Winkelmeyer, John H. Andrews, Albert Fischer, B. D. Killian, J. H. Herrser.

Sixth Ward, R. Kefler, Dwight Durkee, —— Neilsen, E. W. Fox, Nic. Schaffer.

Seventh Ward, D. Hartmann, Fred. Heigerwald, John Dunn, John H. Gerdemann, Squire Heath.

Eighth Ward, John Gresher, John Stewart, John C. Vogel, Meyer Priedo, R. Weber.

Ninth Ward, Louis Bash, F. Pesh, E. C. Sanders, Caspar Stolle, Pat. Driscoll.

Tenth Ward, Adolphus Meier, Ph. Stremmel, Chas. Irwin, Chas. Borg, N. C. Chapmann.

—Intelligence was received in St. Louis on the 10th of October that Gen. Price and his army had retired from Jefferson City without hazarding a regular engagement, and there now being no immediate danger of an attack on St. Louis, Gen. Rosecrans and staff left the city on the 12th to join Gen. Pleasonton near Jefferson City, but Gen. Rosecrans and Gen. A. J. Smith returned to St. Louis on the 13th of November.

—Col. J. P. Sanderson, who had filled the office of provost-marshal-general of the Department of Missouri for several months, died at his residence in St. Louis on October 14th. Col. Sanderson had been chief clerk of the War Department during Simon Cameron's term

as secretary. Before resigning that position he was appointed to a lieutenant-colonelcy in one of the new regiments of the regular army, and in a short time attained the colonelcy of the Thirteenth United States Infantry by seniority. His infirm state of health having incapacitated him for protracted service in the field, he was assigned to the Department of the Missouri coincidently with the appointment of Maj.-Gen. Rosecrans as its commander. The duties that devolved upon him were discharged with a vigor and system of detail that proved him to be a man of rare capacity for such a position. In consequence of his death Col. Joseph Darr, Jr., was appointed provost-marshal-general.

1864.

—In accordance with orders issued by Gen. Rosecrans, six Confederate prisoners of war were on October 29th executed by shooting, in retaliation for the shooting of Maj. James Wilson and his six comrades, of the Third Missouri State Militia Cavalry, by the Confederates, near Washington, Mo.

The names of the men led to execution were James W. Gates, Third Missouri Cavalry, C.S.A.; Harvey H. Blackburn, Company A, Coleman's Regiment Arkansas Cavalry, C.S.A.; John Nichols, Company G, Second Missouri Cavalry, C.S....; Charles W. Minniken, Company A, Crabtree's Arkansas Cavalry, C.S.A.; Asa V. Ladd, Company A, Burbridge's Missouri Regiment of Cavalry, C.S.A.; and George T. Bunch, Company B, Third Missouri Cavalry.

About half-past one o'clock the procession started from Gratiot Street prison, and, under escort of a detachment of the Tenth Kansas, arrived on the ground of execution about half-past two. There were, including soldiers and citizens (the former largely preponderating), about three thousand persons on the ground, with the guards and escort. The firing party consisted of fifty-four men,—forty-four of the Tenth Kansas and ten of the Forty-first Missouri,—thirty-six being detailed to fire, eighteen being in reserve. When the prisoners arrived on the ground they were marched promptly to the places fixed for the execution, there being six upright pine posts set in the ground, with square board seats attached for each man to sit upon. They took their places upon their seats, each with comparative calmness, and nearly all with an appearance of resignation to their dreadful fate. But little emotion was displayed by any of the six, except Nichols and Minniken.

After each had been tied to a stake their eyes were bandaged, and the command to make ready was given. There was a momentary suspense, and then a further command, "One, two, fire!" and the entire volley was discharged almost as one gun. Instantly the blood spurted from the breast of each prisoner, and quivering for a moment their heads fell upon their shoulders, and then their bodies lurched to one side and fell as near the ground as they could with their arms pinioned to the stakes. In this position the blood streamed from their wounds, which were nearly all in the breast, and in one or two places formed little pools upon the ground. The attending physicians examined the bodies as soon as the firing ceased, and found no signs of life in any except Blackburn. In five minutes from the time the volley was discharged they were all dead.

Gates, after he was shot, uttered the exclamation, "Oh!" and Blackburn cried out, "Kill me, quick!" but in an instant later they were evidently insensible.

After this the bodies were placed in coffins and taken in charge by the government undertaker, Mr. Smithers. Then the crowd dispersed and the soldiers returned to their quarters.

It had been the intention of Gen. Rosecrans to execute a major of the Confederate service as soon as one fell into his hands. In a short time Maj. Enoch O. Wolf, of Ford's Confederate regiment, was captured, and was ordered to be executed by Gen. Rosecrans on the 11th of November. At the request of Rev. P. M. McKim and other Union citizens of St. Louis a respite of fourteen days was granted him to prepare for death. Soon after the issue of this order, on the same day, President Lincoln sent the following dispatch to Gen. Rosecrans: "Suspend execution in case of Maj. Wolf until further orders, and meanwhile report to me in the case." The execution of Maj. Wolf was never carried into effect.

—At the request of Rev. P. J. Smet, S.J., the Secretary of War on November 10th exempted the following members of the St. Louis University, drafted in St. Louis: Rev. John L'Esperance, Rev. Joseph E. Kelly, Rev. John T. H. Sealer, and Rev. John W. O'Neill.

—Some time after the war commenced the Secretary of War and the quartermaster-general, having differed as to the mode of conducting the cavalry arm of the military service of the government, the former established a "Cavalry Bureau" at Washington, and placed it under the direction of Maj.-Gen. Stoneman. Subordinate to the bureau were established Eastern and Western Divisions,—one at Giespoint, near Washington, and the other at St. Louis. For the latter Louisville was first considered an eligible site, but after an examination of the relative merits of the two cities the location was finally made at St. Louis. After six or eight months' experience, the secretary's plan of dissociating the cavalry arm entirely from the

quartermaster-general's direction was found not to succeed as well as had been anticipated. It was, therefore, restored to Gen. Meigs' department,
1864. but retained the name of Cavalry Bureau and the division organizations at Giespoint and St. Louis.

West Division Cavalry Bureau was the official title of the institution in St. Louis, and it was opened on Oct. 26, 1863. Brig.-Gen. J. P. Hatch was first assigned to the command, and served until March or April following. Brig.-Gen. J. W. Davidson succeeded, and served until he was ordered to Gen. Canby's department. Brig.-Gen. Edwin Hatch was then ordered to St. Louis, but remained only two weeks, when he gave place to Col. Lewis Merrill, who was in command up to Oct. 30, 1864, when he was relieved and assigned to general inspection service. A further change in the character of the Cavalry Bureau occurred from the law of Congress passed in 1864, which placed it completely under the direction and supervision of the quartermaster's department, and made it, under that law, the first of the nine divisions or bureaus into which the extensive and complicated duties of that office were at that time divided. Under this arrangement, Capt. Ingham Coryell, who originally located the depot in St. Louis, and who had been its chief quartermaster and executive officer, had charge.

The depot grounds were directly north of Benton Barracks, and but a few rods distant, and covered an area of one hundred acres. They were securely inclosed on all sides, and presented the aspect of a thriving village. Long ranges of stables, grain and forage warehouses, a building for the repair of saddles, a blacksmith-shop, carpenter's shop, quarters for employés, various offices for the transaction of business, and many other structures comprised houses and buildings in sufficient number to make a fair-sized country town.

Col. Merrill, Capt. Coryell, Maj. Gleim, and a number of officers and clerks were domiciled in October, 1864, at No. 87 Olive Street.

At the depot were James Wallace, general superintendent; James Lindsay, superintendent of mechanics; Mr. Schneider, in charge of the principal corral; Mr. Buell, superintendent of hospital yard; Dr. Valentine, veterinary surgeon, and assistants, mechanics, teamsters, farriers, laborers, etc., to the number of nine hundred and fifty persons, the pay-roll for all of whom footed up about one thousand dollars per day.

Many of the minor officials and employés, such as watchmen, were discharged soldiers who had become incapacitated for further active service. Those who were capable of service, civil employés and all, were organized into three companies of infantry and one of cavalry, and were officered and well drilled. There was an armory on the grounds, from which they could have been armed in ten minutes, in case of such an emergency as arose when an attack was threatened upon the city by the Confederates under Price.

A fire brigade was also organized, among the inmates and employés of the depot, with hose, hooks and ladders, and other appliances for putting out fires. Water was abundant. A large well on the premises, in which was placed a pump, worked by the engine which ran the mill for grinding corn, had a capacity for supplying ten thousand gallons in a single hour.

The police organization was also complete in its way, and all offenders against good order were promptly arrested and punished.

The open market system in the purchase of horses which was adopted in St. Louis in place of the contract system produced very satisfactory results. A man having one or a number of horses for sale brought them to the depot and submitted them to the examination of the government inspectors. The animals were put through severe exercises in running, jumping, etc. The tests applied were so perfect that it was a very rare thing for an unsound or unserviceable horse to pass examination. When he did pass, his owner received one hundred and seventy dollars, or one hundred and sixty dollars, according to the horse's fitness for artillery or cavalry duty. If less than a thousand dollars worth were purchased, Quartermaster Coryell paid the money, if he happened to have it on hand. If the bills exceeded that sum, payment was made as early as practicable in a "certificate of indebtedness." No mules were bought at the depot, the mule business being monopolized at the large corral nearer to the city, on the Franklin Avenue Railroad. Mares were not purchased for army use, for the reason that the government did not desire to lessen the production of the country by the waste of war. A special order for the purchase of two thousand mares was issued in the summer of 1864, but Gen. Halleck forbade the purchase of any more.

During the year the depot existed the number of horses purchased and received was 47,524, of which there were issued

For service	38,714
Total number unserviceable received at the depot	8,563
Of which were condemned and sold	2,524
Died of disease	562
Killed on account of glanders	1,429
	4,515
Recuperated and issued again to service	4,048

Horses that were recuperated and returned to the field were preferred to new and inexperienced ones.

The number that were ordinarily at the depot awaiting requisitions was about five thousand. Good stabling was constructed for nine thousand. In addition, there was a sub-depot at the town of Mattoon, Illinois, where there were large and cheap grass pastures. At the two points fully thirty thousand horses could have been accommodated.

1864.

About four hundred and fifty thousand dollars per month was disbursed by the government in St. Louis for horses, and on Oct. 30, 1864, there was a million dollars in vouchers lying over and awaiting payment.

—The First, Second, and Third Brigades, First Division of the Enrolled Missouri Militia, were relieved from active service on November 3d, and their arms and equipments were turned over to the quartermaster-general of the State.

—Another military execution took place within the walls of the St. Louis County jail on the 26th of December. James M. Utz, a young man of twenty-six years of age, who was born and raised in the vicinity of Bridgeton, St. Ferdinand township, St. Louis, was the unfortunate victim. Some time in 1862 he was captured in the vicinity of his home. At that time it was supposed that he was acting in the capacity of a Confederate spy. This, however, was not certainly known, but, be this as it may, he managed to get exchanged at the time as a prisoner of war. The circumstances leading to his last arrest, and inducing the belief that he was acting as a spy, grew out of a letter written in an ingeniously-arranged cipher, which was captured some time in the latter part of July, 1864, on the person of one of five men found in Jefferson County, on their way, it was supposed, to join Gen. Price's command. The contents of this letter led to the arrest of James M. Utz, and his trial before the military commission sitting in St. Louis, of which Col. W. A. Barstow, Third Wisconsin Cavalry, was president. Utz was arraigned on three separate charges,—first, being a Confederate spy; second, recruiting men within the lines of the United States forces for the Confederate army; third, carrying correspondence and information to the enemies of the United States. The prisoner was convicted and sentenced to death, and was transferred from Gratiot Street prison to the county jail on Christmas evening. A few minutes before twelve o'clock on Monday, December 26th, he was led by the attending officers from the cell to the scaffold, accompanied by Rev. Father Ward, of the Catholic Church, as spiritual adviser, and at twenty minutes after twelve o'clock the bolts were drawn and the drop fell.

—During the last ten months of 1864 Missouri furnished over twenty thousand volunteers to the Union armies.

—Early in December, 1864, Gen. Rosecrans was relieved of the command of the Department of the Missouri, and Gen. Granville M. Dodge, of Iowa, was appointed to succeed him. Brig.-Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr., commanded the district of St. Louis, with the following officers as his district staff:

Lieut.-Col. David Murphy, Fiftieth Missouri Volunteers, Inspector; Maj. S. D. Carpenter, Missouri State Volunteers, Surgeon in Charge; Maj. H. H. Williams, Tenth Kansas Veterat. Volunteers, Provost-Marshal; Maj. W. Fischer, Fifth Missouri State Militia, Topographical Engineer; Maj. C. H. Gregory, Seventh Kansas Veteran Cavalry, Chief of Cavalry and Acting Ordnance Officer; Maj. H. Hannahs, Fiftieth Missouri Volunteers, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General (in charge of office); Capt. H. Garvens, United States Volunteers, District Quartermaster; Capt. G. W. Gilson, Missouri Volunteers, Assistant Inspector; Capt. C. L. Porter, Eighteenth United States Infantry (colored), in charge of Permit Office; Chaplain J. G. Forman, First Infantry Missouri State Militia, Superintendent of Refugees and Contrabands; 1st Lieut. William Ewing, United States Army, Assistant Commissary Musters; 1st Lieut. A. Vezen, Fourth Missouri Cavalry, A. D. C. and A. A. A. G.; 2d Lieut. G. E. Hodgdon, Veteran Reserve Corps, Judge-Advocate; 2d Lieut. T. F. Oakes, Eighteenth United States Infantry Corps, A. D. C.

—Gen. Dodge, on assuming command of the department, retained the whole force of clerks, and appointed to his staff most of the officers who had served under Gen. Rosecrans. He, however, appointed as his aides-de-camp officers who had served with him in the field in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Georgia during the greater period of the war. His aides were Capt. George Ford, Fourth Iowa; Lieut. George C. Tickenor, Thirty-sixth Iowa; and Lieut. Edward Jonas, Fiftieth Illinois.

—In consequence of the destruction of the refugee barracks, the large marble-front hotel building, erected by Louis G. Picot, at the southwest corner of Broadway and Biddle Streets, at a cost of about one hundred thousand dollars, was rented in February, 1865, by the government for refugee quarters.

1865.

—On the 4th of February, Maj.-Gen. John Pope assumed command of the Military Division of the Missouri, embracing the Departments of Missouri, of Kansas, and of the Northwest, with headquarters in St. Louis. His staff consisted of Brig.-Gen. T. C. H. Smith, chief of staff; Lieut.-Col. Edward Meyers, quartermaster; Col. C. A. Morgan, A. D. C., inspector-general; Maj. J. F. Maline, A. A. A. General; Capt. M. Norton, A. G.; Capt. J. McC. Bell, A. A. General; Capt. Edward Haight, A. A. D. C.

—The special orders issued by the provost-marshal-

general on March 8, 1864, prescribing certain rules to be observed by religious convocations, was on March 3, 1865, so modified by Provost-Marshal J. H. Baker as to read as follows:

"It is hereby made the duty of all such assemblages to submit the roll of the members of their organization to the provost-marshal of the district in which the assemblage has convened before proceeding to the transaction of business.

"The provost-marshal to whom the roll is submitted will thereupon proceed to ascertain from the records of his office whether any of the members of said assemblage have failed to take and subscribe to the oath prescribed by said Special Orders No. 62, and any person found to have so failed will be by him at once forbidden to participate in the business of the assembly until such time as he has complied with the requirements of said order, and should any person so forbidden meet with or attempt in any manner to participate in the doings of the said assembly, he will be immediately arrested and sent to this office, with a statement of the facts in his case."

—On March 7th, Governor Thomas C. Fletcher issued a proclamation, in which he stated that there no longer existed in the State of Missouri any organized force of the enemies of the government of the United States, and announced the restoration of civil law.

—In compliance with an act of the General Assembly of Missouri entitled "An Act for the organization and government of the Missouri militia," the State was divided into three military districts, the third district comprising the city and county of St. Louis. Brig.-Gen. D. C. Coleman assumed command of the Third District on the 28th of February, with orders to proceed to enroll the male inhabitants in his district. On the 8th of March he issued the following order, appointing enrolling officers:

"In compliance with General Orders No. 1, Headquarters Second Military Division, State of Missouri, the following officers of the Enrolled Missouri Militia are hereby appointed enrolling officers. They will proceed at once to enroll all male inhabitants (persons of color included) of the several wards and townships in St. Louis County:

"P. J. Hays, lieutenant, Company I, Eighty-fifth Enrolled Missouri Militia, St. Louis township; E. A. Chapman, captain and adjutant, Eighty-fifth Enrolled Missouri Militia, Central township; C. Roeber, captain Company G, Second Enrolled Missouri Militia, Carondelet City; M. Tanzberger, captain Company C, Second Enrolled Missouri Militia, Carondelet township; E. Augustine, captain Company D, First Enrolled Missouri Militia, Bonhomme and Meramec; J. McCarty, first lieutenant Company F, Eighty-fifth Enrolled Missouri Militia, St. Ferdinand township; W. Waldschmidt, captain and adjutant, Third Enrolled Missouri Militia, First Ward; H. Specker, first lieutenant Company C, Eighth Enrolled Missouri Militia, First Ward; C. Oberbeck, captain Company G, Fourth Enrolled Missouri Militia, Second Ward; E. G. English, captain and adjutant, Company D, Fifth Enrolled Missouri Militia, Third Ward; E. Aechster, captain and adjutant, Sixth Enrolled Missouri Militia, Fourth Ward; R. E. Craig, captain Company A, Eighth Enrolled Missouri Militia, Fifth Ward; L. R. Gordon, captain Company G, Tenth Enrolled Missouri Militia, Sixth Ward; A. Graser, captain Company K, Tenth Enrolled Missouri Militia, Sixth Ward; J. D. Merten, captain Company C, Eleventh Enrolled Missouri Militia, Eighth Ward; C. Luehrmann, captain Company D, Eleventh Enrolled Missouri Militia, Ninth Ward; J. H. Winkelmayer, captain Company C, Thirteenth Enrolled Missouri Militia, Tenth Ward; M. R. Clark, first lieutenant Company A, Thirteenth Enrolled Missouri Militia, Tenth Ward."

The following officers on March 20th were assigned to his staff:

Maj. A. Wilhartitz, acting assistant adjutant-general; Maj. A. S. Barnes, surgeon; Capt. Gustavus Cohrs, assistant district quartermaster; Lieut. John S. Weber, assistant aide-de-camp.

—There was no means of feeding the refugees in St. Louis except through assessments upon Southern sympathizers, but these assessments, as we have shown, were suspended in the summer of 1864 by Gen. Halleck. There was in existence, however, an order from the War Department authorizing such assessments, and its enforcement was about to be resumed by Gen. Dodge, who was authorized to assess this class of citizens five thousand dollars for the rental of the new hotel, "Asylum Home," and five thousand dollars for its maintenance; but, as will be seen by the following correspondence between Gen. Dodge, the then commander of the department, and J. H. Britton and James B. Eads, of the Third National Bank, the plan of levying assessments upon citizens of Southern sympathies was abandoned, and the generosity of the Union citizens was relied upon for the raising of such sums of money as were required for the refugees, or for any charitable purposes:

"St. Louis, March 14, 1865.

"Dear Sir,—Having learned during my interview with you this morning that you were desirous of obtaining ten thousand dollars for the purpose of relieving the distress of refugees and contrabands in our community, and assured that your own feelings (if not your judgment) disapproved of raising this sum by assessments upon individuals residing in this department, I expressed the belief that, although our people had suffered as much and had given as freely as any other in the land, the sum would be cheerfully contributed at once by our banking institutions if they were informed of the charitable use for which the money was designed: and that I felt confident they would much sooner give the amount, or a much larger one if need be, than have old animosities and ill feelings revived among us by assessing men who, no matter what their antecedents may have been, were now, and had been for the past two or three years, quiet and peaceable citizens.

"Knowing the plan proposed by the President, and cordially approved by Governor Fletcher, for the pacification of the State of Missouri, and knowing that the President's amnesty proclamation is still in force, I cannot but believe that the levying assessments at this late date in a community as great as this is calculated to defeat the policy indicated by the President. I cannot believe that those who have been disloyal, no matter how desirous they may be to repent of their former conduct and submit to the laws, can enter with any cordiality in this much to be desired movement throughout the State if they are led to believe that assessments will be laid upon them from

time to time after order is restored, the effect of which will be to remind them of past delinquencies.

"The rebel in arms can scarcely be expected to give
1865. up his musket and avail himself of the President's amnesty if he learns that instead of being received as an erring and repentant brother he is to be continually taunted for his past sins, and his property taken without form of law in punishment for them.

"The amnesty implies forgiveness, while the latter course assures him that there was none intended.

"I am happy to be able to assure you that these views are unanimously concurred in by the board of directors of the 'Third National Bank' of St. Louis, of which I have the honor to be a director, and I herewith inclose you a letter from the president, informing you of the action of the bank on being notified by me of the charity you desire to extend to the suffering refugees and contrabands in St. Louis.

"I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

"JAS. B. EADS.

"MAJ.-GEN. G. M. DODGE, *Commanding, etc.*"

"THE THIRD NATIONAL BANK OF ST. LOUIS,
"March 14, 1865.

"MAJ.-GEN. G. M. DODGE, *Commanding Department of the Missouri, St. Louis:*

"DEAR SIR,—Our board, learning that you desired ten thousand dollars for charitable purposes, have this day appropriated one thousand dollars, and instructed me to place the amount in your hands, subject to such disposition as it may be your pleasure to make of it. Permit me to hand you herewith a check for the same.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) "J. H. BRITTON, *President.*"

"HEADQUARTERS DEP'T OF THE MISSOURI,
"ST. LOUIS, MO., March 15, 1865.

"JAMES B. EADS, Esq., *Member Board of Directors, Third National Bank, St. Louis, Mo.:*

"DEAR SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 14th inst., inclosing action of the Third National Bank of St. Louis, with check for one thousand dollars, to be used for the benefit of the destitute refugees and contrabands in St. Louis, for which, in their behalf, accept my thanks.

"I have suspended collection of the assessments, having been assured that your generous action will be emulated by others, and thereby relieve me from any further action or trouble in the matter.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"G. M. DODGE,
"*Major-General Commanding.*"

The provost-marshal-general, in February, seized about eight thousand dollars belonging to Wm. D. Merriwether, of Batesville, Ark., which was on deposit with the firm of L. Levering & Co. In March the same officer seized property and money valued at over one hundred thousand dollars, which belonged to Mrs. Lisinka C. Brown, a widow, who afterwards married Maj.-Gen. Ewell, of the Confederate army.

—On March 16th, J. E. D. Cousins, who had been chief of police of St. Louis for nearly four years, resigned, and Col. Bernard Laibold was appointed to fill the vacancy. Col. Laibold was born in Baden in 1827, and came to St. Louis about the year 1833. He served throughout the Mexican war, entered the Union service in the civil war on the 1st of August, 1861, as lieutenant-colonel of the Second Missouri Infantry, and on the 8th of January, 1863, was promoted to be colonel of the same regiment. He will be remembered for heroic conduct at Dalton, Ga. Having only four hundred and fifty men under his command, he was pressed by Gen. Wheeler, in command of something like ten thousand men. In reply to Gen. Wheeler's summons to surrender Col. Laibold returned the memorable answer, "I was placed here to defend the post, not to surrender it."

—Mrs. John Smith, a Confederate spy, was arrested in St. Louis on March 22d. Her arrest implicated quite a number of Southern sympathizers who suffered very severely for their imprudence.

—The neighborhood of Eleventh and O'Fallon Streets was the scene of great disorder and excitement on April 16th, occasioned by riotous demonstrations by a party of twelve or fifteen soldiers belonging to the Forty-first Missouri, who beat several citizens and a number of policemen.

—Mrs. Ada B. Haines, of St. Louis City, who had been released from the female department of Gratiot Street prison in the fall of 1864 by Gen. Rosecrans upon her giving bond in the sum of three thousand dollars to reside in the State of New York during the war, was released from her bond in April, and permitted to return to St. Louis. The case of Mrs. Haines, on the occasion of her arrest by the military authorities in the spring of 1863, excited a great deal of interest. She was convicted of being engaged in the service of the South as a kind of Confederate mail-carrier and agent, and banished South. She soon made her appearance again in the city, however, without permission of the authorities, she having learned that one of her children, whom she had left behind her in the care of friends, was ill. She was thereupon again arrested and placed in prison, where she remained five months, when she was released upon the interposition of influential loyal citizens on the terms above mentioned, John How becoming her bondsman in the sum required.

—The members of the St. Louis Presbytery, in session in the Old School Presbyterian Church, corner of Walnut and Sixteenth Streets, were waited upon on the 7th of April by the district provost-marshal, and each was required to take the oath of allegiance.

—The news of the occupation of Richmond, Va., reached St. Louis about noon on April 3d, and created the greatest excitement. Flags were dis-

played in all parts of the city, and business was almost entirely suspended. Bulletins were posted in front of the newspaper offices, and eager crowds gathered
1865. to read the news. Salutes were fired at each post and arsenal in the department in honor of the Union victories. The excitement was intensified on the 9th, when news was received of the surrender of Gen. R. E. Lee and his army.

—On April 10th Governor Thomas C. Fletcher issued the following proclamation:

"*Whereas*, An earnest of speedy peace to our war-distracted country has been given in the recent successes of the nation's brave army, under the guidance and protection of Almighty God: and for this hope of peace and the early restoration of the authority of the Constitution and the laws of the United States over the whole land it becomes us to give thanks to the Giver of all good;

"Now, therefore, I, Thomas C. Fletcher, Governor of the State of Missouri, do hereby earnestly recommend that Saturday, the 15th day of April (instant), be observed throughout the State of Missouri by all good citizens as a day of thanksgiving to God, who giveth the victory to truth and justice; that on that day the people, regardless of all differences of opinion in the past, meet in their respective places of worship and unite in religious exercises, the evening of the day to be marked by large assemblages, to be addressed by patriotic speakers; and that, amid bonfires, illuminations, and resounding salutes of artillery, they testify their appreciation of the heroism of the army of the Union in the re-establishment of the national authority in Richmond, the rout of the insurgent forces, the capture of the Army of Northern Virginia, and of the manifestations of a disposition on the part of men in authority to stay the effusion of blood of Americans and freemen."

—On April 29th the Secretary of War directed that the recruiting of men, both white and colored, in the loyal States for the volunteer force be discontinued.

—Gen. Dodge, on May 12th, promulgated the following order, issued by Lieut.-Gen. Grant on May 8th:

"3. Paroled officers and men of the late rebel armies whose homes were, at the date of their joining the armies in States that have never been in rebellion, and who are not excepted from the benefit of the President's amnesty proclamation, will, upon taking the oath prescribed therein, be permitted to return to their former homes in those States."

—The following committee was appointed on June 16th to arrange for the reception of the returning veterans from Sherman's army:

On finance, P. H. Murphy, Tony Neiderweiser, E. Stafford, T. W. Heman, John O. Cavender, Edward Stevens, Adolph Ehlert, and Martin Keary, Judge T. J. Baily, treasurer; on music, E. C. Harrington; on badges, B. F. Daily; on decorations, H. H. Helmkamp; on dinner, James Peckham, B. H. Stone, and James Coff; on extra refreshments, Christian Stocklin, Samuel Wainwright, Julius Winklemeyer, Tony Neiderweiser, Edward Stevens, George Berg, James Peckham, R. R. Beck, F. Kretschmar.

—On June 20th considerable excitement was created in the city by the arrival of the Ninth Missouri Confederate Regiment, comprising ten full companies, and numbering about seven hundred officers and privates. This regiment was surrendered by Gen. E. Kirby Smith, and afterwards paroled at Baton Rouge. It arrived on the steamer "Maria Denning," and on the 21st the officers and men took the oath of allegiance before Capt. Richardson. The regiment had served four years, and was composed entirely of Missourians. It achieved considerable fame in the Confederacy for bravery and endurance, and was complimented by Gen. E. Kirby Smith as the best regiment that Missouri had furnished to the Confederate army. The following is a list of the officers and men of the regiment:

In the absence of Col. Mercer and Lieut.-Col. Richard Gaines, the regiment was commanded by Maj. Hughes.

Company A, Capt. Joseph A. Miller, First Lieut. P. M. Cox, Second Lieut. W. F. Carter.

Company B, Capt. George H. Willis, First Lieut. W. O. Keeble, Second Lieut. Thomas Walden.

Company C, Capt. W. F. Bond, First Lieut. James Leeper, Second Lieut. —— Bass.

Company D, Capt. W. W. Stone, First Lieut. George Wayland, Second Lieut. William Wayland.

Company E, Capt. R. Brooks, First Lieut. Samuel Hart, Second Lieut. John W. Page.

Company F, Capt. F. Y. Doak, First Lieut. W. C. Campbell, Second Lieut. David Scott.

Company G, Capt. R. H. Edmondson, First Lieut. L. W. Hanie, Second Lieut. John Millsap.

Company H, Capt. D. H. Lindsay, First Lieut. H. T. Walker, Second Lieut. J. H. Montgomery.

Company I, Capt. J. W. Wallace, First Lieut. William Vaughan, Second Lieut. John W. Paxton.

Company K, Capt. John Hannah, First Lieut. H. Ferril, Second Lieut. S. H. Southerland.

The *Republican*, noticing the arrivals of the paroled Confederate regiments on June 23d, said,—

"During the present week there have arrived in the city five paroled infantry regiments and two battalions of cavalry, including the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Sixteenth Veteran Infantry, and the Third and Fourth Battalions of cavalry, numbering in all about five thousand officers and privates. Of this number the larger portion have already taken the oath before Capt. Richardson, and many have proceeded on the way to their old homes in various parts of the State. Besides those mentioned there are now on the way to the city from Baton Rouge five or six other regiments, numbering about three thousand. In the course of a few days all that portion of the rebel army which was recruited in Missouri, with the exception of a few who prefer to remain in the South, or to seek new homes in Texas or Mexico, or in foreign countries, will have returned to their farms, or their former places of labor or business throughout the State, and their character, habits, and feeling as soldiers will disappear as they resume their old habits as citizens. . . .

"Yesterday morning there arrived by the 'Belle Memphis,' from Baton Rouge, the Fourth Missouri Cavalry, under Col. J. Q. Burbridge, and Col. Perkins' battalion, forming a part
1865. of Marmaduke's old brigade.

"We give a list of the officers of the Fourth Cavalry:

"Colonel, John Q. Burbridge, Price County; Lieutenant-Colonel, William J. Preston, Buchanan County; Major, James Porter, Lewis County; Adjutant, Daniel Hatch, Lewis County; Surgeon Bennett, Marion County.

"Company A, Capt. Jackson, Cape Girardeau County.

"Company B, Capt. Hicks, Dunklin County.

"Company C, Capt. David Sappington, St. Louis County.

"Company D, Capt. Jacobs, Shelby County.

"Company E, Capt. Hulett, Howard County.

"Company F, Capt. James O'Neil, Texas County.

"Company G, Capt. Roberts, Hickory County.

"We give a list also of the officers of Perkins' battalion:

"Colonel, C. J. Perkins, Randolph County; Major, T. B. Patten, Randolph County; Surgeon Gullett, Linn County.

"Company A, Capt. Frank Davis, Monroe County; First Lieut. Samuel Powell, Randolph County; Second Lieut. C. H. Gardner, Randolph County.

"Company B, Capt. M. G. Madlock, Randolph County; First Lieut. Turner, Randolph County; Second Lieut. William Sommers, Second Lieut. Baker, Randolph County.

"Company C, Capt. J. W. Bryson, Audrain County; First Lieut. Nathan Williams, Boone County; Second Lieut. Wisdom, Audrain County.

"Company D, Capt. Alexander Day, Callaway County; First Lieut. Joseph Boyd, Callaway County; Second Lieut. John Kelsaw, Callaway County.

"Company E, Capt. T. W. Todd, Howard County; First Lieut. Townsend Wright, Howard County; Second Lieut. William Webb, Howard County; Second Lieut. William Harding, Howard County.

"Company F, Capt. G. W. Rowland, Boone County; First Lieut. Ebenezer Arnold, Polk County; Second Lieut. T. B. Wade, Boone County; Second Lieut. William Frost, Boone County."

—On June 23d, Gen. Dodge issued the following order in reference to wearing the Confederate uniform in the city:

"1. Paroled officers and men of the late rebel armies are forbidden to wear within this department the uniform, or any part thereof, or other insignia of said rebel service. Exception, however, will be made in the case of private soldiers who are destitute of means, and such persons will be permitted for a short time to wear such clothing as is in their possession after stripping from the same all Confederate or State buttons and other insignia of the rebel service. In the case of officers of every rank no exception will be made, but such persons will be held to a prompt and strict compliance with this order, and any violation of its terms by either officers or soldiers will be considered as an act of hostility to the government of the United States, and will be punished accordingly."

—In June, Maj. Matlack, the provost-marshal of the district of St. Louis, was relieved from duty and the office abolished. In July, Gen. Dodge, before he took his departure for his new command at Leavenworth, closed up the secret service bureau of the provost-marshal-general's office in St. Louis, and forwarded the papers and records under seal to the War Department at Washington.

The closing of the provost-marshal's department in St. Louis ended the reign of the military commanders in Missouri. President Johnson, on June 23, 1865, rescinded the blockade proclamations issued April 15 and 17, 1861; removed further restrictions Aug. 29, 1865; annulled the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* Dec. 1, 1865; and on April 2, 1866, announced by proclamation that the rebellion had ended.

—Maj.-Gen. W. T. Sherman returned to his home in St. Louis early in July, 1865, and the following gentlemen, as a token of their appreciation of his distinguished military services, tendered him a dinner: Samuel T. Glover, Robert Campbell, F. Whittaker, T. T. Gantt, John J. Roe, Barton Able, Henry S. Turner, O. D. Filley, John How, Edgar Ames, John H. Fisse, William M. McPherson, Carlos S. Greeley, James O. Broadhead.

To their letter of invitation Gen. Sherman replied as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS
"MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
"ST. LOUIS, MO., July 16, 1865.

"*Messrs. S. T. Glover, William M. McPherson, T. T. Gantt, John How, Robert Campbell, and others:*

"GENTLEMEN,—Your kind note tendering me a hearty welcome to your city and a dinner is received. I accept with pleasure, and appoint next Thursday evening, at nine o'clock, as the time most agreeable to me for the proposed dinner.

"I deem it a most fortunate accident that events have set me back to the very point whence I sallied at the beginning of the late momentous struggle, now so happily ended, and if the good citizens of St. Louis account me one of them, I accept the title with honor and satisfaction. I feel sure that St. Louis, as a city, is more than any other interested in maintaining a true government and a united people, and therefore that my efforts in the past have tended especially to your welfare. So may it be in the future, and no man will more rejoice than I will to see your city again enter on that path of progress and wealth that was temporarily interrupted by a struggle begotten by ambitious and designing men.

"I am, with great respect, your friend and servant,

"W. T. SHERMAN, *Major-General.*

The following committees were then appointed to superintend the affair:

Committee of General Arrangements.—John How (chairman), Barton Able, D. A. January, George Maguire, Francis Whittaker, James Archer, Samuel T. Glover, H. T. Blow, J. O. Broadhead, Thomas T. Gantt, C. S. Greeley, C. P. E. Johnson, W. C. Jones, Robert Campbell, John B. Gray, Charles F. [illegible], J. J. Witzig, George A. Mitchell, John H. Lightner, John McNeil, J. E. D. Couzins, C. M. Ellcard, John J. Roe, Charles P. Johnson, R. E. Rombauer, John Hogan, George B. Kellogg, Edgar Ames, H. A. Homeyer, B. Gratz Brown, William J. Romyn, William E. Taussig, H. S. Turner, T. J. Dailey, E. H. E. Jameson, Gust. W. Dreyer.

Sub-Committees.—Executive Committee, John How, S. T. Glover, C. P. E. Johnson, Thomas T. Gantt, George B. Kellogg, John B. Gray; Invitation Committee, C. S. Greeley, John B. Gray, C. P. E. Johnson, John McNeil; Committee on Supper and Wines, Barton Able, W. J. Romyn, W. C. Jones, F. Whit-

taker, George Maguire, James Archer, C. P. E. Johnson, J. E. D. Couzins, C. M. Elleard, George A. Mitchell; Committee on Toasts and Responses, T. T. Gantt, J. O. Broadhead,
1865. George S. Kellogg, William E. Taussig; Committee on Decorations, Badges, and Music, Charles F. Cady, E. H. E. Jameson, T. J. Daily, J. E. D. Couzins, J. J. Witzig; Finance Committee, F. Whittaker, C. S. Greeley, Edgar Ames, Robert Campbell, H. S. Turner, John J. Roe, C. M. Elleard, H. A. Homeyer, Barton Able, treasurer.

The banquet was given at the Lindell Hotel on July 20th, and was a grand affair. There were over three hundred prominent persons present. Capt. Barton Able presided, and eloquent and patriotic speeches were made by Hon. S. T. Glover, Hon. J. S. Rollins, Gen. Sherman, Judge Moody, and others.

Gen. Sherman has been closely identified with St. Louis for many years, having been stationed at Jefferson Barracks in early life, and associated in business with the well-known St. Louis banking-house of James H. Lucas & Co. William Tecumseh Sherman was born in Lancaster, Ohio, on the 8th of February, 1820, and was the son of Hon. Charles R. Sherman, judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, who died when young Sherman was nine years of age. The boy then entered the family of Hon. Thomas Ewing, and at the age of sixteen received an appointment as cadet at the Military Academy at West Point. His record at that institution was highly creditable, and he graduated in 1840, sixth in his class. He was at once appointed second lieutenant in the Third Infantry, and served with his regiment during the following year in the Florida war. In November, 1841, he was promoted to a second lieutenancy and ordered to Fort Moultrie, S. C. During 1843, while on leave of absence, he visited St. Louis, and was so much pleased with the city that he expressed the desire to make it his place of residence. Lieut. Sherman contracted during his stay in St. Louis many warm friendships which have survived the lapse of years.

When the Mexican war commenced, in 1846, he was engaged in recruiting service in Ohio, and at once applied for active duty, but instead of dispatching him to Mexico as he desired, the War Department ordered him to proceed with his regiment, the Third Artillery, to California. Accordingly, he repaired to New York, and sailed from that city on the 14th of July for the Pacific coast, reaching Monterey, the capital of Upper California, *via* Cape Horn, on the 26th of January, 1847. Being thus removed from the theatre of active military operations, Lieut. Sherman had but little opportunity of achieving distinction or of exhibiting the conspicuous talents which afterwards won him his present high rank as one of the foremost generals of the age. He discharged his duties on the Pacific slope, however, with great care and characteristic energy, and it so happened that the first gold discovered in California passed under his inspection when Col. Suter, the famous pioneer, applied to Governor Mason for the pre-emption of a tract of land. In his "Memoirs" Gen. Sherman gives an interesting and graphic description of the rush for gold which followed the publication of the official report prepared by the army officers.

In 1850 he returned from California, bearing dispatches for the War Department, and on reaching Washington was granted leave of absence for six months. After visiting his mother, at Mansfield, Ohio, he returned to Washington, where he was married to Miss Ellen Boyle Ewing, daughter of Hon. Thomas Ewing, then Secretary of the Interior, on the 1st of May, 1850. At this time his company, then commanded by Capt. Braxton Bragg, afterwards a distinguished Confederate general, was stationed at Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis; and shortly after reporting at the barracks he received his commission as captain, and was detailed to act as commissary of subsistence at St. Louis, where he was soon joined by his family. In September, 1852, Capt. Sherman was transferred to New Orleans, and about two months later, while stationed there, received a proposition from Maj. Henry S. Turner, of St. Louis, to aid in the establishment of a branch in San Francisco of the banking-house of James H. Lucas & Co., of St. Louis. Subsequently Mr. Lucas himself renewed the proposition, and Capt. Sherman finally determined to accept the position of resident and managing partner of the firm of Lucas, Turner & Co., as the California house was styled at San Francisco.

On the 6th of September, 1853, he resigned his commission in the army, and proceeded with his family to the Pacific coast. For several years he conducted the affairs of the firm in San Francisco with energy and success, and was quite prominent in the affairs of that city. In 1857, however, he came to the decision that it was not desirable to continue the California branch any longer, and his suggestion to that effect having been approved by the parent house, he returned to St. Louis, where, at the request of his partners, he proceeded to New York, and opened there, in July, 1857, a branch of the St. Louis firm. The financial panic of that year, however, caused the abandonment of the enterprise, and in 1858, Capt. Sherman associated himself with Thomas Ewing, Jr., in the practice of the law at Leavenworth, Kan. In July, 1859, he was elected superintendent of the Louisiana Military Academy, and remained in charge

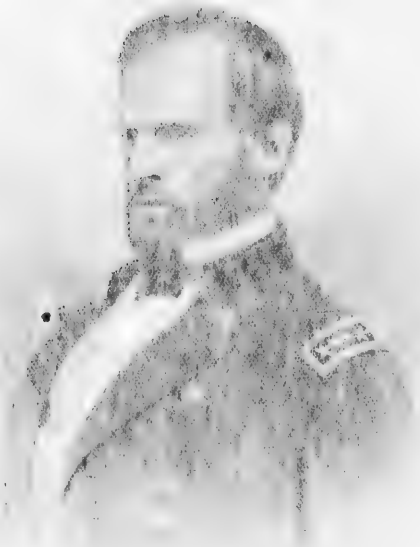
of that institution until Jan. 18, 1861, when he addressed a letter to Governor O'Moore, announcing his intention to resign his position in case Louis-
1865. iana seceded from the Union. When the political course of the State had been determined he accordingly withdrew and repaired to St Louis, where he was made president of the Fifth Street Passenger Railroad.

Soon after taking charge of the company's affairs, he was offered the chief clerkship of the War Department, but declined it. On the 8th of May, however, he tendered his services to the government, and on the 14th was appointed colonel of the Thirteenth Infantry. Three days later he was made brigadier-general of volunteers, and commanded a brigade in the first battle of Bull Run (July 21st). In October he was assigned to the Department of the Cumberland, and upon the retirement of Gen. Robert Henderson from the command of that department he was appointed his successor, but subsequently at his own request, was transferred to St. Louis, where he took charge of the camp of instruction. He remained at St. Louis until February, 1862, when he was assigned to the command of the District of Paducah, Ky. In the Tennessee and Mississippi campaign he commanded the Fifth Division under Gen. Grant, and was wounded in the battle of Shiloh (April 6th and 7th). He also took part in the movement against Corinth, and in the siege of that place (April 15th to May 30th), and on the 1st of May was made major-general of volunteers. Gen. Sherman commanded the expedition which attempted the capture of Vicksburg on the 27th of December, and while in command of the Fifteenth Army Corps led the assault on Arkansas Post, on the 11th of January, 1863. He took an active and prominent part in the siege of Vicksburg, and was appointed brigadier-general in the regular army in the summer of the same year, his commission dating from July 4th, the day of the surrender of Vicksburg. After the fall of this important point he was assigned to the command of the Army of the Tennessee, and at the battle of Chattanooga (November 23–25) commanded the left wing of the army. In December he compelled the Confederate Gen Longstreet to raise the siege of Knoxville, and in February of the following year (1864) broke up the railroads centring at Meriden, Miss.

On the 12th of March, 1864, he took command of the Division of the Mississippi, succeeding Gen. Grant, who had been appointed general-in-chief of the army. The division comprised the Departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Arkansas. Gen. Sherman addressed himself more particularly to the task of subduing the Confederate forces in Georgia under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, and for that purpose collected at Chattanooga an army of one hundred thousand men. After a series of successful engagements with the enemy he occupied Marietta, an important strategic point, on the 3d of July, and subsequently defeated Gen. Hood, Gen. Johnston's successor, the campaign culminating in the battle of Atlanta. He was appointed major-general in the regular army on the 12th of August, and fought the battle of Jonesboro' on the 31st. On the following day Gen. Hood evacuated Atlanta, which was then occupied by the Union forces, and about the middle of November Gen. Sherman began his famous "march to the sea." He reached Savannah on the 13th of December, and laid siege to that city, which surrendered on the 21st. On the 17th of February he occupied Columbia, S. C., and then invaded North Carolina. Raleigh was occupied by his army on the 13th of April, and on the 26th, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, commanding the Confederate forces, surrendered at Durham Station. He then proceeded north with his army, arriving in Washington on the 24th of May, and on the 27th of June was appointed to the command of the Division of the Mississippi, comprising the Departments of the Ohio, Missouri, and Arkansas, with headquarters at St. Louis. On the 25th of July, 1866, he succeeded Gen. Grant as lieutenant-general, and on the 11th of August took command of the Department of the Missouri. In the fall of the same year he was sent on a special mission to Mexico, and on the 4th of March, 1869, was made general of the army to succeed Gen. Grant, who had been elected President of the United States. In the autumn of 1871, having obtained leave of absence, he went to Europe, and spent nearly a year visiting the different countries of the Old World. Upon his return to the United States he established himself at Washington, but in October, 1874, removed his headquarters to St. Louis. Subsequently, however, he returned to Washington, where he now has his headquarters.

—The ladies of St. Louis early in July determined to form a Missouri Southern Relief Association, and organized by the election of the following officers: Silas Bent, chairman; Charles Miller, treasurer; John G. Shelton, Jr., recording secretary; and Messrs. G. G. Schoolfield, George R. Robinson, William H. Pittman, R. H. Spencer, J. W. Larimore, and John S. Dyer, corresponding secretaries.

The grand Southern Relief Fair was inaugurated on October 10th, in the building of the St. Louis Warehouse Company, on Chouteau Avenue, between Sixth, and Papin Streets. The fair was a sig-



Gen. Sherman addressed himself more particularly to Sixth, and Papin Streets. The fair was a signa



W. T. Sherman

success, and its managers realized a princely sum for their noble charity,—the succor of helpless widows and orphans, made such by the events of a terrible war.

—Notwithstanding Missouri was a slave State at the beginning of the war and furnished a large quota of men to the Confederate army, it contributed more volunteers to the Union army than did eight free States. If the matter of population is taken into account, without allowance for the Confederate soldiers who went out of the State, Missouri will still make a more favorable showing than most of the strong free States. Thus Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont had 87,438 more people in 1860 than Missouri, and yet Missouri sent 55,106 more volunteers to fight the battles of the Union. Again, Rhode Island, Minnesota, Kansas, and Iowa had only 53,248 fewer people in 1860 than Missouri, and yet Missouri furnished 50,820 more soldiers. Again, with but little more than twice as large a population as Iowa, Missouri sent out 40,313 more than twice as many Union soldiers.

The War Department in 1879 issued a statement giving the number of men furnished the Union army by each State and Territory and the District of Columbia from April 15, 1861, to the close of the war of the Rebellion. It shows that the total number of volunteers was 2,678,967, distributed as follows:

Maine	72,114	Missouri	199,111
New Hampshire	36,629	Kentucky	79,025
Vermont	35,262	Kansas	20,151
Massachusetts	152,048	Tennessee	31,092
Rhode Island	23,699	Arkansas	8,289
Connecticut	57,379	North Carolina	3,156
New York	467,047	California	15,725
New Jersey	81,010	Nevada	1,080
Pennsylvania	366,107	Oregon	1,810
Delaware	13,670	Washington Territory	964
Maryland	50,316	Nebraska Territory	3,159
West Virginia	32,068	Colorado Territory	4,903
District of Columbia	16,872	Dakota Territory	206
Ohio	319,659	New Mexico Territory	6,561
Indiana	197,147	Alabama	2,576
Illinois	259,147	Florida	2,190
Michigan	89,372	Louisiana	8,224
Wisconsin	96,424	Mississippi	545
Minnesota	25,052	Texas	1,965
Iowa	76,309	Indian Nation	3,503

The following tables, made up from the official report of the War Department, will prove interesting, as they demonstrate our statements. Missouri must have been quite a loyal State if the number of men she furnished the Union army be taken as a test of loyalty, and this is the only true test:

TABLE No. 1—UNION SOLDIERS.

Missouri		199,111
Vermont	35,262	
New Hampshire	36,629	
Rhode Island	23,699	
Minnesota	25,052	
Connecticut	57,379	
California	15,725	
Nevada	1,080	
Oregon	1,810	
		196,636
Missouri over all		2,475

TABLE No. 2—UNION SOLDIERS.

Missouri		199,111
Michigan	89,372	
Iowa	76,309	
Minnesota	25,052	
Nebraska	3,159	
Oregon	1,810	
Nevada	1,080	
		196,782
Missouri over all		2,329

TABLE No. 3—UNION SOLDIERS.

Missouri		199,111
Wisconsin	96,424	
Iowa	76,309	
Minnesota	25,052	
Nevada	1,080	
		198,865
Missouri over all		246

TABLE No. 4—UNION SOLDIERS

Furnished by 26 States—13 free, 13 slave.

Maine	72,114	Missouri	199,111
New Hampshire	36,629	Kentucky	79,025
Vermont	35,262	W. Virginia (part of Virginia)	32,068
Rhode Island	23,699	Tennessee	31,092
Connecticut	57,379	Maryland	50,316
Minnesota	25,052	Delaware	13,670
Kansas	20,151	Arkansas	8,289
California	15,725	Louisiana	8,224
Colorado	4,903	North Carolina	3,156
Nebraska	3,159	Alabama	2,576
Oregon	1,810	Florida	2,190
Nevada	1,080	Texas	1,965
Iowa	76,309	Mississippi	545
	373,272		432,227
			373,272
Thirteen slave States over the same number of free States			58,955

Military Roster.—The first Union military organization in St. Louis originated in a meeting held early in the year 1861 in the counting-room of O. D. Filley, on Main Street, for the purpose of organizing a body of Union men to repel any attack which might be made by Southern sympathizers. Those present were enrolled, and others joined at subsequent meetings, which were held for some time in the third story of a house on Olive Street, above Twelfth, and in a house owned by Benjamin Farrar, on Seventh Street, near St. Charles. The floors of both buildings were strewn with sawdust to avoid noise in drilling. The roster of the first Union company formed was as follows:

F. P. Blair, Jr. (captain), Henry Hitchcock, Silas Reed, Thomas Cuddy, B. M. Joel, William McKee, Fred. I. Dean (second lieutenant), J. H. Lightner, William S. Hillyer, Frank G. Porter, James Peckham, T. P. Loes[illegible], J. D. Leonard, Joseph M. Hallenbeck, H. L. Pinney, J. McCormack, Joseph R. Boggs, William P. Hollister, William Z. Clark, Lucien Eaton, Jacob Buhr, H. A. Conant, H. Sand, Henry Halterlien, John Service, John McFall, Alexis Mudd, R. J. Healy, W. D. Bowen, Henry Kuntz, William H. Mills, John Popp, William Gadmon, Theodore C. M. Tracie, James J. Wishart, —— Ripply, F. H. Mauter, John P. McGrath, William Cuddy, E. M. Joel, Charles W. Brans-

come, A. S. Thurneck, W. C. Smith, D. M. Houser, Jacob S. Merrill, Michael Summers, C. W. Anderson (first lieutenant), William C. Mahew, Samuel Knox, N. M. Christian, John E. Walker, L. Marsow, Henry McKee, Charles Castello, F. Van Braemer, Thomas Woody, Fred. Broomerfaf, George Casper, Charles Wappiel, D. Kerr, C. H. Lippman, —— Gordon, George Pope, R. B. Beck, Thomas Mennott, Henry Gurth, N. B. McPherson, Patrick Costiggan, J. Peter Nee, John J. Russell, James Oats, S. T. Glover, Charles Osburg.

In less than a fortnight several full companies were formed in different parts of the city composed of earnest Union men. There was an "inside organization" and an "outside organization." The latter was composed of the companies themselves, and the former of the power that controlled them. Mr. Blair was president of the inside organization, and E. M. Joel secretary. All the members acted in concert with the Committee of Safety, of which O. D. Filley was chairman, and James O. Broadhead secretary. The roster of the different companies was as follows:

Grand Drill-Master. C. F. Larned.

East Division, Union Club.—President, Chester Harding, Jr.; two hundred men.

West Division, Union Club.—President, —— Fecklenburg; two hundred men.

Fourth Ward, Union Black Rifles.—Captain, George Dahmer; first lieutenant, Gus. Boernstein: second lieutenant, A. Boernstein; eighty men.

Fifth Ward, Union Club.—S. T. Glover, president; George A. Schaeffer, secretary; one hundred and five men.

Seventh Ward, Union Guard.—Captain, Julius Wagner; first lieutenant, Frank Golde; second lieutenant, Charles Nager; fifty-eight men.

Tenth Ward, Union Guard.—Captain, Linkerman; first lieutenant, Wingar; second lieutenant, Siegermann; sixty-five men.

Second Ward, Black Rifles (Company A).—Captain, Chris. Goerish; first lieutenant, George Geigler; second lieutenant, Philip Frank; one hundred and thirty-six men.

Second Ward, Black Rifles (Company B).—Captain, Bernard Klein; first lieutenant, Ferd. Schuddig; second lieutenant, John A. Lippard; ninety-six men.

Company No. 5, Union Guard.—Captain, Geo. Smith; first lieutenant, Joe Gerwina; second lieutenant, John Nolte; fifty-three men.

Citizen Guard.—Captain, C. E. Solomon; first lieutenant, F. W. Noel; second lieutenant, A. Albert, eighty-three men.

Citizen Guard.—Captain, C. D. Wolf; sixty men.

Black Rifles.—Captain, Ott; first lieutenant, Hrudicka; second lieutenant, Nickerle; forty-six men.

Mounted Citizens' Guard.—Captain, Henry Almstedt: forty men.

Black Rifles.—Captain, Fred. Niegermann; first lieutenant, Wm. Rotterman; second lieutenant, D. Gronemeier; one hundred and twenty men.

Third Ward, Union Guard.—N. Schuttner, major; forty men.

Black Jaegers.—Captain, Michael Praester; first lieutenant, P. Miller; second lieutenant, C. Weiss; sixty men.

The following is a list of those who, in addition to Capt. Blair's company, in January, 1861, organized secretly for the purpose of sustaining the government of the Union and to protect Union men in St. Louis, but more especially to protect the St. Louis arsenal from falling into the hands of the Confederates:

CAPT. KLEIN'S COMPANY.

Bernhard Klein, captain; Ferd. Schueddig, first lieutenant; J. Peter Lipphardt, second lieutenant; Julius Sauer, quartermaster.

Altenbach, Chr.
Adrian, Friedrich.
Altschul, Leopold.
Altschul, Charles.
Abler, Samuel.
Amitt, Peter.
Berk, Ernst.
Beckmann, Charles.
Bruno, Charles.
Becher, John.
Drum, Charles.
Ewald, Leopold.
Emanuel, N.
Emanuel, Samuel.
Evertz, C.
Everts, Friedrich.
Franck, George.
Flugel, Jacob.
Gelzhauser, Andres.
Gettler, M.
Gessert, Chr.
Geldmacher, Fried.
Geldmacher, Karl.
Gleichaup, J. C.
Grison, Christopher.
Heder, Balthaser.
Hinterscheit', John.
Hesse, Ferd.
Heinze, Henry.
Horn, Conrad.
Herby, John.
Heller, M.
Hart, Alex.
Jung, Chr.
Jost, Charles.
Klein, Louis.
Koeunker, William.
Kob, Andreas.
Kaltwasser, F. P.
Kaltwasser, Fred.
Krause, John.
Klein, Albert.
Klarenbach, Gustav.
Knoblauch, Chr.
Leilich, Franz.
Laeffel, William.
Lange, Emil.
Lorenz, Henry.
Maurer, Adam.
Magnus, M.
Montag, A.
Meithe, E.
Mees, P.
Mads, August.
Melcher, Gustav.
Nickerl, Franz.
Nitz, Ph.
Neun, Ph.
Neun, Charles.
Ockenfuss, John.
Rohs, Valentin.
Reichert, Jacob.
Rogge, Herman.
Stark, Dr. C. E.
Stamm, Fried.
Sicher, M.
Sauer, August.
Spengler, Fried.
Stoecker, Robert.
Schueddig, Fred.
Stoecker, Fred.
Threscher, George.
Trauer, M.
Trauer, A.
Templer, William.
Voght, Anton.
Vasterling, Fried.
Wodiska, Ignatz.
Wippermann, George.
Wilz, Franz.

CAPT. OTT'S COMPANY.

—— Ott, captain; —— Hrudicka, first lieutenant; —— Nickerlie, second lieutenant; J. Mottel, quartermaster.

Bily, M.
Bauda, Jacob.
Bilck, Wenzel.
Celerin, Ignatz.
Dolar, Fritz.
Holy, L. J.
Hayek, W.
Karel, J.
Kristufek, Jacob.
Koran, Jacob.
Konat, Thomas.
Loyda, Albert.
Machacek, John.
Macha, M.
Meyer, Joseph.
Moller, W.
Mussek, Fr.
Polak, Matthias.
Pamiska, Wenzel.
Perichn, John.

Richa, Math.
Stessanek, John.
Swacina, J.
Stodola, Joseph.
Slika, John.
Schulz, Joseph.
Sissek, Joseph.
Serry, W. J.
Suda, A. M.
Sery, Sr.
Trescher, S.
Wodika, Ignatz.
Worel, John.
Wesselly, Emil.
Wirtel, John.
Woracek, Wenzel.
Zonf, Joseph.
Zika, John.

CAPT. ALMSTEDT'S COMPANY (MOUNTED CITIZENS' GUARD).

Henry Almstedt, captain *pro tem.*

Almstedt, H.
Alfelt, C.
Block, J.
Burger, John.
Berg, Nich.
Berg, Fred.
Balz, William.
Decker, William.
Fath, Jacob.
Flore, Edward.
Garney, Thomas.
Gleisser, William.
Keppler, Ch.
Kohler, Conrad.
Lipphardt, H.
Launert, Conrad.
Maurer, S.
Marschael, A.
May, G.
Okel, C.
Ottenat, John.
Ostz, Lewis.
Pollack, P.
Rembardt, G.
Reuneberg, George.
Reith, J.
Reinhart, J.
Rintzkopf, J.
Rapp, Fred.
Scheitz, John.
Schliete, John.
Stoll, H.
Schaefer, G.
Seiber, John.
Stieffer, Frantz.
Slawick, Albert.
Schneider, M.
Weber, B.
Wacker, John.
Woethe, Joseph.

CAPT. GOERISCH'S COMPANY.

Chris. Goerisch, captain; George Zigler, first lieutenant; Ph. Frank, second lieutenant.

Ackerman, Peter.
Anheiser, Peter.
Benning, Henry.
Bloetz, John.
Beitzoldt, Carl.
Brehm, T. C.
Ballmann, Theo.
Bernnard, Fred.
Beck, E. A.
Behr, George.
Bauschnaurt, Michael.
Ballmann, Valentine.
Baumgarden, Henry.
Biskenburg, Caspar.
Bohlonen, George.
Borcker, F.
Bang, George.
Decker, Caspar.
Diemann, George.
Diumn, Carl.
Daub, John.
Draspz, Felix.
Dawer, C.
Doll, William.
Dette, Ed.
Ekert, Chr.
Englemann, A.
Frank, Ch.
Freukes, Gerhardt.
Fugle, F.
Grau, John G.
Goessel, August.
Geroldt, E.
Guitzahr, E. B.
Gleisk, Jacob.
Gleisk, Nich.
Goerisch, Jacob.
Goerisch, David.
Gizzike, T. W.
Geisel, Ph.
Haefner, A.
Hauser, Carl.
Holwez, A.
Harting, Wilhelm.
Heisel, Cassimer.
Hesse, Herman.
Hoffmann, John.
Haffti, Thomas.
Helmn, John.
Hunicke, John.
Hunicke, Julius.
Klink, Peter.
Kerner, T. Ch.
Klein, Henry.
Klein, Lewis.
Kinnbe, Ed.
Kaufmann, Chr.
Kuetzel, A.
Kortmann, Louis.
Landfried, Jacob.
Lorentz, Henry.
Lehm, Chr.
Mettzau, A.
Maxwell, James.
Milbach, A.
Morsch, Adam.
Muller, A.
Mohr, Ludwig.
Meschab, Philipp.
Nessel, Henry.
Nagel, Conrad.
Nax, Ph.
Ohl, William.
Ost, L.
Petry, Jacob.
Petreh, Ed.
Prach, Jacob.
Ranft, Adam.
Reis, Jacob.
Rossel, Martin.
Rascher, Willigan.
Rausch, Emil.
Rogge, Herman.
Ruf, Stephen.
Rolfing, Henry.
Spahn, P.
Stock, Peter.
Schmidt, Herman.
Stetter, Paul.
Stoll, Carl.
Seinert, Nicholas.
Stumpf, Henry.
Schneider, Ph.
Schmaudt, Hardin.
Saupe, Carl.
Sandermann, Gottleib.
Stoeber, Henry.
Stremmler, John.
Seipp, Conrad.
Saude, Ferd.
Tahler, Joseph.
Teuber, August.
Vowenskel, Jacob.
Volbers, W. H.
Winzlick, Peter.
Wolf, Gustav.
Walter, Ph.
Wenger, Joseph.
Wetzel, John.
Wallet, Jacob.
Wurster, Fred.
Wagner, Gustav.
Weisenborn, Chr.
Waldemeier, Chr.
Wand, Henry.
Zauer, Ph.
Zimmer, Conrad.

CAPT. NIEGEMANN'S COMPANY.

Fred. Niegemann, captain; Wm. Rotermann, first lieutenant D. Gronemeier, second lieutenant.

Arand, D.
Arnold, Fred.
Andres, ——
Anton, J.
Anders, C.
Bruhlinger, W.
Brandle, B.
Bolte, H.
Blosser, F.
Bonifer, M.
Buschle, J.
Bastinn, J.
Bernhard, J.
Bauge, H. A.
Brauer, C.
Cunzelmann, C.
Dunkler, F.
Deibing, L.
Doerr, G.
Dunke, F.
Duermeier, H.
Ellersick, H.
Erb, J. A.
Fischbach, F.
Flugelmann, B.
Gerauf, C.
Gottelmann, P. G.
Gottelmann, John.
Grund, A.
Gutter, F. A.
Goebel, Franz.
Horst, C.
Hausfurther, G.
Huxhold, G.
Heim, G.
Herbst, H.
Halbes, H.
Hufshmidt, P.
Hoffmann, L.
Jobs, J.
Jost, J. D.
Kleibstein, A.
Kutzer, H.
Keppert, E.
Kuell, V.
Kaufmann, P.
Kuesling, M.
Kramer, J.
Keller, T.
Kiek, C.
Koch, J.
Lange, J.
Lauer, L.
Lieblang, N.
Lungenbuhl, E.
Mahrs, H.
Mack, F.
Mahrs, August.
Mackes, A.
Muckstadt, J.
Mackes, H.
Muller, W.
Neuenhaus, H.
Nagel, Jacob.
Neustatter, F.
Neumeister, G.
Obenauer, M.
Reisse, Wm.
Reisse, C. A.
Reighner, A.

Reuting, H.
Rudolph, F.
Rio, L.
Reisser, J.
Rotermann, T.
Rieth, G.
Spuhler, P.
Saller, A.
Steiner, J.
Schatz, M.
Schmidt, H.
Strob, F.
Schubert, J.
Schadler, J.
Schartz, C.
Schartz, B.
Stupp, P.
Seybold, W.
Schmahlenbach, M.
Thoma, A.
Ufen, A.
Ullins, H.
Vogel, A.
Volz, C.
Wolf, J.
Withrosch, Wm.
Wolf, Chr.
Weiss, J.
Will, H.
Westhus, T.
Zesch, M.
Zesch, R.

CAPT. SCHOENFELD'S COMPANY.

Moritz Schoenfeld, captain; Fred. Unger, first lieutenant; Francis Unger, second lieutenant; Leopold Helmpt, third lieutenant.

Arnast, Sebastian.
Boemer, Ferd.
Berk, Fred.
Carrel, Ph.
Duebelweiss, John.
Dreyer, George.
Dreyfuss, John.
Engel, Moritz.
Engert, Sebastian.
Eschlebach, George.
Eckert, Frank.
Fauth, Jacob.
Federle, M. S.
Frohnhoeffer, Aug.
Gibel, Edmund.
Horn, Adam.
Koenig, Nicholas.
Kaiser, Jacob.
Lendy, Henry.
Leescher, Wm
Maurice, Wm.
Maess, R.
Mueller, Aud.
Mueller, Gus. T.
Metz, Andreas.
Nuss, Henry.
Necker, Jacob.
Nerker, John.
Plecish, Charles.
Roemer, William.
Raab, Andreas.
Ruedi, John.
Schneeweiss, Ch.
Steininger, Steph.
Steiner, Ph.
Schiller, George.
Striebel, George.
Stumpf, Chr.
Schmerthe, Theo.
Schreiner, Fred.
Stapff, Daul.
Schneeweiss, Wm.
Sutter, Gottlieb.
Sturbarth, Adolph.
Steitz, Ludwig.
Volkmann, John.

MAJOR SCHUTTNER'S COMPANY.

Nicholas Schuttner, major.

Ackerman, John.
Brauns, Aug.
Backer, John.
Bottcher, Adolph.
Coring, F. H.
Claudits, Hy.
Dickhorner, H. W.
Eckman, Chas.
Freudt, Chas.
Gulde, Frank.
Gross, Henry.
Glorius, Wilhelm.
Gosker, Hy.
Hittman, Wilhelm.
Herr, Max.
Haug, Jacob.
Hartman, Fr.
Herwig, Wilhelm.
Herzog, Ed.
Hagner, Charles.
Haug, Alex.
Koch, Henry.
Koth, Chas.
Langenstrasen, Aug.
Lipf, John.
Moretbach, Charles.
Obrecht, Fred.
Osburg, Chris.
Pross, Andreas.
Rein, John.
Schadler, Wilhelm.
Schaffer, Alfred.
Schnabel, Anton.
Schonhardt, Chr.
Sauer, John.
Schobb, Ph.
Schwanter, Adolph.
Venn, Robt.
Valkenet, John.
Vollmer, Wilhelm.
Walther, Michael.
Weigel, John.
Wagner, Julius.
Wagner, E. F.
Willeriept, Hy.
Wertheim, Joseph.
Weigel, Jacob.

CAPT. PRIESTER'S COMPANY.

Michael Priester, captain; P. Muller, first lieutenant C. Weiss, second lieutenant.

Aurnst, A. F.
Bloecher, C.
Buk, Karl.
Bauer, W.
Burkel, F.
Bruckmaunr, H.
Dreyer, J. H.
Drowinger, L.
Derpp, Henry.
Ekert, F.
Faller, A.
Gutgeman, J.
Gessman, C.
Hausler, H.
Hornbach, M.
Hoffman, A.
Hoerer, J.
Hacker, F.
Huck, L.
Heim, Geo.
Jobs, Jacob.
Krauss, A.
Kolbing, F.
Kolbing, A.
Knell, V.
Kastler, Adam.
Kaufman, P.
Lick, Frank.
Linder, Geo.
Patow, John.
Roch, John.
Stas, C.
Stender, F.
Stoener, D.
Sauerwein, F.
Sauerwein, U.
Sauerwein, C.
Schaeffer, P.
Schmidtz, L.
Schoeneman, L.
Schuller, A.
Weber, C.
Weyant, J.
Wyant, J.
Wilderger, J.
Wolf, Louis.
Zick, W.

CAPT. DAHMER'S COMPANY.

George Dahmer, captain; Gus. Boernstein, first lieutenant Aug. Guntzel, second lieuenant.

Adam, Aug.
Alis, Jacob.
Busch, Jacob.
Berg, Hy.
Bayer, B.
Brekle, John.
Beyrer, Albert.
Bossard, Herman.
Deitz, Fr.
Deyple, Charles.
Gotz, John.
Gluckert, Fr.
Gulde, Fr.
Gerichtel, J.
Gunther, W.
Gerichten, P.
Haier, R.
Heizmann, Jos.
Hahn, John.
Hemle, Leopold.
Krumholz, John.
Kayser, John.
Kesten, Daniel.
Keil, Wm.
Lind, Jno.
Leberg, Martin.
Leilich, Fr.
Mittmann, W.
Mayer, W.
Mettbach, Albert.
Mayer, Fr.
Mantel, C. P.
Muller, Chr.
Mayer, T. H.
Maier, P. H.
Ott, Chr.
Reisse, Ernst.
Rapp, Wm.
Ruedi, T. W.
Schunk, George.
Steiner, Jacob.
Schlumpf, William.
Schmidt, Mack.
Schaereff, Ch.
Schuster, A. J.
Schadt, Otto.
Sukoff, J.
Schmitt, Peter.
Siefert, E.
Saups, Chas.
Stubenrauch, Charles.
Stoehr, Martin.
Stroh, Lud.
Warneke, T. Henry.
Walz, Joseph.
Wichner, Jno.
Waechter, L.
Wiedmann, Hy.
Weiss, George.

CAPT. SCHMIDT'S COMPANY.

Gotfried Schmidt, captain; Joseph Gerwiner, first lieutenant; John Nolte, second lieutenant.

Aberle, Const.	Kassel, Fred.
Anhauser, Peter.	Kiepart, A.
Bauer, H.	Kircher, J.
Battelt, F.	Kulin, J. O.
Bouhner, H.	Lemmer, J.
Bardell, Ferd.	Lehn, A.
Claus, H.	Mueeh, J.
Dage, H.	Meyer, B. V.
Dewald, Peter.	Marbeth, J.
Dewald, Nick.	Maier, M.
Datweiler, Jacob.	Ott, Henry.
Ernst, George E.	Polzer, J.
Fink, W.	Schmitter, J.
Fipper, Julius.	Spietzig, Carl.
Flaminger, J.	Schweizer, C.
Fahler, A.	Schandzler, Tr.
Huebner, Ed.	Schaller, J.
Herkel, H.	Spehn, J.
Hinzpeter, F.	Soll, F.
Hamm, Herman.	Schnell, H.
Hoehl, J.	Ulz, J.
Heinz, A.	Vogt, Jacob.
Hehrlein, S. H.	Vedder, H. P.
Hemler, Frank.	Wohlehlager, B.
Hanisch, D.	Weber, Wm.
Herschoman, A.	Wiesean, A.
Hamm, Wm.	Wagner, H.
Harwigh, H.	Zahn, Fr.
Kaiser, G. P.	

Among the meetings held by Union men during the winter of 1861 was one which took place at a lawyer's office, and which was attended by O. D. Filley, Giles F. Filley, James O. Broadhead, F. A. Dick, Barton Able, Charles M. Elleard, William McKee, B. Gratz Brown, S. T. Glover, Benjamin Farrar, Samuel Simmons, P. L. Foy, and F. P. Blair. Messrs. S. T. Glover and F. P. Blair urged the importance of arming on the part of Union men without delay, but the meeting broke up without reaching any definite conclusion. Another meeting was held at Washington Hall about the 1st of February, at which a military organization was effected, and a company of Union Guards enrolled for secret drill. It was suggested that Francis P. Blair should be made the colonel of the regiment, but that gentleman, anticipating a visit to Washington, advised the appointment of O. D. Filley, John How, Samuel T. Glover, James O. Broadhead, and J. J. Witzig as a Committee of Safety. The suggestion was adopted, and the committee entered at once upon the active discharge of its duties. The organization at Washington Hall and the arming and drilling of the Union men were conducted with the most secrecy. The members of the recently disbanded *Wide Awakes* were enrolled into military companies, which drilled at night in the foundry of Giles F. Filley, in a house on the east side of Seventh Street, near St. Charles, owned by the Farrars; in the brewery of Mr. Winkelmeyer, on Market Street; in Washington Hall, in Yaeger's Garden, and elsewhere. The meeting-places were always approached with caution, and guards were stationed outside to prevent surprise.

After these companies had been organized the question arose as to how the means might be procured for arming them. It was decided that it would be unwise to apply to the authorities at the arsenal for arms, as such application might expose their plans to the secession leaders. In this quandary Capt. Blair applied to Messrs. E. A. and S. R. Filley, leading merchants of St. Louis and earnest friends of the Union cause, for assistance and advice. They agreed with him that arms should be at once procured, and Samuel R. Filley offered to raise the necessary funds. It was thought at first that three hundred dollars would be sufficient to purchase such arms as could be privately disposed of immediately, and this amount was speedily secured, E. A. and S. R. Filley subscribing one hundred dollars, and O. D. Filley and Giles F. Filley each one hundred dollars. Capt. Blair himself added twenty-five dollars, and with this amount purchased seventy muskets from T. J. Albright for four hundred and seven dollars and ninety cents, giving a due bill for the amount (eighty-two dollars and ninety cents) not covered by the subscription of three hundred and twenty-five dollars. Governor Yates, of Illinois, also contributed about two hundred muskets for the use of the Union men of St. Louis, the guns being shipped to Giles F. Filley, in the care of Woodward & Co., hardware dealers, Main Street, St. Louis. Upon their arrival they were taken to Turner Hall in a beer-wagon, under cover of a lot of beer-barrels, and distributed to members of the Union Guard. Woodward & Co. had also sixty Sharp's rifles, which Giles F. Filley had purchased, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the secessionists, and which he reserved for the use of the company that was drilling in his own foundry. About fifty other guns were transferred by Mr. Woodward to the Union Guard, the pay for which, it is said, he never claimed. In addition to these, a number of arms were procured by different Union citizens, "and thus, silently and secretly, there were enough muskets and rifles reported to Mr. Blair to arm a regiment."[1]

It now became necessary to raise a considerable sum for the work of the Committee of Safety, and after a full consultation in the store of O. D. Filley, Messrs. Samuel R. Filley and E. W. Fox agreed to

[1] "Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861," by James Peckham, p. 38.

act as a committee to solicit subscriptions in order to raise funds not only for the use of the committee, but for the use of the Guards, "upon whom Union men relied for the defense of the arsenal." It was thought at first that one thousand dollars would be sufficient, but subsequently, when it was found that more assistance would be needed, the committee acted in conjunction with a sub-committee of the Committee of Safety and the colonels of the first four regiments of volunteers.

The following firms and individuals contributed one hundred dollars each in response to the application of Messrs. Samuel K. Filley and E. W. Fox: Henning & Woodruff, Child, Pratt & Fox, Cash (H. Weil & Bro.), J. B. Sickles, Wolfe & Hoppe, Robert Holmes, Cash, Giles F. Filley, Oliver D. Filley, Greeley & Gale, Samuel C. Davis & Co., Pike & Kellogg, Benjamin Farrar, Pomroy & Benton, Lee Claflin, Thomas Mellen (Philadelphia), E. A. & S. R. Filley, Partridge & Co., Isaac V. Brown, Usdell, Peirson & Co., N. P. Coburn, Goodrich, Willard & Co., H. Crevelin, Bridge, Beach & Co., Thomas T. Gantt, Dr. M. L. Linton.

The following subscribed fifty dollars each: Christopher & Richards, Eben Richards, D. Durkee, Chauncey I. Filley, H. Ames & Co., H. J. Loring & Co., John Tilden, Archer, Whitesides & Co., A. S. Roberts, Jr., J. F. Comstock & Co., T. B. Edgar, Henry Whitmore, Morris Collins, James Brown, O. B. Filley, Cutter & Tirrill, Cash.

The following subscribed twenty-five dollars each: Solomon Smith, Plant & Bro., Cash, H. Whitmore, Morris Collins, Mr. Richardson, P. L. Foy, E. B. Hubbell, Jr., L. & C. Speck & Co., J. H. Lightner, Samuel G. Reed, R. J. Howard, H. C. Creveling, James Harkness, Claflin, Allen & Co., Stranger from Western Missouri, Reed & Co.

Twenty-dollar subscriptions: G. B. Smith, Capt. J. B Phillips, Henry Martin, J. H. Andrew.

Ten-dollar subscriptions: J. M. Brown, L. W. Patchin & Co., Thomas Taylor, J. H. Simpson, C. F. Eggers, Henry Pettis, George D. English, Stephen Hoyt, H. Bakewell, W. H. Tasker, R. P. Studley, E. Greenleaf, S. Bonner, William Rumbold, Cash, Woodbury & Scott.

Five-dollar subscriptions: E. Crawshaw, J. Crawshaw, Jr., J. Crawshaw, S. Gardner, M. J. Lippman, W. T. Dickson, Mr. Dodge, Cash, T. J. Albright, Cash, E. G. Brooks, J. J. Flippen.

Miscellaneous subscriptions: T. H. and St. Louis Railroad, $3.95; Testimonial Fund, $48; John Clark, 65 cents; Cash, $62; S. C. Mansur, $15.

Money subscriptions from the East:

Check on Barlow & Taylor	$10
Gilmer, Dunlap & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio	440
Certificate of Deposit, Atlas Bank, Boston	50
Draft on Field & Co., Philadelphia	50
Received through George Partridge	1,140
" " F. P. Blair	150
" " Governor Koerner, Ill.	215
" " F. P. Blair, draft on Boston Bank	500
" " " " Seventh Ward Bank, N. Y.	50
Received through F. P. Blair, currency	115
" " Governor Koerner, Ill.	240
" " Isaac Sherman, N. Y.	2,000
" " J. W. Forney, Pa.	100
" " Rindskoff Bros. & Co., Cincinnati, O.	150
" " Isaac Sherman, N. Y.	3,000
" " John How, from Cash, N. Y.	100
" " George Partridge, collections	1,657
" " Governor Koerner, from Roosevelt & Son and J. D. Wolf, draft on Chemical Bank, N. Y.	200
Received through W. & S., St. Louis	[illegible]
" " F. P. Blair, draft on Isaac Sherman N. Y.	[illegible]
Received through F. P. Blair, draft on Isaac Sherman, N. Y.	4,0[illegible]
Received through F. P. Blair, from Isaac Sherman, N. Y.	[illegible]
" " Morris Collins, from Hartford, Conn.	1,[illegible]
" " J. H. Filley, Bloomfield, Conn.	1[illegible]
" " Isaac Sherman, N. Y.	[illegible]
" " A. C. Barstow, Providence, R. I.	[illegible]
" " Meyer & Braun, from N. Y. merchant-	[illegible]
" " George Partridge, donation from Boston	1,1[illegible]
Received through Morris Collins, from Hartford, Conn.	10[illegible]
" " F. P. Blair, per E. W. Fox, when at Washington City	[illegible]
Including sundry small cash donations, the whole amount reaching very nearly	30[illegible]

Besides the above there were [illegible]ast quantities of goods received from the East, which were carefully distributed.

On the 15th of April, 1861, President Lincoln issued his famous proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand men. At that time Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, U.S.A., soon afterwards made brigadier-general of volunteers, was in command of the United States arsenal at St. Louis, and under his direction the first organization of troops in St. Louis for the United States service was effected by Col. Chester Harding. As we have seen, the Union men of St. Louis, under the leadership of Francis P. Blair, and Messrs. Glover, Broadhead, the Filleys, and others, had already formed a number of companies, and these were now incorporated in Gen. Lyon's comm[illegible]

Early in May authority was [illegible] to enroll and arm the loyal citizens of St. [illegible]as a "reserve corps," the number so enrolled not to be more than sufficient to make the whole number of volunteers and reserve corps amount to ten thousand. This limit was not strictly adhered to. On the 7th, 8th, and 11th days of May five regiments of reserve corps, numbering four thousand seven hundred and seventy-four officers and men, were mustered.

A brigade morning report of the 1st of June shows the strength of the whole force then under the command of Gen. Lyon to have been as follows:

First Regiment Volunteers, Col. F. P. Blair	12[illegible]
Second Regiment Volunteers, Col. H. Boernstein	112[illegible]
Third Regiment Volunteers, Col. Fr. Sigel	11[illegible]
Fourth Regiment Volunteers, Col. N. Schuttner	1027
Fifth Regiment Volunteers, Col. C. E. Salomon	9[illegible]
Battalion of Artillery, Maj Backoff	[illegible]
Pioneer Company, Capt. Voerster	12[illegible]
First Regiment U. S. R. C., Col. H. Almstedt	110[illegible]
Second Regiment U. S. R. C., Col. H. Kallman	756
Third Regiment U. S. R. C., Col. John McNeil	8[illegible]
Fourth Regiment U. S. R. C., Col. B. Gratz Brown	1169
Fifth Regiment U. S. R. C., Col. Stifel	1011
	10,7[illegible]

The whole of this force was raised in St. Louis, and the German citizens furnished at least four fifths of it. The whole of it was actively and usefully em-

ployed in the field and in garrison until discharged or remustered into the three years' service.

The new organization was called the "United States Reserve Corps," but was known better as "Home Guards." The Fifth Regiment of Volunteers was regularly mustered into the service by orders from Washington. On the 7th of May the First Regiment Home Guards, made up of residents of the First Ward; on the morning of the 8th the Second Regiment, from the Second Ward; at four P.M. the same day the Third Regiment, from the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Wards; at nine P.M., same day, the Fourth Regiment, from the Seventh and Eighth Wards, were all mustered in and armed. These regiments established their quarters as follows: The First, Col. Almstedt, in Yaeger's Garden; the Second, Col. Kallman, on Chouteau Avenue; the Third, Col. John McNeil, at Turner Hall; the Fourth, Col. B. Gratz Brown, at Bechner's Garden, on Fifth Street. On Saturday, May 11th, Col. Stifel's Fifth Regiment was mustered in, and established its quarters in the Tenth Ward. The commissioned officers of these regiments elected Capt. Thomas W. Sweeney their brigade commander, and he was at once recognized as such. Col. Harding continued upon the staff of Gen. Lyon as his adjutant-general.

During the interval between the departure of Gen. Lyon from St. Louis in June and the assumption of the command of the department by Gen. Fremont in July, the Union men of St. Louis were actively engaged not only in equipping and preparing the companies for local service, but also in perfecting the organizations then being formed of volunteers for the United States service "for the term of three years, or during the war."

The following is the roster of the various Union military organizations formed in St. Louis during the early part of the war:

First regiment of United States Reserve Corps, three months' service, mustered in May, 1861, and discharged in August the same year:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Henry Almstedt, col.; Robert J. Rombauer, lieut.-col.; Phil. J. Brimmer, major; Emil Seemann, surg.; John Heinback, asst. surg.; William Waldschmidt, adjt.; Aug. Lucssler, q.m.

Co. A, CAVALRY.—Jacob Melter, capt.; John Traber, 1st lieut.; Charles Wagmann, 2d lieut.

Co. A.—Jacob Horn, capt.; Emil Mark, 1st lieut.; W. Waldschmidt, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Rod. E. Rombauer, capt.; Theo. Eckerle, 1st lieut.; Isaac Baer, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Theo. Hilderbrandt, capt.; James H. Vodoarka, 1st lieut.; George Ost, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Leonhard Weindel, capt.; Fred. W. Henkels, 1st lieut.; Peter Schardin, 2d lieut.

Co. E. George Rothweiler, capt.; Lorenz Liebermann, 1st lieut.; Gustav Garvell, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—William Balz, capt.; William Balz, 1st lieut.; Jacob Reinhardt, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Charles Hartig, capt.; Arnold P. Rocter, 1st lieut.; George Clemens, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Joseph Schubert, capt.; Casper Kochler, 1st lieut.

Co. I.—Herman T. Hasse, capt.; Clemens Gutgesell, 1st lieut.; Fred Krenning, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—William Hahn, capt.; Henry Delus, 1st lieut.; Joseph Witzel, 2d lieut.

Co. L.—William Prolerman, capt.; Jacob Bischoff, 1st lieut.; Augustus Leupler, 2d lieut.

Co. M.—Augustus Eichele, capt.; Charles B. Gutzahr, 1st lieut.; Hern. Lautensclager, 2d lieut.

Of this regiment, Company A, cavalry, served as mounted orderlies of Brig.-Gen. Lyon from the 11th of June, 1861, to the 10th of August, and subsequently served in various portions of Missouri. Company A, infantry, and Companies B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and M took part in the capture of Camp Jackson, May 10, 1861, the First Regiment, commanded by Col. H. Almstedt, serving as the reserve of Gen. Lyon's brigade. Company I also participated in the capture, and was principally stationed at Jacques' Garden. Company L, on July 30, 1861, marched with a detachment of the First Regiment, United States Reserve Corps, under command of Col. Henry Almstedt, to Rolla, Mo., and subsequently to several other points in the State.

Second Regiment of U. S. Reserve Corps, three months' service, mustered in in May, 1861, and discharged in August of the same year:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Herman Kallman, col.; John T. Fiala, lieut.-col.; Julius Rapp, maj.; Anthony Teitinger, adjt.; Charles W. Gottschalk, q.m.; F. C. Castlehun, surg.; Charles Sprinzig, asst. surg.; Henry L. Rothsow, maj.

Co. A.—Bernard Essroger, capt.; Herman Bleck, 1st lieut.; Leopold Swanziger, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Edmund Wurpel, capt.; Joseph Gerwiner, 1st lieut.; Franz Shindler, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Fred. Mueller, 1st lieut.; Fred. Cratz, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—F. M. Wolke, capt.; Bernhard Klein, 1st lieut.; Fred. Gottschalk, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Laies Felix, capt.; Ploser Christian, 1st lieut.; Michel Phillip, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Theodore Boethelt, capt.; Alexander Windmiller, 1st lieut.; Anthony Ochosky, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Herman Takrzewski, capt.; Ger. Bensberg, 1st lieut.; Herman Moll, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Charles Goerisch, capt.; Charles Hoppe, 1st lieut.; John Heusack, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Jacob Reseck, capt.; John Raedi, 1st lieut.; August Frohnhaeser, 2d lieut.

The regiment participated in the capture of Camp Jackson, and for some time occupied prominent places in St. Louis, in order to be ready for any emergency. It also performed service in guarding bridges

on the North Missouri and the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroads.

Both the First and Second Regiments subsequently re-enlisted for the war.

Third Regiment of U. S. Reserve Corps, three months' service, mustered in in May, 1861, and discharged in August of the same year:

FIELD AND STAFF.—John McNeil, col.; Charles A. Fritz, lieut.-col.; Calvin W. Marsh, maj.; Samuel P. Simpson, adjt.; George E. Leighton, q.m.; William Arthur, com'y; Ellery P. Smith, surg.; Edmund Boemer, asst. surg.

Co. A.—Charles W. Smith, capt.; H. Rupert Serot, 1st lieut.; Fred. Leser, 1st lieut.; Fred. Holst, 1st lieut.; George Haran, 1st lieut.; H. Wigand, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Charles Albert Warner, capt.

Co. C.—Tony Niederwieser, capt.; H. P. Fabricius, 1st lieut.; William Hirt, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Merritt W. Griswold, capt.; William M. Wherry, 1st lieut.; Charles C. Johnson, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—W. A. Hequembourg, capt.; Felix Coste, 1st lieut., Fritch Carl Adolph, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Philip F. Weigel, capt.; John C. Blech, 1st lieut.; Max. Kornex, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—George Dominick, capt.; Charles Moeller, 1st lieut.; Samuel P. Simpson, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Henry Lischer, capt.; The. Kalb, 1st lieut.; Adolph. Knipper, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Robert Hundhausen, capt.; Louis Duestrou, 1st lieut.; J. Conrad Meyer, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—George A. Rowley, capt.; Edward J. Clark, 1st lieut.; George E. Leighton, 2d lieut.

The Third Regiment was organized in the city of St. Louis, at Turners' Hall, early in 1861, and upon the first suspicion that the political controversy of that period would have to be decided in the arena of arms, numbers of loyal citizens assembled at this hall for the purpose of preparing themselves in military exercises to meet the issue in Missouri. The result was the organization of a regiment, which retained Turners' Hall as its headquarters during a considerable period of the service. John McNeil, afterwards colonel, Charles A. Fritz, afterwards lieutenant-colonel, with others of the field, staff, and company officers, were active in these preparations. The regiment was mustered into service on the 8th of May, 1861, by Capt. (afterwards brigadier-general) Nathaniel Lyon, who personally administered the oath at the St. Louis arsenal; on that day the regiment, nearly twelve hundred strong, received its arms; the accoutrements and clothing were obtained by the officers pledging their individual credit. On the 10th of May, 1861, this regiment was engaged with others in the capture of Camp Jackson, and subsequently rendered efficient service in Northern and Southern Missouri. On the 17th of July, 1861, it repelled an attack of Confederates under Gen. Thomas Harris near Fulton, Mo. Col. McNeil was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Col. C. A. Fritz, and in January, 1862, the organization was consolidated with that of the Gasconade County battalion, the regiment thus formed being known as the Fourth Infantry, Missouri Volunteers.

Fourth Regiment U. S. Reserve Corps, three months' service, mustered in in May, 1861:

FIELD AND STAFF.—B. Gratz Brown, col.; Rudolph Wesselling, lieut.-col.; S. B. Shaw, maj.; John C. Vogel, q.m.; Jacques Ravald, surg.; George Kaufhold, adjt.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.—Ed. Schultz, com. sergt.; E. M. Joel, q.m.-sergt.

Co. A.—Charles E. Adams, capt.; George Kaufhold, 1st lieut.; G. C. Albert, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Alexander G. Hequembourg, capt.; Louis Schnell, 1st lieut.; Charles Schnell, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—— ——, capt.; J. W. Koch, 1st lieut.; Louis Reicholz, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Louis Schneider, capt.; Philip Winkel, 1st lieut., Charles Bromser, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Charles Zimmer, capt.; John Schenkel, 1st lieut., Henry Obermeuller, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Peter Helie, capt.; F. Merzwieler, 1st lieut.; Charles Knolle, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—John H. Dierke, capt.; Casper Kopp, 1st lieut.; M. S. Hasie, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—William Heyl, capt.; A. Loblein, 1st lieut.; John Reuter, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—William C. Jones, capt.; John W. Stevens, 1st lieut.; John W. Holman, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—Charles Osburg, capt.; Julius Glade, 1st lieut.; Henry Kleeman, 2d lieut.

Co. L.—Louis Loos, capt.; G. Quernori, 1st lieut.; M. Heilseck, 2d lieut.

Co. M.—James C. Campbell, capt.; J. W. Wilson, 1st lieut.; John Obercombie, 2d lieut.

Fourth U. S. Reserve Corps, Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, mustered in in the fall of 1861:

FIELD AND STAFF.—John M. Herder, lieut.-col.; Charles H. Mannhardt, adjt.; Gustavus R. Spannagel, q.m.; Frederick Roepke, surg.

Co. A.—Charles A. Meyer, capt.; Frederick Hass, 1st lieut.; John D. Merton, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Frederick Lubbering, capt.; Frederick Kreuter, 1st lieut.; Wolrad Schurmann, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Frederick Pohlmann, capt.; Leopold Dingert, 1st lieut.; Henry Mester, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Frederick Wedekind, capt.; Conrad Mueller, 1st lieut.; John Collonnes, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—George Adler, capt.; Robert Moss, 1st lieut.; Andrew Lepp, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Julius Clade, capt.; Louis Sagel, 1st lieut.; Frederick Feldman, 2d lieut.

This battalion, like the Third Reserve Corps, was formed from the German population of St. Louis, and, like the other Reserve Corps organizations, rendered valuable service. It was mustered out Jan. 13, 1862.

Fifth Regiment of U. S. Reserve Corps, three months' service, organized in May, 1861, and discharged in September of the same year:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Charles G. Stifel, col.; Robert White, lieut.-col.; John J. Fischer, maj.; John K. Cummings, adjt.; John B. Mears, q.m.; Adalbert Gemmer, surg.; William Drechsler, asst. surg.; Rudolph Decker, chap.

Co. A.—E. H. Steinman, capt.; Henry Wilke, 1st lieut.; Otto Grassmer, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Julius Krusch, capt.; George Dietrich, 1st lieut.; Frederick Forthmann, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—August Thorwald, capt.; Herman Schuk, 1st lieut.; Bern. Wingastner, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—William S. Herd, capt.; Joseph Tallman, 1st lieut.; William S. Robinson, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Frederick Wedekind, capt.; John Gutberlet, 1st lieut.; Frederick Barth, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—John N. Herder, capt.; Frederick Kreuter, 1st lieut.; Frederick Lubbering, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—William Lorbe, capt.; Henry Mester, 1st lieut.; Frederick Pollman, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Charles F. Koch, capt.; Gustavus Knoch, 1st lieut.; John B. Staunch, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Charles Schoenbeck, capt.; Charles Beck, 1st lieut.; Conrad Miller, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—James B. Tannehill, capt.; Nic. F. Woiff, 1st lieut.; Philip Reeger, 2d lieut.

The regiment was mustered into service by Capt. Lyon on the 11th of May, 1861, and on returning from the arsenal was attacked by a mob at the corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets, St. Louis. Shots were exchanged, and four members of the regiment were killed; the loss of the mob was not ascertained. Subsequently, Companies A, D, and K volunteered to proceed to Jefferson City, and suppressed the insurrection of prisoners in the penitentiary. The regiment then performed much active service in various portions of the State, and re-enlisted in September, 1861, Lieut.-Col. John Jacob Fischer, commanding; C. F. Koch, maj.; Adolphus Zobel, adjt.; Frederick P. Zeppenfeld, q.m.; and Adalbert Gemmer, surg.

First Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, three months' service, mustered in April 20, 1861, reorganized June 10th:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Frank P. Blair, col.; George L. Andrews, lieut.-col.; John M. Schofield, maj.; Henry Hescock, adjt.; Herbert M. Draper, q.m.; Florence Cornyn, surg.; William Simon, asst. surg.

Co. A.—Rufus Saxton, capt.; William A. Gordon, 1st lieut.; Ernest W. Decker, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—W. L. Lothrop, capt.; Benjamin Taumatic, 1st lieut.; John L. Matthai, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—G. Harry Stone, capt.; —— Marshall, 1st lieut.; John H. Tiemeyer, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Charles Anderson, capt.; Stillman O. Fish, 1st lieut.; Fulton H. Johnson, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Robert B. Beck, capt.; John McFall, 1st lieut.; William D. Bowen, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Cary Gratz, capt.; William T. Stewart, 1st lieut.; George Meyers, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—John S. Cavender, capt.; Frederick Welker, 1st lieut.; Charles S. Sheldon, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Theodore Yates, capt.; Francis H. Manters, 1st lieut.; Thomas Haynes, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Madison Miller, capt.; David Murphy, 1st lieut.; James Mar, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—Patrick E. Burke, capt.; E. W. Weber, 1st lieut.; Edward Madison, 2d lieut.

The first company of this regiment was organized at the first call of the President in the spring of 1861, and C. F. Larned was the first man to drill and organize the company. A second and third company was soon filled up and ready for service. These three companies were made up almost entirely of German Turners of St. Louis. Gen. Harney, at this time in command at St. Louis, refused to accept them into the United States service, he having no orders on the subject. After several ineffectual attempts to be admitted into the St. Louis arsenal, the companies resolved to offer their services to the Governor of Illinois. On making their intentions known to Hon. F. P. Blair, Jr., he at once, in conjunction with Capt. Lyon and Lieut. J. M. Schofield (afterwards general), consulted the companies, and promised to admit and arm them at the earliest possible moment. Accordingly, on the morning of April 22, 1861, these three companies were the first volunteers to enter the St. Louis arsenal, and were commanded as follows: Company A, Capt. Rufus Saxton, U.S.A.; Company B, Capt. Warren L. Lathrop, U.S.A.; Company C, Capt. G. Harry Stone, U.S.A. During the following few days several other companies entered the arsenal, and on the evening of the 27th, at the meeting of the officers, Hon. F. P. Blair, Jr., was unanimously elected colonel; George L. Andrews, lieutenant-colonel; and J. M. Schofield, major. The regiment on its organization numbered one thousand and twenty men. On the 27th of April a detachment of the regiment, under Capt. Harry Stone, was placed on board the steamer "City of Alton," and had the charge of the safe removal of a large quantity of arms and ammunition to Springfield, Ill., to arm Illinois troops. On the 10th of May the whole regiment participated in the capture of Camp Jackson, acting as guard to the prisoners until they were paroled. On the 10th of June the regiment, still having over a month of its original three months' enlistment to serve, was reorganized into a three years' or during the war regiment, and on the 1st of September following into the First Light Artillery Regiment. The regiment played a prominent part in the battle of Wilson's Creek.

For the Second Regiment Missouri Volunteers, for the three months' service, Henry Boernstein, colonel, no returns were made to the adjutant-general's office. On the 10th of September, 1861, the regiment was reorganized, the men having enlisted for the war. Its officers were:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Frederick Schaefer, col. (killed in battle, Murfreesboro', Tenn., Dec. 31, 1862); Bernard Laibold, col. (Jan. 8, 1863); Bernard Laibold, lieut.-col.; Francis Ehrler, lieut.-col.; Arnold Beck, lieut.-col.; Julius Windsbecker, maj.; Francis Ehrler, maj.; Arnold Beck, maj.; Matthias Kreamer, maj.; Frederick Jaensch, adjt.; Charles Fuelle, adjt.; Henry Busing, adjt.; Philip W. Schmidt, q.m.; Robert Kunz, q.m.; Richard Veeter, surg.; Charles Spinzig, surg.; George Bung, asst. surg.; Gustave Stegemann, asst. surg.

Co. A.—Francis Kohr, capt.; Matthias Kraemer, capt.; Adolph Lochr, 1st lieut.; Henry F. Dietz, 2d lieut.; William Strumpf, 2d lieut.; Leopold Kunth, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Christian Burkhardt, capt.; Carroll A. Bernard, capt.; Jacob Zibelin, 1st lieut.; Matthias Kraemer, 1st lieut.; Robert Kunz, 1st lieut.; Henry Haverkamp, 1st lieut.; Charles Eichles, 2d lieut.; Henry Haverkamp, 2d lieut.; Christian Hoffmeister, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Arnold Beck, capt.; Charles Fuelle, capt.; Carroll A. Bernard, 1st lieut.; Christopher Geissler, 1st lieut.; William Aulbach, 1st lieut.; William Boder, 2d lieut.; John Claude, 2d lieut.; Leopold Arndt, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Henry Landfried, capt.; August Geuntzel, 1st lieut.; John Claude, 1st lieut.; John Klein, 2d lieut.; G. A. Rotter, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Th. Trauernicht, capt.; Louis Bergan, capt.; Th. Trauernicht, capt.; Clemens Landgraeber, 1st lieut.; J. S. Fullerton, 1st lieut.; Michael V. Sherdan, 1st lieut.; Charles Knappe, 2d lieut.; Louis Raum, 2d lieut.; Henry Block, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Francis Ehrler, capt.; Herman Hartman, capt.; August Zerman, 1st lieut.; Henry F. Dietz, 1st lieut.; Manlius Karl, 1st lieut.; William Kreuger, 1st lieut.; Matthias Kraemer, 2d lieut.; Julius Hunicke, 2d lieut.; William Zawadill, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Charles W. Doer, capt.; Henry F. Dietz, capt.; P. U. Schmidt, capt.; Philip Wild, 1st lieut.; Charles Schoerckel, 1st lieut.; Edmund Dorsey, 2d lieut.; Charles Fuelle, 2d lieut.; Charles Schoerckel, 2d lieut.; Christian Heydtmann, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Walter Hoppe, capt.; William Stoecker, capt.; Julius Hunicke, capt.; Herman Hartmann, 1st lieut.; Julius Hunicke, 1st lieut.; Leopold Arndt, 1st lieut.; Charles Deghle, 2d lieut.; Julius Neudorf, 2d lieut.; John Murphy, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—William Siefert, capt.; Charles Deghle, capt.; Jacob Zieblin, capt.; Nic Sand, 1st lieut.; William Stoecker, 1st lieut.; Henry Busing, 1st lieut.; Julius Neudorf, 1st lieut.; Henry Loeffel, 2d lieut.; Adolph Lohr, 2d lieut.; Gottfried Hauser, 2d lieut.; William Kreuger, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—Fred. Louis Weber, capt.; Jacob Zieblin, capt.; Christopher Giessle, capt.; Charles Miller, 1st lieut.; William Strumpf, 1st lieut.; Frederick Jaensch, 2d lieut.; Henry Busing, 2d lieut.; Ferdinand Hahn, 2d lieut.

The regiment took part in various engagements in Southwestern Missouri, Arkansas, and Mississippi, and in the battles of Murfreesboro', Chickamauga, and Chattanooga, in Tennessee.

Third Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, three months' service, mustered in in April, 1861, discharged in August, 1861:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Francis Sigel, col.; Albert Anselm, lieut.-col.; Henry Bishoff, maj.; Gustav Heinrichs, adjt.; Sebas. Engert, qrmr.; Frederick Hanssler, surg.; Charles Ludwig, asst. surg.

Co. A—RIFLES.—Joseph Indes, capt.; Leopold Helmle, 1st lieut.; William Roemer, 2d lieut.

Co. A.—John F. Cramer, capt.; William Osterhorn, 1st lieut.; Charles Weistney, 2d lieut.

Co. B—RIFLES.—Henry Zeis, capt.; Joseph Fries, 1st lieut.; Peter Steven, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Joseph Conrad, capt.; William Mettmann, 1st lieut.; George Damede, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Jacob Hartmann, capt.; Henry Bishoff, 1st lieut.; J. Heckenlaner, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Aug. Hackman, capt.; Liverott Danner, 1st lieut.; Stephan Tehl, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Charles Schaerff, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Hugh Gollmer, capt.; Aug. Wilham Busche, 1st lieut.

Co. G.—Adolph Dengler, capt.; Charles Hoenny, 1st lieut.; Ed[illegible]rd Krebe, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—George D. Friedlein, capt.; George Marschall, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Charles H. [illegible]rhardt, capt.; H. Klostermann, 1st lieut.; Joseph [illegible]ner, 3d lieut.

Co. K.—Theodore Meumann, capt.; Theodore Henck, 1st lieut.; George Schuster, 2d lieut.

Of this regiment, Company B (Rifles) was engaged in the battles of Carthage and Wilson's Creek, and Companies B, C, E, F, G, H, I, and K also participated in the campaign in Southwestern Missouri, having previously taken an active part in the Camp Jackson affair. The regiment re-enlisted, and was reorganized Jan. 18, 1862, and consolidated with a portion of the Nineteenth Regiment, Isaac F. Shepard, and subsequently Theodore Meumann, being the colonel of the new regiment. It participated in the campaign which ended with the capture of Vicksburg.

Fourth Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, three months' service:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Nic. Schüttner, col.; A. Hammer, lieut.-col.; F. Niggeman, maj.; S. Homburg, adjt.; Charles Grison, q.m.; Dr. Beck, surg.; A. Keosch, asst. surg.

Capts. George Dahmer, Co. A; George Rehman, Co. B; Frederick Schuddig, Co. C; George Hasfurther, Co. D; Theodore Fishback, Co. E; George Berg, Co. F; Charles Dening, Co. G; Phil. Frank, Co. H; J. Hubbel, Co. I; Louis Rohrer, Co. K; —— Henry, Co. L; —— Weber, Co. M.

Out of a body of Union men called the Black Jaeger, and organized under Maj. Schüttner in the winter of 1861, "for the maintenance of the constitutional government of the United States, and for the protection of the St. Louis arsenal in particular," the Fourth Regiment Missouri Volunteers, for the three months' service, was mainly recruited. They were encamped and were sworn in on the arsenal grounds on the 22d and 23d days of April, 1861. The regiment consisted of ten companies (each full number) and one rifle battalion of two companies,—total, twelve companies, with over one thousand men, under the

command of Col. N. Schüttner. After being encamped in the arsenal a short time, Gen. N. Lyon, on the 10th day of May, issued the order to march on Camp Jackson, where the Fourth Regiment occupied the east front, and after the surrender of the camp, the regiment, in connection with the Third Regiment, held possession of the same till the camp equipage and all the captured articles were removed to the St. Louis arsenal. Subsequently the regiment rendered effective service in Illinois and Missouri. In 1862 the Third and Fourth Battalions, Reserve Corps, were consolidated, and the Fourth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, formed from them. It was chiefly employed within the State. The officers then were:

Field and Staff.—Robt. Handhausen, col.; Julius Handhausen, lieut.-col.; Charles A. Warren, maj.; Jerome H. Bacon, adjt.; George Husmann, q.m.; Edmund Boerner, surg.; John Feldman, asst. surg.; George Feutschmann, chaplain.

Co. A.—Adolph Knipper, capt.; C. A. F. Halst, 1st lieut.; Louis Krauthoff, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Michael Bauer, capt.; Christian Strobel, 1st lieut.; Alexander Lowry, 1st lieut.; Louis Waechter, 2d lieut.; Julius Sporleder, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Constance Rick, capt.; Henry German, 1st lieut.; Charles Rick, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Wm. Hirt, capt.; Louis Koop, 1st lieut.; Louis Miller, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Balthazar Mundwiller, capt.; Eugene Alean, 1st lieut.; J. J. Stocklin, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Caspar Schubert, 1st lieut.; J. C. Myer, 1st lieut.; Frank Emser, 2d lieut.; Wm. R. McCracken, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—A. H. Piquenard, capt.; Louis Hild, 1st lieut.; Michael D. Lemoine, 2d lieut.

Fifth Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, mustered in in May, 1861, for three months' service; discharged Aug. 26, 1861:

Field and Staff.—Charles E. Solomon, col.; Chest. Dick Wolff, lieut.-col.; F. W. Cronenbold, maj.; Edward C. Franklin, surg.; Samuel H. Melcher, asst. surg.; William Gerlach, adjt.; Ben. Meisner, q.m.

Co. B.—Louis Gottschalk, capt.; Emil Wachter, 1st lieut.; William Berg, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Frederick Solomon, capt.; William Kassak, 1st lieut.; Otto Veme, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Charles Mehl, capt.; Gustav Leibold, 1st lieut.; Christopher Stork, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Charles Stephany, capt.; James Ballhaus, 1st lieut.; Julius Nehrig, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Alfred Armand, capt.; Rudolph Schneider, 1st lieut.; Emilie Thomas, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Charles E. Stark, capt.; Nicholas Fuester, 1st lieut.; Charles Weiss, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—William J. Chester, capt.; John Coleman, 1st lieut.; Samuel Morris, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Charles P. Meisner, capt.; G. Adam Bauer, 1st lieut.; Joseph Spiegelhalter, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—Samuel A. Hogg, capt.; William S. Boyd, 1st lieut.; William H. Thompson, 2d lieut.

The regiment took part in various engagements in the southwestern part of Missouri.

Fifth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

Field and Staff.—August H. Poten, col.; Samuel A. Foster, col.; John Jacob Fischer, lieut.-col.; Emil Stradtman, lieut.-col.; James A. Greason, lieut.-col.; C. F. Koch, maj.; Elliott Charles, maj.; Adolphus Zobel, adjt.; Frederick P. Zeppenfeld, q.m.; Adalbert Gemmer, surg.; Henry Schoenick, asst. surg.; William Wilken, chaplain.

Co. A.—Wm. H. Moeller, capt.; Theodore Becher, 1st lieut., Wm. F. Gieselmann, 1st lieut.; George Frommann, 1st lieut.; Wm. F. Gieselmann, 2d lieut.; Frederick Schmidt, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Henry Obermuller, capt.; Louis Reichold, 1st lieut.; Hermann Draege, 2d lieut.; Roger T. Davidson, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Peter Holle, capt.; Bernard Essroger, capt.; Felix Sprohmle, capt.; Charles Sarstedt, 1st lieut.; H. J. Kleimann, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Philip Adolph, capt.; John B. Straush, 1st lieut.; Wm. Heidemann, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Henry Deubark, capt.; Henry Heimburger, 1st lieut.; Conrad Ludwig, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Henry Nagel, capt.; Frederick L. Muller, capt.; A. A. Blaumenthal, 1st lieut.; Wm. B. Putnam, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Richard Flack, capt.; Louis Fred. Muller, 1st lieut.; A. Frumhold, 1st lieut.; F. W. Bodungen, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Anton Gerster, capt.; John Kies, 1st lieut.; Thos. F. Haskell, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—J. D. Voerster, capt.; John E. Henseler, capt.; John E. Henseler, 1st lieut.; Christian Lochbuler, 1st lieut.; John E. Henseler, 2d lieut.; Christian Lochbuler, 2d lieut.; John Kribs, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—Louis Winkelmaier, capt.; Felix Sprohmle, capt.; J. B. Reavis, capt.; George Berg, capt.; Philip Dickendorff, 1st lieut.; Charles C. Allen, 1st lieut.; Jacob Schomle, 2d lieut.

Co. A (new).—J. B. Reavis, capt; Wm. H. Miller, 2d lieut.

The regiment was formed by the consolidation of the Fifth Reserve Corps with three unattached companies, under Special Orders No. 43, 18th March, 1862. The regiment was chiefly employed within the State, and performed valuable service.

Sixth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

Field and Staff.—Peter E. Bland, col.; James H. Blood, col.; Ira Boutell, lieut.-col.; Mahlon Weber, maj.; John W. Fletcher, maj.; William D. Coleman, maj.; James S. Temple, maj.; Ira Boutell, maj.; Joseph S. Gage, maj.; Bowman H. Peterson, maj.; George S. Walker, surg.; E. M. Joslin, surg.; Jacob Keller, asst. surg.; Warren P. McChesney, asst. surg.; Walter C. Gantt, adjt.; James P. Needham, adjt.; William S. Jewell, adjt.; William Wolf, adjt.; John A. Blood, q.m.; Samuel Huffman, chaplain.

Co. A.—George A. Schaffer, capt.; Frederick A. Bragg, capt.; Henry C. Houts, 1st lieut.; George Goodwin, 1st lieut.; John E. Thompson, 2d lieut.; L. W. Williams, 2d lieut.; William L. Gordon, 2d lieut.; Garret D. Brookman, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—John W. Fletcher, capt.; Charles C. Fletcher, capt.; T. L. Harrington, capt.; Charles C. Fletcher, 1st lieut.; T. L. Harrington, 1st lieut.; Joseph F. Dutch, 1st lieut.; M. Elwood Miller, 2d lieut.; Thomas J. King, 2d lieut.; J. G. Rhomberg, 2d lieut.; Philip H. Snider, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—James S. Temple, capt.; James Adams, capt.; Lewis M. Habish, 1st lieut.; James Adams, 1st lieut.; Robert L.

Vance, 1st lieut.; George H. Stockman, 1st lieut.; Robert L. Vance, 2d lieut.; George H. Stockman, 2d lieut.; Richard D. Bland, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Joseph S. Gage, capt.; Julius Pitzman, capt.; Charles O. Patier, 1st lieut.; Julius Pitzman, 1st lieut.; William L. Gordon, 1st lieut.; William Wolf, 2d lieut.; Mark Anthony, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Francis P. Rush, capt.; Solomon Males, 1st lieut.; John F. Bailey, 1st lieut.; Stephen Child, 2d lieut.; George W. Bailey, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Ira Boutell, capt.; James P. Needham, 1st lieut.; Edwin R. Messenger, 1st lieut.; James P. Needham, 2d lieut.; Edwin R. Messenger, 2d lieut.; David R. Mortimer, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—George W. Bywater, capt.; W. P. Hollister, capt.; L. W. Williams, capt.; William P. Hollister, 1st lieut.; Thomas J. King, 1st lieut.; William R. Duff, 1st lieut.; Simeon S. Baker, 1st lieut.; Thomas L. Harrington, 2d lieut.; T. H. Seward, 2d lieut.; Charles Johnson, 2d lieut.; John Williams, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Delos Van Daison, capt.; Jacob Lyman Perly, 1st lieut.; Patrick G. Galvin, 2d lieut.; Shelby Tyler, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—James C. McGinnis, capt.; Robert L. Vance, capt.; Daniel O. Ketchison, capt.; Frederick A. Bragg, 1st lieut.; Daniel O. Kethison, 1st lieut.; J. G. Rhomberg, 1st lieut.; Daniel O. Ketchison, 2d lieut.; John H. Pinney, 2d lieut.; Herman D. Stevens, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—Robert H. Buck, capt.; Jacob Lyman Peerly, capt.; Charles O. Patier, capt.; Symmes H. Voorhees, 1st lieut.; Belmont Perkins, 1st lieut.; Charles O. Patier, 1st lieut.; Belmont Perkins, 2d lieut.; Edward Stanton, 2d lieut.; Frank Bennett, 2d lieut.

The Sixth Regiment was organized at St. Louis in the months of May and June, 1861, and was employed in Missouri until June, 1862, when it proceeded to Corinth, Miss., subsequently taking part in various engagements. It was prominent in the assault on Chickasaw Bluffs, Dec. 29, 1862, and suffered severely at Arkansas Post. It was subsequently ordered to reinforce Gen. Rosecrans in Tennessee, and participated in the engagements of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, Nov. 24 and 25, 1863.

Seventh Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

Field and Staff.—John D. Stevenson, col.; Wm. S. Oliver, col.; Egbert B. Brown, lieut.-col.; Thomas Curley, lieut.-col.; Wm. S. Oliver, lieut.-col.; Robert Buchanan, lieut.-col.; Thomas Curley, maj.; Wm. S. Oliver, maj.; Edwin Wakefield, maj.; Wm. B. Collins, maj.; Frederick Whitehead, adjt.; Thomas Whelan, adjt.; Charles D. Beman, adjt.; John F. Neville, q.m.; E. M. Powers, surg.; P. S. O'Reilly, asst. surg.; B. F. Thayer, asst. surg.

Co. A.—Wm. A. Taulby, capt.; Henry R. Switzer, capt.; Henry R. Switzer, 1st lieut.; John O'Conner, 1st lieut.; John O'Neil, 2d lieut.; John O'Conner, 2d lieut.; John Lamb, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Wm. S. Oliver, capt.; James H. Coffee, capt.; Frank A. O'Mara, 1st lieut.; Thomas Whelan, 1st lieut.; Robert Porter, 1st lieut.; James F. How, 2d lieut.; Thomas Whelan, 2d lieut.; Robert Porter, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—James Sullivan, capt.; Moroe Harrison, capt.; James H. Steger, 1st lieut.; Samuel McGoffin, 1st lieut.; Leonard Snell, 2d lieut.; Samuel McGoffin, 2d lieut.; Timothy D. O'Sullivan, 2d lieut.; Charles W. Tetsell, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Edwin Wakefield, capt.; Thomas H. Oliver, capt. James Hester, 1st lieut.; Thomas Russell, 1st lieut Robert Menagh, 1st lieut.; John B. Mead, 2d lieut.; Thomas Russell, 2d lieut.; A. P. Cindall, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Edward J. Castello, capt.; James H. Coffey, 1st lieut. Henry W. Chanfrau, 1st lieut.; Henry Smith, 1st lieut. Albert T. Smith, 2d lieut.; Henry W. Chanfrau, 2d lieut. Henry Smith, 2d lieut.; Brice P. Munns, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Jesse H. Holmes, capt.; Wm. B. Collins, capt.; Thomas Russell, capt.; Wm. B. Collins, 1st lieut.; Michael A. Doyle 1st lieut., Dan. McBride, 1st lieut.; George Fonda, 1st lieut.; Michael A. Doyle, 2d lieut.; George W. Jennings, 2d lieut.; Dan. McBride, 2d lieut.; Wm. T. Followell, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—John W. Watts, capt.; Alfred J. Judy, capt.; Thomas Whelan, capt.; Alfred J. Judy, 1st lieut.; Frank F. Gray, 1st lieut.; Martin L. Watts, 2d lieut.; Frank F. Gray, 2d lieut.; Benjamin F. Haynes, 2d lieut.

Twenty-seventh Regiment:

Co. H.—Wm. J. Hawkins, capt.; Philip D. Toomer, capt. Munroe Harrison, 1st lieut.; Philip D. Toomer, 1st lieut. George W. Jennings, 1st lieut.; Bartlett Reames, 1st lieut. Philip D. Toomer, 2d lieut.; John W. Burrett, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Joseph S. C. Rowland, capt.; Jay J. Drake, capt.; Andrew Hosmer, 1st lieut.; Thos. H. Oliver, 1st lieut.; John K. Aldrich, 1st lieut.; Jay J. Drake, 2d lieut.; George Fonda, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—George W. Smith, capt.; Robert Buchanan, capt.; Joshua W. Bourne, capt.; Joshua W. Bourne, 1st lieut Chauncey F. Wilson, 1st lieut.; John B. Rowland, 2d lieut.; John H. Schooley, 2d lieut.; Chauncey F. Wilson, 2d lieut.

This regiment was organized in June, 1861, and saw much hard service, which it performed with great zeal and unflinching courage. Its first colonel, John D. Stevenson, was subsequently in command at Harper's Ferry during Sheridan's operations in the Valley of Virginia, and it was through him that all the telegraph reports were communicated to the country. At the close of the war he was in command of Fort Russell, which he built, near Cheyenne. Col. Stevenson was a Free-Soil member of the Missouri Legislature before the war, and in October, 1875, was appointed United States Marshal of Missouri, vice Newcomb resigned.

Eighth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

Field and Staff.—Morgan L. Smith, col.; Giles A. Smith, col.; David C. Coleman, col.; James Peckham, lieut.-col. Giles A. Smith, lieut.-col.; David C. Coleman, lieut.-col. Dennis T. Kirby, lieut.-col.; John McDonald, maj.; Dennis T. Kirby, maj.; Bowman H. Peterson, surg.; John R. Bailey, surg.; John R. Bailey, asst. surg.; Trolius Brown, asst. surg.; Amos L. Flint, asst. surg.; Darius Crouch, chaplain; Samuel D. Longhead, chaplain; David C. Coleman, adjt.; Edwin E. Furber, adjt.; James Hall, q.m. Frederick B. Clapp, q.m.; Isaac B. Halsey, q.m.

Co. A.—John McDonald, capt.; Wm. G. Johnson, capt.; George W. Crane, capt.; Wm. G. Johnson, 1st lieut.; George W. Crane, 1st lieut.; Charles Vierheller, 1st lieut.; Ezra W. Cummings, 1st lieut.; George W. Crane, 2d lieut.; Nelson

Patterson, 2d lieut.; Isaac B. Halsey, 2d lieut.; John Fitzgerald, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—William Hill, capt.; Edward R. Otis, 1st lieut.; Henry C. Moffett, 1st lieut.; Alonzo S. Sterling, 1st lieut.; Henry C. Moffett, 2d lieut.; Samuel Boyd, 2d lieut.; Edward Perret, 2d lieut.; Harvey W. Green, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Charles McDonald, capt.; Thomas Lee Morgan, capt.; G. Frederick Eckhard, 1st lieut.; Harry B. Harris, 1st lieut.; William D. Murphy, 1st lieut.; Thomas Lee Morgan, 1st lieut.; Wm. F. Sheely, 1st lieut.; Harry B. Harris, 2d lieut.; Thomas Lee Morgan, 2d lieut.; Clifford A. Hand, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Giles A. Smith, capt.; Morgan Potts, capt.; John B. Cole, capt.; John W. White, 1st lieut.; Morgan Potts, 1st lieut.; Jacob C. Hill, 1st lieut.; Frederick B. Clapp, 2d lieut.; Isaac E. Huff, 2d lieut.; George Ostram, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Dennis T. Kirby, capt.; Sidney W. Ainsworth, capt.; Nelson Patterson, capt.; Sidney W. Ainsworth, 1st lieut.; Louis Lipman, 1st lieut.; Wm. G. McSpadden, 1st lieut.; Addison Ware, Jr., 2d lieut.; Wm. G. McSpadden, 2d lieut.; Elias Reitenaur, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Alex. A. Jameson, capt.; Elias S. Bedford, 1st lieut.; Bushrod W. Musselmann, 1st lieut.; Philip H. Murphy, 2d lieut.; Bushrod W. Musselmann, 2d lieut.; Wm. M. Bogart, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—David P. Grier, capt.; Henry C. Moffett, capt.; Hugh Neill, 1st lieut.; Addison Ware, Jr., 1st lieut.; William D. Murphy, 2d lieut.; Alonzo S. Sterling, 2d lieut.; Ezra W. Cummings, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—George B. Swarthout, capt.; John W. White, capt.; Charles L. Corwin, 1st lieut.; William C. Russell, 1st lieut.; George W. Baker, 1st lieut.; George W. Baker, 2d lieut.; Edwin A. Ware, 2d lieut.; Harvey Eno, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Alexander Hart, capt.; William H. McGowan, capt.; Joseph W. Barr, 1st lieut.; Edwin E. Furber, 1st lieut.; William H. McGowan, 1st lieut.; Edward Perret, 1st lieut.; Edwin E. Furber, 2d lieut.; William H. McGowan, 2d lieut.; William H. Sheely, 2d lieut.; John B. Cole, 2d lieut.; Samuel H. Halsted, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—Edward M. Seibel, capt.; Hugh Neill, capt.; Edward E. Lane, 1st lieut.; Nelson Patterson, 1st lieut.; Edwin A. Ware, 1st lieut.; Charles Vierheller, 2d lieut.; Joshua A. Browner, 2d lieut.

This regiment, known originally as the American Zouaves, was organized in June, 1861, and appeared conspicuously in many important battles. It lost largely in men, and no regiment rendered more honorable service. Cols. Morgan L. Smith and Giles A. Smith became brigadier-generals of volunteers.

Tenth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

Field and Staff.—George R. Todd, col.; Samuel A. Holmes, col.; Francis C. Deimling, col.; George R. Todd, lieut.-col.; Samuel A. Holmes, lieut.-col.; John D. Foster, lieut.-col.; Leonidas Henry, lieut.-col.; Christian Hoppel, lieut.-col.; Samuel A. Holmes, maj.; Aaron Brown, maj.; Leonidas Henry, maj.; Francis C. Deimling, maj.; Joseph Walker, maj.; Francis C. Deimling, adjt.; John M. Boyd, Jr., adjt.; Thorwald Jacobson, q.m.; William A. Kellogg, q.m.; Oliver B. Payne, surg.; Philander J. Payne, surg.; Absalom B. Stuart, asst. surg.; Thomas L. Morgan, asst. surg.; George R. Palmer, chaplain.

Co. A.—Leonidas Henry, capt.; Charles A. Gilchrist, capt.; Samuel W. Craft, capt.; Joseph Walker, 1st lieut.; Samuel W. Craft, 1st lieut.; Asaph J. Davis, 1st lieut.; Miles McCabe, 2d lieut.; William F. Snyder, 2d lieut.; Samuel W. Craft, 2d lieut.; Asaph J. Davis, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—William F. Bayne, capt.; Gilbert D. Gray, capt.; James E. Fleming, 1st lieut.; Isaac N. Vanhosen, 1st lieut.; Jerry Randolph, 2d lieut.; John M. Boyd, Jr., 2d lieut.; Isaac N. Vanhosen, 2d lieut.; Duncan McVickar Stuart, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Andrew J. Lovell, capt.; James B. Fitch, capt.; John F. Noyes, 1st lieut.; Gerald M. Finley, 1st lieut.; Alexander S. Buchanan, 1st lieut.; Peter Craigmiles, 2d lieut.; Alexander S. Buchanan, 2d lieut.; Samuel A. Shannon, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—David C. Dougherty, capt.; Samuel McAchanan, 1st lieut.; Gilbert D. Gray, 1st lieut.; Manus O. Frost, 1st lieut.; Gilbert D. Gray, 2d lieut.; Albert A. Wilson, 2d lieut.; Lewis D. Phillips, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Elihu H. Henry, capt.; Thomas D. Seawell, capt.; Thomas D. Seawell, 1st lieut.; James B. Logan, 1st lieut.; Solomon L. Elwood, 1st lieut.; James B. Logan, 2d lieut.; Solomon L. Elwood, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Andrew C. Todd, capt.; Joseph Walker, capt.; Morris Frazer, capt.; James Crawford, 1st lieut.; Morris Frazer, 1st lieut.; Russell T. Stokes, 1st lieut.; John Stevenson, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—William A. J. Russell, capt.; James K. Davidson, 1st lieut.; Joseph K. Lloyd, 1st lieut.; Morris Frazer, 2d lieut.; Joseph K. Lloyd, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—James F. Dougherty, capt.; Christian Hoppel, capt.; William H. White, capt.; James Kay, 1st lieut.; Cyrus C. Bemis, 1st lieut.; H. H. Meredith, 1st lieut.; Michael Diemar, 1st lieut.; Robert P. Todd, 2d lieut.; A. H. Baum, 2d lieut.; Michael Diemar, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Charles A. Gilchrist, capt.; Joel W. Strong, capt.; Gerald M. Finlay, 1st lieut.; Austin Swan, 1st lieut.; William B. White, 1st lieut.; John A. Donaldson, 1st lieut.; Samuel W. Craft, 2d lieut.; William B. White, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—George Hepperheimer, capt.; William Forbes, capt.; James B. Logan, capt.; Jacob Keller, 1st lieut.; William H. Fenner, 1st lieut.; David W. McClurken, 1st lieut.; Charles Wexler, 2d lieut.; Henry H. Meredith, 2d lieut.; Schuyler von Tiffin, 2d lieut.

The Tenth Regiment rendezvoused at the St. Louis arsenal on the 1st of August, 1861, and its original officers were: Colonel, Chester Harding, Jr.; lieutenant-colonel, George R. Todd; major, Samuel A. Holmes; adjutant, Francis C. Deimling; quartermaster, Thorwald Jacobson; surgeon, Oliver B. Payne; assistant surgeon, A. B. Stuart. On the 1st of December, 1861, Col. Harding, having been appointed adjutant-general of the State of Missouri, resigned the colonelcy, and Lieut.-Col. Todd was promoted to be colonel, and Maj. Holmes to be lieutenant-colonel. At the same time a battalion, known as the Twenty-first Missouri Infantry, was consolidated with the regiment, with A. Brown as major. Subsequently Lieut.-Col. Holmes became colonel, and Capt. Leonidas Horney, of Company A, major. At the same time three companies of the battalion known as the Twenty-second Missouri Volunteers were consolidated with the regiment, and their commander, Lieut.-Col.

John D. Foster, was made lieutenant-colonel of the Tenth. After serving at various points in Missouri, it was assigned to the Army of the Mississippi, under Gen. Pope, and participated in a number of severe engagements. At the battle of Corinth, Oct. 3 and 4, 1862, it recaptured a battery at the point of the bayonet and held its position against repeated assaults. In November and December, 1862, it formed a part of the expedition into Central Mississippi, and subsequently served in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi. On the 14th of May, 1863, during the attack on the city of Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, the Tenth had a desperate fight with the Twenty-fourth South Carolina Regiment, which it defeated with heavy loss. On the 16th, at the battle of Champion Hill, it executed a bayonet charge which forced the enemy back at a critical juncture and elicited the acknowledgments of Gen. Grant. During the charge Lieut.-Col. Horney, who commanded, was killed. The Tenth also took part in the siege of Vicksburg. At the battle of Missionary Ridge the regiment again distinguished itself. In the mean while, Col. S. A. Holmes having resigned, Maj. F. C. Deimling was promoted to be colonel, Capt. Christian Happel to be lieutenant-colonel, and Capt. Joseph Walker to be major.

Twelfth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—P. J. Osterhaus, col.; Hugo Wangelin, col.; Otto Schadt, lieut.-col.; Jacob Karcher, lieut.-col.; Hugo Wangelin, maj.; Jacob Karcher, maj.; Gustavus Lightfoot, maj.; Frederick Ledergerber, maj.; William A. Gordon, adjt.; Joseph A. Ledergerber, adjt.; Charles Louis Kasten, adjt.; Anthony Sanspeur, q.m.; Herman F. Mons, q.m.; Charles Cook, surg.; L. H. Junghaus, surg.; Joseph Spiegelhalter, surg.; William Fritz, asst. surg.; Joseph Spiegelhalter, asst. surg.; Frederick Hohly, asst. surg.; Albert Kraus, chaplain.

Co. A.—Jacob Karcher, capt.; Christian Andel, capt.; Albert Affleck, capt.; Albert Affleck, 1st lieut.; Arthony Engleman, 1st lieut.; Herman Grenzenberg, 1st lieut.; John Kaufman, 1st lieut.; Joseph A. Ledergerber, 2d lieut.; Herman Garvins, 2d lieut.; Casemir Andel, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Frederick Ledergerber, capt.; Herman Grenzeberg, capt.; Christian Andel, 1st lieut.; Charles Louis Kasten, 1st lieut.; William Bechtel, 1st lieut.; Anton Engleman, 2d lieut.; Trolius Tyndale, 2d lieut.; Charles Thery, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Herman Bendel, capt.; William Mittmann, capt.; Frederick Von Bodungen, 1st lieut.; Anthony Engleman, 1st lieut.; Casemir Andel, 1st lieut.; Frederick Dinkleman, 2d lieut.; Henry Kircher, 2d lieut.; Ferdinand Dallmyer, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Julius Fauer, capt.; Albert Affleck, capt.; Adam Rauft, capt.; William McKenzie, 1st lieut.; Charles G. Doerg, 1st lieut.; Herman Grenzeberg, 2d lieut.; E. Schierenberg, 2d lieut.; Henry Seipel, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Charles Denny, capt.; Henry Kircher, capt.; John Kayser, 1st lieut.; William Reinicke, 1st lieut.; Herman Tuerk, 2d lieut.; Herman F. Mons, 2d lieut.; Theodore Hermann, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Gustavus Lightfoot, capt.; John Kaisir, capt.; Adam Rauft, 1st lieut.; Herman Garvens, 1st lieut.; Charles G. Doerge, 2d lieut.; Frederick Meyer, 2d lieut.; George Eggart, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—John Mockenhaupt, capt.; Anthony Englemann, capt.; Frederick Wallmann, 1st lieut.; Frederick N. Wolf, 1st lieut.; Frederick Meyer, 1st lieut.; Charles Louis Kaster, 2d lieut.; William Reincke, 2d lieut.; John Kaufman, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—William Schunhr, capt.; William McKenzie, capt.; Adam Rauft, capt.; Christian Andel, capt.; Anthony Steffens, capt.; O. Steinberg, 1st lieut.; Joseph A. Ledergerber, 1st lieut.; Alex. Pfeiffer, 1st lieut.; Anthony Steffens, 1st lieut.; Theodore Hermann, 1st lieut.; Adolphus Schoettler, 2d lieut.; Frederick Kessler, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—John Ahlefeld, capt.; Joseph A. Ledergerber, capt.; Robert Henne, 1st lieut.; Henry Seipel, 1st lieut.; Anton Steffens, 2d lieut.; Ernst Arp, 2d lieut.; Edward Neisek, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—C. Von Haseler, capt.; F. O. Steinberg, capt.; William Mittman, 1st lieut.; Henry Kircher, 1st lieut.; Frederick Kessler, 1st lieut.; Alex. Pfeiffer, 2d lieut.; William Bechtel, 2d lieut.; Ernst Schmidt, 2d lieut.

This regiment was organized under Col. P. J. Osterhaus, in St. Louis, in August, 1861. It left St. Louis with the Fremont expedition, as part of Gen. Sigel's division; went to Jefferson City, and from there to Sedalia, where Col. Osterhaus took command of a brigade, and Lieut.-Col. Otto Schadt succeeded him in the command of the regiment. From Sedalia it went to Springfield; from there, October 6th, to Wilson's Creek; returned October 8th to Springfield, and moved into quarters at Rolla.

After performing much active service, it took boats for Yazoo River December 21st; fought the battles of Chickasaw Bayou, and was in the first attack upon Vicksburg, December 28th, 29th, and 30th. From thence it returned to Arkansas Post, Jan. 2, 1863; partook in the siege and capture of that place, and returned from there to Young's Point, La. In February it took boats for Old Yazoo Pass, and formed part of the expedition against Fort Pemberton, from which, returning in the latter part of April, it moved its camp to Milliken's Bend. From there it marched by way of Grand Gulf, as a part of Gen. Grant's army, upon Vicksburg; took part in the different battles and skirmishes before Vicksburg; was in the assault May 22, 1863, and until the day of surrender of that place in the trenches before it.

On the 5th of July the regiment marched to Canton, Miss., where it was again engaged with the enemy on July 10th, and afterwards encamped near Black River bridge. From there it marched by Memphis, Corinth, etc., to Iuka; advanced to Tuscumbia, being engaged in frequent skirmishes on the way, and received orders to join the United States forces at Chatta-

nooga, where it partook in the battles of Chattanooga, Ringgold, and Missionary Ridge.

No regiment lost more severely in officers and men, and in the famous charge on the enemy's works at Vicksburg it met the terrific fire with great heroism.

Fifteenth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Francis J. Joliat, col.; Joseph Conrad, col.; William Jacquien, lieut.-col.; Joseph Conrad, lieut.-col.; John Weber, lieut.-col.; George Landry, maj.; John Weber, maj.; H. F. Dietz, maj.; Francis Mohrhardt, maj.; George Hollman, adjt.; Adolphus Schuster, adjt.; Martin Schroeder, adjt.; Frederick Lipps, adjt.; Charles Perret, q.m.; Jacob Gross, q.m.; Charles Perret, q.m.; Adolphus Erdmann, q.m.; Wm. Steiger, surg.; John Ernst, surg.; August Roach, surg.; Galles Reitz, asst. surg.; John B. Chaffie, asst. surg.; Edward Keller, chaplain.

Co. A.—Joseph M. Elmer, capt.; Francis Unger, capt.; Edward De Borde, capt.; George Ernst, 1st lieut.; Jacob Bugg, 1st lieut.; Adolphus Erdmann, 1st lieut.; Jacob Bugg, 2d lieut.; Marca Rigoni, 2d lieut.; Adolphus Erdmann, 2d lieut.; Anton Tanner, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—John Weber, capt.; George Ernst, capt.; Henry Nelson, 1st lieut.; Francis Unger, 1st lieut.; Fridolin Ramnel, 1st lieut.; Frank Unger, 2d lieut.; Geo. Albert, 2d lieut.; Christian Queinzius, 2d lieut.; Wm. Eisermann, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Melchior Zimmerman, capt.; Martin Schroeder, capt.; Jacob Gross, capt.; John G. Reis, capt.; Frederick Unger, 1st lieut.; Jacob Gross, 1st lieut.; Justin Troxler, 1st lieut.; George A. Bauer, 1st lieut.; Jacob Seeli, 2d lieut.; Justin Troxler, 2d lieut.; Frederick Lipps, 2d lieut.; Frederick Eckert, 2d lieut.; Hermann Koenig, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Jacob Straub, capt.; Louis Bergau, capt.; Gustav Linkleman, 1st lieut.; Martin Schroeder, 1st lieut.; John Postel, 1st lieut.; Martin Schroeder, 2d lieut.; Victor Vandernealc, 2d lieut.; George F. Elwerth, 2d lieut.; John Kraehe, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—John Wildberger, capt.; George Isenstein, capt.; Max Goedon, 1st lieut.; Samuel Reisenger, 1st lieut.; John Buerki, 1st lieut.; Samuel Rexinger, 2d lieut.; John Postel, 2d lieut.; Charles Kellner, 2d lieut.; John Behrend, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Francis Morhardt, capt.; Samuel Rexinger, capt.; Constantine Aberle, 1st lieut.; Edward Deborde, 1st lieut.; Frederick Eckert, 1st lieut.; Zebastien Zahner, 2d lieut.; Edward Deborde, 2d lieut.; George Morhardt, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—George Birg, capt.; George Muller, capt.; Edward Koenig, 1st lieut.; George Muller, 1st lieut.; Herman C. Koerner, 1st lieut.; George Muller, 2d lieut.; Herman C. Koerner, 2d lieut.; John Buerki, 2d lieut.; Charles Bretschneider, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—John G. Reis, capt.; John Brengartner, capt.; John Krebs, capt.; Joseph Ebner, 1st lieut.; John Brengartner, 1st lieut.; William Hark, 1st lieut.; John Brengartner, 2d lieut.; Frederick G. Elwerth, 2d lieut.; Fridolin Romnel, 2d lieut.; William Hark, 2d lieut.; George Horr, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Edward Richter, capt.; Adolphus Schuster, capt.; George Isenstein, 1st lieut.; Adolphus Schuster, 1st lieut.; John Krebs, 1st lieut.; Max Goedon, 1st lieut.; Adolphus Schuster, 2d lieut.; John Krebs, 2d lieut.; Joseph Sbner, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—John Jecklin, capt.; Henry Nelson, capt.; Ulrich Schwendener, capt.; Ulrich Schwendener, 1st lieut.; Nicholas D. Randall, 1st lieut.; Jacob Gross, 2d lieut.; Jacob Leupp, 2d lieut.; Casimir Muri, 2d lieut.

This regiment was formed in August, 1861, and was in active service continually, its losses in the many engagements in which it took part being extremely severe, both in men and officers. As a part of the Army of the Cumberland, it was constantly in the front, and in the battles of Murfreesboro', Chickamauga, and Missionary Ridge its behavior was heroic.

Seventeenth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Franz Hassendeubel, col.; John F. Cramer, col.; John F. Cramer, lieut.-col.; August H. Poten, maj.; Ferd. Niegemann, maj.; Francis Romer, maj.; Frederick Leser, adjt.; Adolphus Rodenbruck, adjt.; John Schenk, q.m.; Adolph Roesch, surg.; Herman Hubrick, surg.; J. B. McConnaughy, surg.; Herman Hubrick, asst. surg.; J. B. McConnaughy, asst. surg.; George Holst, asst. surg.; Andrew Adam, asst. surg.; Charles Bruckner, asst. surg.; Herman Fehrmann, chaplain.

Co. A.—August W. Busche, capt.; Theodore Weller, capt.; John G. Cangguth, capt.; Julius Wagner, 1st lieut.; Julius Muller, 1st lieut.; Robert Lange, 1st lieut.; Julius Muller, 2d lieut.; Morris Jacobi, 2d lieut.; Theodore G. Knapp, 2d lieut.; Adolphus Rodenbruck, 2d lieut.; Conrad Andres, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—William Andre, capt.; Julius Muller, capt.; Louis Voss, 1st lieut.; Wm. Streisguth, 1st lieut.; John G. Langguth, 1st lieut.; Herman O. Kottberg, 1st lieut.; Wm. Streisguth, 2d lieut.; Louis Darmstaetter, 2d lieut.; John G. Langguth, 2d lieut.; Andrew Moes, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Francis Romer, capt.; Adolph Boettscher, capt.; Joseph Fries, 1st lieut.; Adolph Boettscher, 1st lieut.; Charles Bruno, 1st lieut.; James T. Mollinkrott, 1st lieut.; Stephen Sutter, 2d lieut.; Robert Lange, 2d lieut.; George Moehl, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Frederick Niegerman, capt.; Paul Morensky, capt.; Louis Darmstaetter, capt.; Francis Gulde, 1st lieut.; Henry Neen, 1st lieut.; August Boettscher, 2d lieut.; Frederick Martin, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Wm. Fuchs, capt.; Joseph Fries, capt.; August Fischer, capt.; Theodore Weller, 1st lieut.; Theodore G. Knaup, 1st lieut.; Julius Montzheimer, 1st lieut.; Adolphus Rodenbruck, 1st lieut.; Conrad Andres, 1st lieut.; Paul Morensky, 2d lieut.; August Fischer, 2d lieut.; Herman O. Rottberg, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Charles Booking, capt.; Hugo Gollmer, capt.; Francis Gulde, capt.; Charles Zimmer, 1st lieut.; August Fischer, 1st lieut.; Leonard A. Horn, 1st lieut.; August Haunitzky, 2d lieut.; William Christ, 2d lieut.; Herman O. Rottberg, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Francis Wilhelm, capt.; Edward Schneller, 1st lieut.; John Kaegi, 1st lieut.; Louis Darmstaetter, 1st lieut.; John A. Shaub, 1st lieut.; August Spinner, 2d lieut.; Charles O. Bruno, 2d lieut.; John A. Shaub, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Adolph Ehlert, capt.; John Kaegi, capt.; John M. Manzlinger, 1st lieut.; August Haunitzky, 1st lieut.; Gustav Wetzlaw, 1st lieut.; Henry Nean, 2d lieut.; Jas. T. Mollinerott, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Charles Reiss, capt.; Edward Schneller, capt.; John Kaegi, 1st lieut.; Paul Morentzky, 1st lieut; Robert Fischer, 1st lieut.; John Reinhardt, 2d lieut.; Robert Fischer, 2d lieut.; Julius Uhlenhuth, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—Adolph Schill, capt.; Charles Bruno, capt.; Herman Ihern, 1st lieut.; John H. Peterson, 1st lieut.; Julius Montzheimer, 2d lieut.; Peter Hassendeubel, 2d lieut.

This regiment was organized by order of Maj.-Gen. Fremont in August, 1861, and took a prominent part in the following battles: Pea Ridge, Searcy Landing, Ark., Chickasaw Bayou, Miss., Arkansas Post, Ark., Fourteen-Mile Creek, Miss., Jackson, Miss, Vicksburg, Miss., Canton, Miss., Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and Ringgold, Ala.

Col. Hassendeubel died of wounds received before Vicksburg, Miss. The regiment lost severely in officers and men, and on every occasion proved itself worthy of the highest commendation.

The Thirtieth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, was organized in October, 1862, and its officers were:

B. G. Farrar, col.; John W. Fletcher, lieut.-col.; Otto Schadt, lieut.-col.; John W. Fletcher, maj.; James S. Farrar, maj.; John P. Coleman, adjt.; Amos P. Foster, q.m.; Robert P. Fendick, q.m.; Webster B. Sargent, surg.; Webster P. Sargent, asst. surg.; James Hill, asst. surg.; Robert J. Sloan, asst. surg.; J. G. Rodgers, chaplain.

The regiment formed part of Blair's brigade, and participated in most of the battles of the campaigns on the Mississippi and in the interior.

The Thirty-first Regiment was organized in St. Louis on the 7th of October, 1862, with the following officers:

Thomas C. Fletcher, col.; Samuel P. Simpson, lieut.-col.; Frederick Jaensch, maj.; Robert M. Swander, adjt.; Wm. B. Pratt, adjt.; Wm. H. Barlow, q.m.; Churchill D. Strother, surg.; Oliver H. P. Stone, asst. surg.; Julius A. Ruge, asst. surg.; E. H. Hoffman, asst. surg.

The regiment was incorporated with the brigade of Gen. F. P. Blair. At Chickasaw Bluffs, Dec. 29, 1862, the regiment lost two hundred and eighteen killed, wounded, and missing, and its commander, Col. Fletcher, was wounded and captured. At Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge the Thirty-first was also in the thickest of the fight, and behaved with conspicuous courage.

The Thirty-third Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, was the seventh in the quota of eight regiments raised by the State under President Lincoln's call for three hundred thousand troops in July, 1862. It was organized on the 5th of September by Clinton B. Fisk, who, having been promoted to a brigadier-generalship Nov. 24, 1862, was succeeded as colonel of the regiment by William A. Pile. The other officers were:

William H. Heath, lieut.-col.; George W. Vanbeck, maj.; George A. Holloway, adjt.; Edward S. Day, adjt.; Lyman B. Ripley, q.m.; Thomas Smith, surg.; Aurelius T. Bartlett, surg.; Albert R. Sawyer, asst. surg.; Milton Kile, asst. surg.

After serving at various points in Missouri, it joined Fisk's brigade, and subsequently formed part of the White River expedition to Duvall's Bluff.

The Engineer Regiment of the West, Missouri volunteers, was organized at the St. Louis arsenal on the 26th of July, 1861, by Col. J. W. Bissell. The officers were Col. J. W. Bissell, who was succeeded in July, 1861, by Col. Henry Flad; lieutenant-colonels, successively Charles E. Adams, Henry Flad, William Tweeddale; majors, successively M. S. Hasie, William Tweeddale, Henry Flad, and Eben M. Hill; surgeons, Charles S. Skelton, John C. Book, and Charles Knower (assistant surgeon). In October, 1863, the regiment was reorganized with the following officers:

Henry Flad, col.; William Tweeddale, lieut.-col.; Frederick C. Nichols, maj.; Eben M. Hill, maj.; Hamilton Dill, maj.; John C. Book, surg.; Charles Knower, asst. surg.; Alpha Wright, chaplain.

The First Regiment Artillery, Missouri Volunteers, was formed on the 1st of September, 1861, by the conversion of the First Regiment of Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, into artillery. The first colonel was Francis P. Blair, who, being promoted to a brigadier-generalship, was succeeded, Sept. 1, 1862, by John V. Dubois, who resigned Oct. 14, 1862. Lieut.-Col. Warren L. Lothrop was then promoted to the command of the regiment. The lieutenant-colonels of the regiment in succession were:

James Totten (promoted to brigadier-general), Warren L. Lothrop, and A. M. Powell; majors, John V. Dubois, John M. Schofield, Warren L. Lothrop, George H. Stone, A. M. Powell, Thomas D. Maurice, David Murphy, Nelson Cole, Charles Mann; William Hill, surg.; Joseph Brooks, chaplain; George W. Schofield, capt.

At the battle of Fort Donelson, the Second Battalion, consisting of Batteries D, H, and K, won great distinction, and at the battle of Shiloh the regiment had five batteries engaged. Welfley's battery, at Pea Ridge, and Murphy's, Cole's, and Backof's, at Prairie Grove, also rendered effective service. At the battles of Iuka and Corinth, at the siege of Vicksburg, and at Murfreesboro', Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and other important battles one or more batteries of the regiment participated. In fact, the First Missouri was represented in almost every engagement of any magnitude in the West, and is claimed to have contributed more general and field officers than any other regiment in the United States service, not including the line officers.

The Second Regiment of Artillery, Missouri Volunteers, was organized in the autumn of 1861, and was chiefly employed in garrisoning the forts about

St. Louis. The men composing it were nearly all from the German population. The officers were:

Henry Almstedt, col.; Joseph Weydemeyer, lieut.-col.; Theodore Wilkins, maj.; Dominick Urban, maj.; Dominick Urban, adjt.; John J. Witzig, q.m.; Emil Seemann, surg.; J. B. Pondrom, surg.; John Jacob Schulte, asst. surg.; J. B. Pondrom, asst. surg.; William C. Finlaw, asst. surg.; Hugo Krebs, chaplain.

Attached to the regiment was the famous independent battery of Missouri horse artillery known as "Landgraeber's," from the name of the commander, Capt. Clem. Landgraeber, who was dubbed by the enemy "the Flying Dutchman," on account of the celerity of his movements. The battery took part in many engagements, and always behaved with gallantry and credit.

The Second Regiment was reorganized in the fall of 1863, the officers being Nelson Cole, lieutenant-colonel commanding; Frank Backof, major; J. B. Pondrom, surgeon; William C. Finlaw, assistant surgeon.

The First Regiment Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers, was mustered into service under Col. C. A. Ellis, on the 6th of September, 1861, at Jefferson Barracks, its membership being largely composed of citizens of St. Louis. Its officers were:

Calvin A. Ellis, col.; John F. Ritter, col.; Frederick W. Lewis, lieut.-col.; John T. Price, lieut.-col.; John J. Joslyn, lieut.-col.; J. M. Hubbard, maj.; Henry Townsley, maj.; Albert P. Peabody, maj.; Charles Banzhof, maj.; Henry J. Stierlin, maj.; John J. Joslyn, maj.; Harry Wilde, adjt.; Samuel Caldwell, adjt.; Joseph Tinker, adjt.; W. T. Hamilton, adjt.; John C. Crane, q.m.; T. J. Golden, q.m.; Joseph E. Lynch, surg.; W. W. Bailey, asst. surg.; Thomas W. Jones, chaplain; James P. Craig, commissary.

The regiment rendered valuable service in the campaigns in Missouri and Arkansas.

The Fourth Regiment of Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers, was formed by the consolidation of the Fremont Hussars and Benton Hussars, two battalions of six companies each, organized by authority of Gen. Fremont in the fall of 1861. The First Western Cavalry, Fremont Hussars, was organized at the Abbey Track, St. Louis, and under the command of Maj. George E. Waring, Jr., accompanied Gen. Fremont on his Western expedition. In January, 1862, Wood's battalion of Missouri cavalry was consolidated with the Fremont Hussars, under the name of the Fourth Missouri Cavalry, and Maj. Waring was commissioned colonel of the regiment. Subsequently Wood's battalion was withdrawn from the command, and three companies of the "Hallan Horse" were added. These also were finally withdrawn, and the Benton Hussars were then incorporated with the regiment. The Fourth saw much active service during the war, and gained an enviable reputation. The officers were:

G. E. Waring, Jr., col.; Rudolph Blome, lieut.-col.; Gustav Von Helmrich, lieut.-col.; Eugene Kilmansegge, maj.; Gustavus M. Elbert, maj.; Edward Langen, maj.; Eminio Mezaros, maj.; James F. Dwight, maj.; B. C. Ludlow, maj.; Gustavus Heinrichs, maj.; James F. Dwight, adjt.; Hann Hanson, adjt.; Joselyn S. Foulkes, q.m.; Joselyn S. Foulkes, q.m.; Charles A. Snell, commissary; Emil Schurback, commissary; Henry W. Nichols, surg.; William A. Wilcox, surg.; Jacob Affolder, asst. surg.

The Tenth Regiment of Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers, was organized in December, 1862, by Florence M. Cornyn, at Camp Magazine, near Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. The officers were:

Florence M. Cornyn, col., killed Aug. 10, 1863; Andrew J. Alexander, col.; William D. Bowen, lieut.-col.; Thomas Hynes, maj.; Frederick W. Bentoen, maj.; William H. Lusk, maj.; Thomas Hynes, adjt.; Jeremiah F. Young, adjt.; Duncan McNicol, q.m.; Albert E. Hall, q.m.; Michael Ravold, commissary; Edward L. Feehan, surg.; William L. Tallman, asst. surg.

The regiment distinguished itself in the campaign of the spring of 1863 against Van Dorn, and subsequently in various raids in Alabama and Tennessee.

Carondelet Home Guards, Co. A (independent), organized in June, 1861; captain, Henry Nagel; first lieutenant, August A. Blumenthal, Jr.; second lieutenant, William B. Putnam; aggregate strength, one hundred and twenty-seven.

Sappers and Miners, Home Guards, Co. A (independent), organized in May, 1861; captain, J. D. Voerster; aggregate strength, two hundred and thirty-three. This company, organized by authority of Gen. Lyon, consisted of two classes, mechanics and laborers, and the duty performed was partly in the city of St. Louis and at the arsenal grounds, building batteries, stables, outbuildings, etc. At Boonville it built fortifications, repaired roads, and ferried troops across Grand and Osage Rivers. It also built a masked battery at Ironton, and repaired roads from Rolla to Springfield, and continued in such service until August, 1861.

First Regiment Infantry, Missouri State Militia, organized in the spring of 1862:

Field and Staff.—John B. Gray, col.; John F. Tyler, col.; John F. Tyler, lieut.-col.; John N. Herder, lieut.-col.; John N. Herder, maj.; Charles Bichle, maj.; William Eylers, adjt.; G. D. O. Kellmann, adjt.; Geo. H. Steward, q.m.; Gustavus R. Spannagel, q.-m.; Thomas McMartin, surg.; Charles H. Hughes, surg.; H. W. Jones, asst. surg.; Frederick R. Phelps, asst. surg.; William A. Wilcox, asst. surg.; Allen M. Lee, asst. surg.

Co. A.—George H. Eversole, capt.; Charles C. Byrne, capt.; Hugh McEnna, 1st lieut.; Andrew J. Hughes, 1st lieut.; William A. Sluder, 2d lieut.; Benjamin E. Fish, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Frederick J. Lubbering, capt.; Frederick Kreuter, 1st lieut.; Wolrad Scheurmann, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—David W. Rosenstein, capt.; Albert N. Guisson, 1st lieut.; John Dinsbeer, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Patrick F. Lonergan, capt.; John F. L. Jacoby, 1st lieut.; Isaac H. Sisson, 1st lieut.; Isaac H. Sisson, 2d lieut.; James C. Booth, 2d lieut.; James H. Dawson, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Charles A. Meyer, capt.; Gustavus R. Spannagel, 1st lieut.; Henry Kelling, 1st lieut.; Robert Maes, 2d lieut.; Philip Hoehn, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—John Dietrich, capt.; Frank Blucker, 1st lieut.; Henry Dietrich, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—James D. Walters, capt.; Charles Bichle, capt.; Joseph Weber, capt.; Thomas Thomas, 1st lieut.; Joseph Weber, 1st lieut.; John Fessler, 1st lieut.; John W. Garatt, 2d lieut.; John Fessler, 2d lieut.; Lewis Jerger, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Josiah C. Smith, capt.; John A. Veith, capt.; John F. W. Dette, capt.; William A. Lord, 1st lieut.; John F. W. Dette, 1st lieut.; John G. Broemser, 1st lieut.; Francis M. Avey, 2d lieut.; J. G. Broemser, 2d lieut.; Felix Doutreville, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—George P. Covert, capt.; John R. Compton, capt.; John A. Payne, capt.; John A. Payne, 1st lieut.; William W. Burris, 1st lieut.; John R. Compton, 2d lieut.; William W. Burris, 2d lieut.; Alexander S. Pilcher, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—John Rupp, capt.; Ferdinand Wagenfuehr, 1st lieut.; Alexander Schrader, 1st lieut.; Alexander Schrader, 2d lieut.; August Hoffbauer, 2d lieut.

This regiment was formed by the concentration of the various infantry companies of Missouri State militia which had been raised in St. Louis and other portions of the State on the 13th of May, 1862. It was retained in St. Louis, performing prison-guard, provost-guard, and other duty, until early in October, 1862, when it was sent to Pilot Knob, Mo., with a view to participating in the then expected expedition to Little Rock. Subsequently, however, all but two companies (C and I) were placed upon bridge-guard duty along the line of the Iron Mountain Railroad. The two companies above referred to participated in an expedition into Arkansas which was sent out from Patterson to Pocahontas, Ark., in the month of November, 1862.

The First Regiment of Enrolled Missouri Militia (mainly recruited in St. Louis) was organized in the fall of 1862. Its officers were William P. Fenn, col.; Robert C. Allen, lieut.-col.; Hiram Inman, maj.; Alexander McElhinney, adjt.; John McDonald, q.m.; Leonard B. Holland, q.m.; L. D. Morse, surg.

First St. Louis County Battalion, Enrolled Missouri Militia:

Field and Staff.—W. J. A. Smith, lieut.-col.; Samuel T. Henley, adjt.; William R. Vaughan, q.m.

Co. A.—Frederick Steudeman, capt.; Charles Castello, 1st lieut.; Peter Nick, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—John B. Aubuchon, capt.; John Belleville, 1st lieut.

Co. C.—Frederick Dedrich, capt.; Joseph G. Aubuchon, 1st lieut.; Alfred Shaw, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—James Willoughby, capt.; Peter Foster, 1st lieut.; William R. Vaughan, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Nero V. Hall, capt.; Henry Obert, 1st lieut.; Henry O. Sattler, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—William L. Hickman, capt.; John McCarthy, 1st lieut.; Henry J. Kuester, 2d lieut.

St. Louis Police Battalion:

J. E. D. Couzins, maj.

Co. A.—William Lee, capt.; R. P. Banning, 1st lieut.; William Saulsbury, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—John F. Fealy, capt.; Francis Molair, 1st lieut.; Aaron Francis, 2d lieut.

Unattached companies Enrolled Missouri Militia. St. Louis County:

Old Guard.—N. H. Clark, capt.; Alfred Mackay, 1st lieut.; James Richardson, 1st lieut.; A. G. Edwards, 2d lieut.; C. G. Wells, 2d lieut.

City Post Band.—Frank Boehm, capt.; Frank Gerks, 1st lieut.; Jacob Stueck, 2d lieut.

Independent Cavalry Company.—Frederick Walters, capt.; Charles Lienberger, 1st lieut.; Charles Jenne, 2d lieut.

Corps of Detectives.—George J. Deagle, capt.; R. F. Cardella, 1st lieut.; F. H. Chandler, 2d lieut.

The following statement shows the number of men who up to Dec. 31, 1863, had entered the service of the United States as volunteers from St. Louis County, under the different calls of the President, for the term of three years or during the war:

1st U. S. Reserve Corps, 791; 2d U. S. Reserve Corps, 867; 3d U. S. Reserve Corps, 541; 4th U. S. Reserve Corps, 131; 5th U. S. Reserve Corps, 538; 2d Infantry, 645; 3d Infantry, 681; 6th Infantry, 489; 7th Infantry, 564; 8th Infantry, 576; 10th Infantry, 37; 11th Infantry, 33; 12th Infantry, 562; 13th Infantry, 160; 15th Infantry, 500; 17th Infantry, 658; 18th Infantry, 139; 21st Infantry, 2; 23d Infantry, 40; 24th Infantry, 79; 25th Infantry, 14; 26th Infantry, 203; 27th Infantry, 187; 29th Infantry, 103; 30th Infantry, 574; 31st Infantry, 117; 32d Infantry, 62; 33d Infantry, 145; 35th Infantry, 84; 1st Artillery, 1227; 2d Artillery, 1951; 1st Cavalry, 365; 2d Cavalry, 83; 3d Cavalry, 21; 4th Cavalry, 1062; 6th Cavalry, 12; 7th Cavalry, 93; 8th Cavalry, 1; 10th Cavalry, 247; 11th Cavalry, 246; 12th Cavalry, 95; Engineer Regiment, 149. Total, 15,310.

In addition to these were the following organizations of the Missouri State militia, with the number of men in each:

1st Infantry, 687; 2d Cavalry, 1; 4th Cavalry, 4; 6th Cavalry, 2; 7th Cavalry, 13; 8th Cavalry, 4; 10th Cavalry, 1; 12th Cavalry, 8; 13th Cavalry, afterwards the 5th, 201; 14th Cavalry, 5; 2d Battalion, 4; Westerberg's company, 95; 1st Battery, 1. Total, 1026.

The following is a list of officers of various other military organizations recruited wholly or in part in and near St. Louis:

Ninth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

Field and Staff.—John C. Kelton, col.; C. H. Frederick, lieut.-col.; D. McGibbon, maj.; Sydney P. Post, maj.; Sydney P. Post, adjt.; Frederick Brasher, q.m.; J. D. S. Haslett, surg.; H. J. Maynard, asst. surg.; Nathan Shumate, chaplain.

This regiment, which was completed in September, 1861, performed good service up to the date of its transfer to the State of Illinois by Special Orders No. 43, series 1862.

Eleventh Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Joseph B. Plummer, col.; Joseph A. Mower, col.; A. J. Weber, col.; William L. Barnum, col.; William E. Panabaker, lieut.-col.; A. J. Weber, lieut.-col.; William L. Barnum, lieut.-col.; Benjamin F. Livingston, maj.; A. J. Weber, maj.; Eli Bowyer, maj.; Charles H. Brookings, adjt.; George P. Weber, adjt.; George W. Henry, q.m.; Abel G. Pickrell, q.m.; Thomas Smith, surg.; M. W. Fish, surg.; Eli Bowyer, asst. surg.; Thomas S. Hawley, asst. surg.; Joseph Brooks, chaplain; Samuel C. Baldridge, chaplain.

This regiment was raised in the States of Missouri and Illinois, between the middle of June and the 1st of August, 1861, and organized the 1st of August same year, at the United States arsenal at St. Louis, Mo. It was raised as a rifle regiment for and at the request of Capt. Rufus Saxton, of the regular army, who, on being promoted and sent to another department soon after, did not take command. Capt. David Bayles then took command of the regiment as its colonel. On the 18th of October, Col. Plummer succeeded Col. Bayles. Subsequently (in 1863–64) the field and staff officers were: William L. Barnum, colonel; Eli Brower, lieutenant-colonel; M. J. Green, major; George P. Weber, adjutant; Walton H. Finch, adjutant; Abel G. Pickrell, quartermaster; Henry C. Applegate, quartermaster; M. W. Fish, surgeon; Thomas S. Hawley, assistant surgeon; James B. Farrington, assistant surgeon.

Fourteenth Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, Home Guards:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Robert White, col.; R. H. Graham, lieut.-col.; J. F. Tyler, maj.; F. Cooley, surg.

Companies of this regiment were organized in July and August, 1861, and immediately entered upon duty at Lexington, Mo., where they remained until Sept. 20, 1861, when they were captured. The officers and men were subsequently paroled, and were discharged at St. Louis on the 19th day of October, 1861.

Eighteenth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Madison Miller, col.; J. V. Pratt, lieut.-col.; Charles S. Sheldon, lieut.-col.; James A. Price, maj.; William H. Minter, maj.; William A. Edgar, adjt.; Edwin J. Conway, adjt.; D. A. Cudworth, q.m.; D. A. Cudworth, q.m.; Norman S. Hamlin, surg.; S. B. Hauts, surg.; S. B. Hauts, asst. surg.; F. F. Randolph, asst. surg.; J. M. Garner, chap.

This regiment was formed in August, 1861, and lost largely in officers and men, especially at the battle of Shiloh.

Twenty-second Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—John D. Foster, lieut.-col.; Andrew H. Linden, maj.; Hiram B. Foster, adjt.; David S. Hooper, q.m.; Hugh Meredith, asst. surg.; James Linden, chap.

This regiment, which was composed of Foster's battalion and two independent companies, after performing some service, was broken up and distributed to other regiments.

Twenty-fourth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Sempronius H. Boyd, col.; James K. Mills, col.; James K. Mills, lieut.-col.; William H. Stark, lieut.-col.; Eli N. Weston, maj.; William H. Stark, maj.; Robert W. Fyan, maj.; J. C. S. Colby, adjt.; William H. McAdams, adjt.; Sanford C. Peck, q.m.; J. C. S. Colby, q.m.; Edwin T. Robberson, surg.; Leander H. Baker, surg.; J. Little, asst. surg.; Orson H. Crandall, asst. surg.; Alfred H. Powell, chaplain.

Twenty-fifth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Everett Peabody, col.; Chester Harding, Jr., col.; Robert T. Vanhorn, lieut.-col.; James E. Powell, maj.; Frederick C. Nichols, maj.; Charles W. Graff, adjt.; Herman Giseke, adjt.; J. D. Henderson, q.m.; John T. Berghoff, surg.; Julius Brey, asst. surg.; John Q. Eggleston, asst. surg.; L. C. Pace, chaplain.

The Twenty-fifth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, was first organized in June, 1861, at St. Joseph, Mo., and was then known as the Thirteenth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers. It was, for the most part, formed from the Home Guard battalions of Maj. Peabody, Maj. Van Horn, and Maj. Berry. The regiment was employed in guarding a portion of the line of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad and upon garrison duty until it was ordered to Lexington, in the latter part of August. Col. Mullikin, who commanded at Lexington, surrendered the post to Gen. Sterling Price on the 20th of September, 1861, who paroled the officers of the Thirteenth, and released the men upon their oaths. Exchanges were subsequently effected, and the regiment was reorganized as the Twenty-fifth, with Everett Peabody as colonel, Robert T. Van Horn as lieutenant-colonel, and James E. Powell as major. In March, 1862, the regiment was sent to Gen. Grant at Pittsburgh Landing, and was brigaded in McKean's brigade, Prentiss' division. It participated in the battle of Shiloh, losing very heavily in killed and wounded. Among the former were the colonel and major.

Capt. Frederick C. Nichols was subsequently promoted to the majority, and Chester Harding, Jr., was appointed colonel.

Twenty-sixth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—George B. Boomer, col.; Benjamin D. Dean, col.; John H. Holman, lieut.-col.; John McFall, lieut.-col.; L. E. Koniuszoski, maj.; Charles F. Brown, maj.; Robert C. Crowell, maj.; Abraham Vanbeuren, adjt.; George W. Brown, adjt.; Charles F. Brown, q.m.; James T. Berry, q.m.; Jonathan S. Prout, surg.; Charles F. Barrett, asst. surg.; John L. Bryan, asst. surg.; Joseph Warren, chaplain.

The Twenty-sixth Missouri Infantry was organized in December, 1861, and soon after joined the expedition under Gen. Pope against New Madrid, and on the 26th raised its flag over the lower fort. April 9, 1862, the Twenty-sixth formed a part of the force that captured the Confederate army (6500) at Tiptonville. On April 22d it reached the vicinity of Corinth, participating in the battle of Farmington and the final capture of Corinth. It also served with distinction in the battles of Iuka, Corinth, Vicksburg, and other important engagements.

Twenty-seventh Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Thomas Curley, col.; A. Jacobson, lieut.-col.; James F. How, maj.; Albert A. Morey, adjt.; William H. Hele, adjt.; John Wellmeyer, adjt.; Bryan Foley, q.m.; B. N. Bond, surg.; John S. Murphy, asst. surg.; John Bowman, asst. surg.; Edwin A. Casey, asst. surg.

Recruiting for the Twenty-seventh Regiment, Missouri Volunteers, infantry, was commenced about Aug. 1, 1862. About the 25th of September four companies were mustered into the service under command of Lieut.-Col. Jacobson. During the next six weeks two more companies were filled, and Maj. James F. How was mustered into the regiment. The organization was completed by the assignment to it of three veteran companies, which, in the Fifth and Sixteenth Missouri, had done good service at Donelson, Shiloh, and Pea Ridge, and by the muster in of the tenth company on Jan. 8, 1863, at which time Col. Thomas Curley was placed in command.

Twenty-ninth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—John S. Cavender, col.; James Peckham, col.; James Peckham, lieut.-col.; Thomas H. McVicar, lieut.-col.; Joseph S. Gage, lieut.-col.; Bowman H. Peterson, maj.; Joseph S. Gage, maj.; Philip H. Murphy, maj.; Eng Voerster, adjt.; David Allen, adjt.; E. M. Joel, q.m.; John C. Morgan, surg.; John H. Stumberg, asst. surg.; Daniel Abbey, asst. surg.

The Twenty-ninth Missouri Infantry was raised during the months of July, August, September, and October, 1862, at different places through the State, the rendezvous being Benton Barracks. Among other conspicuous engagements of the war it participated in the siege of Vicksburg and the storming of Lookout Mountain.

Thirty-second Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—F. H. Manter, col.; H. C. Warmoth, lieut.-col.; Abraham J. Seay, maj.; Joseph P. Newsham, adjt.; Charles A. Single, q.m.; Thomas J. Watson, surg.; W. A. Hyde, asst. surg.; Horace Newell, asst. surg.; James Lester, chap.

This regiment was one of those assigned to Gen. Blair's brigade. It was organized in October, 1862, and entered the field at once, serving in the Army of the Mississippi, and subsequently in the interior.

Thirty-third Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—William A. Pile, col.; William H. Heath, col.; William H. Heath, lieut.-col.; George Vanbeck, maj. Edward S. Day, adjt.; Lyman B. Ripley, q.m.; Luther Armstrong, q.m.; Aurelius T. Bartlett, surg.; Milton Kile, asst. surg.

Co. A.—Wm. M. Blake, capt.; Stephen J. Burnett, 1st lieut.; James M. Conner, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—James G. Patton, capt.; George H. Rapp, 1st lieut.

Co. C.—Alex. J. Campbell, capt.; Luther P. Eldridge, 1st lieut.

Co. D.—Wm. P. McKee, capt.; Jacob S. Baker, 1st lieut.; Charles L. Draper, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Thos. M. Gibson, capt.; Charles L. Draper, 1st lieut.; Frank E. Lombar, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Daniel D. Carr, capt.; Robert M. Reed, 1st lieut.; Edgar L. Allen, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Stuart Carkner, capt.; Thomas Rudledge, 1st lieut.; Moses Reed, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Henry Rose, capt.; Henry Cochran, 1st lieut.; Luke O'Reilly, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—George H. Tracy, capt.; Isaac S. Coe, 1st lieut.

Co. K.—Elias S. Schenck, capt.; H. H. Knowlton, 1st lieut.

The Thirty-third Missouri Infantry was recruited under the patronage of the Union Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, and was therefore styled the "Merchants' Regiment." Its original field officers were: Colonel, Clinton B. Fisk, secretary of the Merchants' Exchange; lieutenant-colonel, William A. Pile, captain in First Missouri Artillery; major, William H. Heath, adjutant of the Eighteenth Illinois Infantry.

By the energy of Col. Fisk it was the first regiment mustered into United States service under the President's call of 1862. It was ordered to the field Sept. 22, 1862, under command of Lieut.-Col. Pile, and made several severe marches through Phelps, Dent, Texas, and Wright counties, Mo. December 19th it returned to St. Louis. December 23d, Col. Fisk was appointed brigadier-general, Lieut.-Col. Pile was made colonel, and Maj. Heath lieutenant-colonel. On the same day the regiment moved by steamer to Columbus, Ky., that place being threatened; Jan. 5, 1863, moved to Helena, Ark., and took part in Gen. Gorman's expedition to Duvall's Bluff, Ark., returning to Helena January 20th, at which place more

than one hundred men died from exposure within one month; February 24th formed part of Gen. L. F. Ross' expedition to Fort Pemberton, Miss., known as the "Yazoo Pass expedition." The regiment was under fire here for the first time, doing efficient service in constructing field-works, mounting siege-guns, reconnoitering the enemy's position, and capturing his pickets; April 8th returned to Helena, and May 5th the regiment was placed in charge of the fortifications and artillery of that garrison, numbering eighteen pieces of heavy and light calibre. Under the superintendence of Col. Pile, the regiment learned in two weeks to handle artillery with ease and accuracy, and so strengthened and improved the fortifications as to render them very formidable. May 22d, Col. Pile was detailed to superintend the organization of colored regiments and ordered to St. Louis, and Capt. George W. Van Beck appointed major. The command of the regiment thus fell to Lieut.-Col. Heath. July 14, 1863, the regiment, supported by detachments of the Forty-third Indiana, Thirty-third Iowa, and Thirty-fifth Missouri, held their works against the combined forces of Price, Holmes, and Marmaduke, estimated at fifteen to twenty thousand men, repelling numerous heavy assaults, and sustaining a continuous musketry fire for six hours. Battery C, a small work, mounting two brass six-pounders, was captured by Price's division on the second charge, but the enemy were compelled to abandon it by the concentrated fire of all the artillery after suffering terrible losses in killed and wounded. The total loss of the regiment in this fight was 49. Total loss of the garrison, 420. Total losses of the enemy, about 3100; Price's division alone losing 1100 men, as stated in his official report. Although this was the first battle in which the regiment had borne part, their intrepidity is sufficiently attested by the terrible punishment inflicted upon the enemy as compared with the small loss sustained by the regiment. During the entire engagement the guns were worked by but one relief, many of the men fainting at their posts from excessive heat. March 10th, Gen. Joseph A. Mower assumed command of the division, and the regiment moved from Vicksburg with the expedition to Red River, La. March —th, regiment was present in reserve at the capture of Fort De Russey. March 21st, the regiment, in conjunction with the Thirty-fifth Iowa, captured Henderson Hill, La., by a midnight surprise and assault, securing the Second Louisiana Tigers (cavalry) and Edgar's Texas battery, with horses, arms, ammunition, and colors complete, surrounding and disarming the enemy before he had received any alarm. April 9th, regiment took part in the gallant and overwhelming defeat of the enemy at Pleasant Hill, La., capturing a five-gun battery in the final charge and joining in the pursuit for one mile and a half. In this battle Lieut.-Col. Heath received a wound in the head, and the command of the regiment fell to Maj. Van Beck. June 6th, the regiment took part in the attack upon Marmaduke's forces at Old River Lake, Ark., Maj. Van Beck by seniority commanding the Third Brigade, Mo'er's division, and Capt. A. J. Campbell, Company C, commanding the regiment. This brigade, composed of the Thirty-third Missouri and Thirty-fifth Iowa, was ordered to charge the enemy, who were strongly posted on the opposite side of a bayou, and made the charge in gallant style, passing over the skirmishers of another brigade which had failed to advance, and moving unflinchingly forward to the bank of the bayou, which was then found to be unfordable. Notwithstanding this obstacle they stood up bravely, and at forty paces' distance poured in such a galling fire that the enemy broke and ran in confusion. The regiment lost here in a few minutes forty-one men; enemy's loss not great, but the fight compelled the withdrawal of a battery from Columbia, Ark., which had seriously interrupted the navigation of the Mississippi River. June 10th, the regiment arrived at Memphis, Tenn., and immediately joined an expedition against Lee and Forrest in Mississippi, Lieut.-Col. Heath having returned and assumed command.

Thirty-fifth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Samuel A. Foster, col.; Thos. F. Kimball, lieut.-col.; James A. Greason, lieut.-col.; Horace Fitch, lieut.-col.; Thos. H. Penny, maj.; Thos. H. Penny, adjt.; Jacob T. Child, adjt.; Effingham T. Hyatt, adjt.; Henry C. Murdock, adjt.; A. C. Miller, q.m.; Joseph B. Lamb, surg.; Perry C. H. Rooney, asst. surg.; Henry Schoenick, asst. surg.; James Schofield, chaplain.

This regiment formed a part of the brigade raised under the direction of Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, and left Benton Barracks, St. Louis, Dec. 22, 1862, serving subsequently at different points in Kentucky and Arkansas.

Fortieth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Samuel A. Holmes, col.; A. G. Hequembourg, lieut.-col.; George Hoffman, maj.; Truman A. Post, adjt.; John F. Neville, q.m.; Homer Judd, surg.; Homer Judd, asst. surg.; J. F. Sneed, asst. surg.; Charles Ludwig, asst. surg.; R. Ratlinger, asst. surg.

Co. A.—Adam Bax, capt.; George A. Daggett, 1st lieut.; Frank Rhode, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—George W. Gilson, capt.; Charles A. Biggers, 1st lieut.; Julius Niehaus, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Monroe Harrison, capt.; Emile Thomas, 1st lieut.; G. H. Coffey, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Philip Anderson, capt.; Henry B. Kerone, 1st lieut.; John Melville, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Herman Kullman, capt.; William J. Miller, 1st lieut.; George W. Sweeney, 2d lieut.; W. H. Winkelmaier, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—M. Greene, capt.; Jos. Harrison, Jr., 1st lieut.; Austin Drake, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Wm. I. Whitwell, capt.; C. C. Coffinbury, 1st lieut.; Philip F. Coghlan, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—D. S. Stillinger, capt.; Charles D. Smith, 1st lieut.; Josiah F. Hinton.

Co. I.—John Ruedi, capt.; Charles Seep, 1st lieut.; Charles F. Knoll, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—Robert C. Allen, capt.; John J. Robertson, 1st lieut.; Winfield S. Smith, 2d lieut.

The regiment was raised in St. Louis, and its organization was completed on the 7th of September, 1864.

Forty-first Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Jos. Weydemeyer, col.; Gustav Heinrich, lieut.-col.; Henry F. Dietz, maj.; Henry Huhn, adjt.; Charles A. Snell, q.m.; Ernest Jahn, surg.; Ernest Jahn, asst. surg.; Gustavus Wieland, asst. surg.; Hugo Kluler, asst. surg.

Co. A.—Frederick Crutz, capt.; Frederick Crutz, 1st lieut.; Michael Best, 1st lieut.; William Steuder, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—August Thorwald, capt.; Lambert Mohr, 1st lieut.; William Steuder, 1st lieut.; William Keely, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Henry J. Bischoff, capt.; Henry J. Bischoff, 1st lieut.; Matthias Barth, 1st lieut.; Dietrich Feldhush, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Felix Lacis, capt.; Julius Fritsch, 1st lieut.; Otto Vermann, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Philibert Melinand, capt.; Emanuel Grivaud, 1st lieut.; P. S. Whittaker, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Christian Elrodt, capt.; Gustavus Clemen, 1st lieut.; F. F. Lebaume, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Alex. Windmuller, capt.; A. Roetter, 1st lieut.; F. Wagenfenhr, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Joseph Schubert, capt.; Joseph Schubert, 1st lieut.; Jacob Horn, 1st lieut.; Charles E. Moss, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—John E. Sanders, capt.; John E. Sanders, 1st lieut.; J. C. F. Boyd, 1st lieut.; Randall G. Butter, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—John G. Broemser, capt.; John G. Broemser, 1st lieut.; Charles Moeller, 1st lieut.; Jacob J. Broemser, 2d lieut.

This was one of the regiments raised in St. Louis under the terms of General Orders No. 134, Department of the Missouri, for twelve months' service. Its organization was completed Sept. 12, 1864, and it was employed in performing guard duty in the city of St. Louis.

Forty-third Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Chester Harding, Jr., col.; John Pinger, lieut.-col.; Berryman R. Davis, maj.; Joseph Thompson, adjt.; Henry R. Mills, adjt.; Francis Rodman, q.m.; Joseph Schmitz, q.m.; J. G. Eggleston, surg.; J. G. Eggleston, asst. surg.; E. W. Dill, asst. surg.; W. T. Drace, asst. surg.

The organization of this regiment as a twelve months' regiment was completed at St. Joseph in September, 1864, and Col. Chester Harding, Jr. (formerly adjutant-general of the State), was commissioned as its colonel.

Forty-ninth Infantry:

FIELD AND STAFF.—D. P. Dyer, lieut.-col.; Edwin Smart, maj. Wm. R. Hardin, adjt.; T. M. Guerin, q.m.; William D. Bush, q.m.; Oscar Monig, surg.; Thomas L. Ruby, asst. surg.

Second Regiment Cavalry (Merrill Horse), Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Lewis Merrill, col.; William F. Schaffer lieut.-col.; Charles B. Hunt, lieut.-col.; John Y. Clopper, lieut.-col.; George C. Marshall, maj.; Charles B. Hunt, maj.; John Y. Clopper, maj.; Garrison Harker, maj. Jabez B. Rogers, maj.; Joshua W. Roher, adjt.; George Merrill, q.m.; R. B. Hughes, comm'y; Andrew S. Phelps, comm'y; S. B. Thayer, surg.; S. B. Thayer, surg.; Henry Douglas, surg.; W. H. Knickerbocker, asst. surg.; Henry Douglas, asst. surg.; A. D. Thomas, asst. surg.; J. W. O. Snider, asst. surg.; Robert W. Landis, chaplain.

In August, 1861, Capt. Lewis Merrill, Second Cavalry, United States army, received authority from Gen. Fremont to organize and concentrate a cavalry regiment at Benton Barracks for immediate service in the field. At this particular juncture recruiting for the United States service was of a slow and tedious nature; other officers had received similar authority, and after a severe effort abandoned the project as impracticable. Capt. Merrill, however, recruited and enlisted over eight hundred men in less than one month, commenced a system of military instruction and drill as soon as he organized the first squadron, and by dint of hard labor succeeded in raising the regiment to a high standard of discipline. In September, 1861, before thoroughly organized and equipped, this regiment received orders from Gen. Fremont to march to Springfield, Mo. It subsequently operated successfully against guerrilla organizations in different portions of the State.

Third Regiment Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—John M. Glover, col.; Walter C. Gantt, lieut.-col.; Robert Carrick, lieut.-col.; Thomas G. Black, lieut.-col.; Robert Carrick, maj.; Albert D. Glover, maj. Henry A. Gallup, maj.; John A. Lennon, maj.; James T. Howland, maj.; William S. Grover, adjt.; James C. Agnew, q.m.; William Johnson, comm'y; John L. Taylor, surg.; William W. Granger, asst. surg.; James Lester chaplain; R. H. McCoy, chaplain.

Sixth Regiment Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers

FIELD AND STAFF.—Clark Wright, col.; S. N. Wood, lieut.-col.; T. A. Switzler, lieut.-col.; Henry P. Hawkins, maj. Samuel Montgomery, maj.; Bacon Montgomery, maj. Matthew T. Kirk, adjt.; Horatio N. Stinson, q.m.; Stephen M. Wood, q.m.; Jerome B. Jenkins, comm'y; James L. Kiernan, surg.; B. K. Shirtliff, surg.; James K. Bigelow, asst. surg.; Thomas W. Johnson, asst. surg.; William Denly, chaplain.

Ninth Regiment Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—William D. Bowen, lieut.-col.; Daniel P. Parsons, adjt.; Albert E. Hull, q.m.; Horace Newell, asst. surg.; D. H. Law, asst. surg.

Eleventh Regiment Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers:

FIELD AND STAFF.—William D. Wood, col.; John W. Stephens, lieut.-col.; John W. Stephens, maj.; L. C. Pace, maj.; John T. Ross, maj.; Lyman W. Brown, maj.; William M. Wherry, maj.; Daniel P. Parsons, adjt.; A. J. Newby, adjt.; Milton Santee, q.m.; Amos N. Currier, comm'y; John W. Slade, surg.; John W. Slade, asst. surg.; Thomas Lawrence, asst. surg.; Jonas M. Starnes, asst. surg.

Third Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia:

FIELD AND STAFF.—Adolph Hugo, col.; Fred. Vahlkamp, col.; John C. Woerner, lieut.-col.; George Hassfurther, lieut.-col.; Casper Koehler, lieut.-col.; Fred. Vahlkamp, maj.; Leonard Weindel, maj.; William Waldschmidt, adjt.; John P. Mack, q.m.; Leopold Meyer, surg.

Fourth Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia:

FIELD AND STAFF.—C. D. Wolff, col.; Christian Ploeser, lieut.-col.; Christian Goerisch, maj.; Henry L. Rathjen, adjt.; Benj. F. Gempp, adjt.; Ferdinand Cassel, q.m.; William T. Gempp, surg.

Fifth Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia:

FIELD AND STAFF.—F. T. L. Boyle, col.; Louis Duestrow, col.; John G. Prather, lieut.-col.; John Ruedi, lieut.-col.; Louis Duestrow, maj.; Robert Jacob, maj.; Theodore Kalb, adjt.; Robert Jacobs, adjt.; Augustus Wetzel, adjt.; Gustave Kohrs, q.m.; Charles Ludwig, surg.

Sixth Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia:

FIELD AND STAFF.—T. Niederweiser, col.; T. Niederweiser, lieut.-col.; A. D. Sloan, lieut.-col.; A. D. Sloan, maj.; F. A. Durgin, maj.; Louis Lippman, adjt.; Emil Hoester, adjt.; George Seigel, q.m.; Ernst Jahn, surg.; Adolphus Roesch, surg.; Homer Judd, asst. surg.

Seventh Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia:

FIELD AND STAFF.—George E. Leighton, col.; E. C. Pike, lieut.-col.; Henry Senter, maj.; Edward P. Rice, maj.; Eben Richards, Jr., adjt.; George Hoffman, adjt.; William Groshon, q.m.; Chester H. Krum, q.m.; William S. Dyer, surg.; Mortimer D. Senter, surg.

Co. A.—Henry Senter, capt.; Edward Wilkerson, capt.; George F. Meyers, capt.; Henry Capin, 1st lieut.; William H. Pulsifer, 1st lieut.; George D. Young, 2d lieut.; Frank R. Alexander, 2d lieut.

Original Companies A and C of this regiment were consolidated by attaching the latter company to the former, and the commissions of the then existing officers vacated. In compliance with orders issued from district headquarters, an election for officers of the company thus formed was held June 9, 1863, resulting as follows: For captain, George F. Meyers, formerly captain of Company C; for 1st lieutenant, W. H. Pulsifer, formerly 1st lieutenant of Company A; for 2d lieutenant, F. R. Alexander, formerly sergeant of Company C.

Co. B.—Edward T. Clark, capt.; William B. Pratt, capt.; George H. Morgan, capt.; William B. Pratt, 1st lieut.; John M. Wherry, 1st lieut.; John M. Wherry, 2d lieut.; George H. Morgan, 2d lieut.; Stephen Crowell, 2d lieut.

Co. C.[1]—E. C. Pike, capt.; George F. Meyers, capt.; John Kolley, capt.; George F. Meyers, 1st lieut.; William A. Northrop, 1st lieut.; Henry Capin, 1st lieut.; George Born, 1st lieut.; William A. Northrop, 2d lieut.; James W. Rutter, 2d lieut.; Peter Cigrand, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—E. P. Rice, capt.; E. G. Fisher, 2d lieut.; Jacob S. Williams, 1st lieut.; E. S. Biden, 2d lieut.; Thatcher G. Conant, 2d lieut.; Frederick B. Howe, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Ferdinand Meyer, capt.; Charles S. Kintzing, 1st lieut.; Richard D. Compton, 1st lieut.; Richard D. Compton, 2d lieut.; Emil Gessler, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—William B. Parker, capt.; J. C. Dubuque, 1st lieut.; E. Mawdsley, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Henry Kleinschmidt, capt.; William L. Bingham, 1st lieut.; James Martin, 2d lieut.

Co. H.[2]—Constantine Magwire, capt.; Patrick Sullivan, 1st lieut.; David Woods, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—B. Doran Killian, capt.; J. P. Cuddy, 1st lieut.

Eighth Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia:

FIELD AND STAFF.—John Knapp, col.; Asa S. Jones, lieut.-col.; Fred. B. Holmes, maj.; William L. Catherwood, maj.; A. G. Hequembourg, adjt.; Charles C. Whittelsey, q.m.; John Lebrecht, surg.

Co. A.—George Knapp, capt.; George W. Gilson, 1st lieut.; George W. Purnell, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—D. Woestendrick, capt.; James Smith, 1st lieut.; Alex. H. Moore, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Rudolph Wagner, capt.; Herman Sparkle, 1st lieut.; Albert E. Vermann, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—William L. Catherwood, capt.; D. S. Stellinger, capt.; Asa S. Jones, 1st lieut.; D. S. Stellinger, 1st lieut.; Charles A. Bohannon, 1st lieut.; D. S. Stellinger, 2d lieut.; John Graham, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—M. P. Hawthorn, capt.; J. R. Boggs, 1st lieut.; James V. Fisher, 2d lieut.; Mosely Green, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—James Mitchell, capt.; John T. Holmes, 1st lieut.; Louis P. Fuller, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—John C. Blech, capt., F. W. Hirsch, 1st lieut.; H. Lagerman, 2d lieut.

Co. H.[3]—John Kolley, capt.; George Born, 1st lieut.; Julius Lefold, 2d lieut.; Peter Cigrand, 2d lieut.

Co. I.[4]—Daniel G. Taylor, capt.; B. D. Killian, capt.; Charles W. Horn, 1st lieut.; Edward Bryne, 1st lieut.; J. P. Cuddy, 1st lieut.; B. D. Killian, 2d lieut.

Co. K.[5]—Constantine Magwire, capt.; Patrick Sullivan, 1st lieut.; Daniel Woods, 2d lieut.

Ninth Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia:

FIELD AND STAFF.—John M. Krum, col.; Henry H. Catherwood, col.; Henry H. Catherwood, lieut.-col.; Oscar F. Lowe, lieut.-col.; Henry H. Catherwood, maj.; Oscar F. Lowe, maj.; Edward Morrison, maj.; Ernest W. Decker, adjt.; Oscar F. Lowe, q.m.; Charles H. Bailey, q.m.; Henry C. Marthens, surg.

Co. A.—Henry Cleveland, capt.; John C. Porter, 1st lieut.; Hiram H. Sleeth, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Edward Morrison, capt.; John D. Ready, 1st lieut.; John O. Mohana, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—John Evill, capt.; Philip C. Taylor, 1st lieut.; S. T. Chapman, 1st lieut.; William G. H. Becker, 1st lieut.; Joseph A. Brown, 2d lieut.

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[1] Afterwards consolidated with Company A.

[2] Formerly Company K, Eighth Regiment, and transferred to this regiment.

[3] Transferred to Seventh Regiment as Company C.

[4] Transferred to Seventh Regiment as Company I.

[5] Transferred to Seventh Regiment as Company H.

Co. D.—Daniel M. Grissom, capt.; E. J. Montague, 1st lieut.; George Mck. Luken, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—Charles R. Lyman, capt.; George Lewis, 1st lieut.; William A. Albright, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—Munson Beach, capt.; Charles Klunk, 1st lieut.; George T. Lewis, 1st lieut.; George Scott, 2d lieut.; William R. Babcock, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—William H. Crawford, capt.; John H. Field, 1st lieut.; A. B. Pearson, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Hugh McDermott, capt.; Timothy McNamara, 1st lieut.; Hammond P. Farber, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—William McKee, capt.; Richard W. Moran, 1st lieut.; Theodore C. Albright, 2d lieut.

Sixteenth Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia:

Field and Staff.—M. W. Warne, col.; W. H. Stone, lieut.-col.; O. B. Filley, maj.; E. W. Warne, adjt.; F. H. Hearum, q.m.

Co. A.—William H. Stone, capt.; George W. Fisher, 1st lieut.; William O'Brian, 2d lieut.

Co. B.—Frederick Maurer, capt., Victor Klatz, 1st lieut.; James Schaeffer, 2d lieut.

Co. C.—Gerard B. Allen, capt.; O. B. Filley, 1st lieut.; Albert D. Wells, 2d lieut.

Co. D.—Elijah Wells, capt.: M. W. Hagaman, 1st lieut.; James R. Dunnivant, 2d lieut.

Co. E.—James H. McCord, capt.; John L. Moon, 1st lieut.; James E. Fox, 2d lieut.

Co. F.—E. A. Corbet, capt.; William J. Tillay, 1st lieut.; G. William Katzung, 2d lieut.; Charles Goedeke, 2d lieut.

Co. G.—Robert Barnett, capt.; D. D. Chandler, 1st lieut.; Charles Deming, 2d lieut.

Co. H.—Stephen Glass, capt.; Charles Hagar, 1st lieut.; Rudolph Jackson, 2d lieut.

Co. I.—Louis Espenschied, capt.; John Cook, 1st lieut.; Justus Spectre, 2d lieut.

Co. K.—E. J. Sterling, capt.; John J. Grimsley, 1st lieut.; Edward Logan, 1st lieut.; P. J. Peters, 2d lieut.; Henry S. Carlon, 2d lieut.

Seventeenth Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia:

Field and Staff.—Charles L. Tucker, col.; S. G. Sears, lieut.-col.: Jonathan O. Pearce, maj; William C. Wilson, adjt.; George P. Plant, q.m.; F. W. White, surg.

Twenty-second Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia:

Field and Staff.—Thomas Miller, Jr., col.; Joab Lawrence, lieut.-col.; Nathan Cole, maj.; J. F. Parsons, adjt.; D. B. Pearce, q.m.

Twenty-third Regiment, Enrolled Missouri Militia:

Field and Staff.—George R. Taylor, col.; T. McKissock, lieut col.; E. W. Wallace, maj.; James W. Way, adjt.

Third Regiment Cavalry (formerly Tenth), Missouri State Militia:

Field and Staff.—Edwin Smart, col.: Richard G. Woodson, col.; Frederick Morsey, lieut.-col.; James O. Broadhead, lieut.-col.; Richard G. Woodson, maj.; Henry L McConnell, maj.; James Wilson, maj.; H. M. Mathews, maj.; Henry C. Campbell, adjt.; John F. L. Jacoby, q.m.: H. R. Woodruff, com.; William L. Short, surg.; Wm. L. Short, asst. surg.; H. E. Jones, asst. surg.; James Hollister, asst. surg.

Fifth Regiment Cavalry (formerly Thirteenth), Missouri State Militia:

Field and Staff.—Albert Sigel, col.; Joseph A. Eppstein, lieut.-col.; Haveland Tompkins, maj.; John B. Kaiser, maj.; Waldemar Fischer, maj.; George E. Leighton, maj.; Oliver P. Newberry, maj.; William C. Kerr, adjt.; Henry W. Worth, adjt.; Louis Bergean, q.m.; Louis Rugen, com.; John Fetzer, surg.; John Fetzer, asst. surg.; Alexander Fekete, asst. surg.; John H. Williams, asst. surg.

Twelfth Regiment Calvary, Missouri State Militia:

Field and Staff.—Albert Jackson, col.; Samuel P. Simpson, lieut.-col.; Bazel F. Lazear, lieut.-col.; Bazel F. Lazear, maj.; Frederick W. Reeder, maj.; George E. Leighton, maj.; J. A. Greason, adjt.; Philip R. Van Frank, q.m.; H. M. Matthews, surg.; H. M. Matthews, asst. surg.; Henry Douglass, asst. surg.

[The foregoing lists of officers of the Missouri regiments under the different organizations of United States Reserve Corps, or Home Guards, Missouri Volunteers, and Enrolled Missouri Militia, were compiled from official sources, but are necessarily incomplete owing to the defective character of the returns made to the adjutant-general of the State. Owing also to the lack of information in the adjutant-general's reports as to the localities from which the various regiments were recruited, and the fact that officers and men were frequently transferred from one command to another or merged into new organizations, it is impossible to trace out all the officers whose commands were organized in St. Louis, but it is believed that the lists given are as full and accurate as it was possible to make them with the material in our possession.]

The following is a complete roster of the commanders-in-chief and their staffs, major-generals commanding and staffs, and brigadier-generals commanding the Missouri State Militia and Enrolled Missouri Militia and their staffs from 1861 to Dec. 31, 1864:

UNDER GENERAL ORDERS No. 96, WAR DEPARTMENT, SERIES 1861.

Date.	Name.	Rank.	Rank from	Remarks.
Aug. 12, 1861	Hamilton R. Gamble	Commander-in-Chief	Aug. 19, 1861	Died Jan. 31, 1864.
Aug. 24, 1861	George R. Smith	Brigadier-General and Adjutant-General	Aug. 24, 1861	Resigned Nov. 30, 1861.
Nov. 30, 1861	Chester Harding, Jr.	Colonel and Adjutant-General	Nov. 30, 1861	Resigned April 24, 1862.
Nov. 29, 1862	John F. Gray	Colonel and Adjutant-General	Nov. 29, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Aug. 17, 1861	Samuel G. Reed	Brigadier-General and Q. M. General	Aug. 17, 1861	Resigned Dec. 18, 1861.
Dec. 19, 1861	Cyrus B. Burnham	Colonel and Quartermaster-General	Dec. 19, 1861	Resigned Aug. 1, 1862.
Aug. 1, 1862	E. Amon Morse	Colonel and Quartermaster-General	Aug. 1, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall
Nov. 19, 1861	Alton R. Easton	Colonel and Inspector-General	Nov. 19, 1861	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Dec. 2, 1861	Franklin D. Callender	Colonel and Chief Ordnance	Dec. 2, 1861	Transferred to staff Governor Hall
Aug. 20, 1861	Hamilton Gamble	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Aug. 20, 1861	Resigned February, 1864.
Sept. 17, 1861	William D. Wood	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 17, 1861	Resigned Dec. 14, 1863.
Dec. 15, 1863	Walter M. Smallwood	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 15, 1863	Resigned Feb. 17, 1864.
Aug. 23, 1861	William T. Mason	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp, Military Sec.	Aug. 23, 1861	Resigned Jan. 10, 1863.
April 1, 1863	C. C. Bailey	Major and Aid-de-Camp, Military Sec.	April 1, 1863	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.

HONORARY AND E. M. M.

Date.	Name.	Rank.	Rank from	Remarks.
Aug. 23, 1862	C. P. E. Johnson	Colonel and Paymaster-General	Aug. 23, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
June 1, 1863	Melville Sawyer	Lieut.-Col. and Deputy Paymaster-Gen.	June 1, 1863	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Jan 3, 1862	Philip T. Weigel	Colonel and Surgeon-General	Jan. 3, 1862	Resigned May 10, 1862.
Sept. 1, 1862	John T. Hodgen	Colonel and Surgeon-General	Sept. 1, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Sept. 22, 1862	James O. Broadhead	Colonel and Judge Advocate-General	Sept. 22, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Oct. 8, 1862	Daniel G. Taylor	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 8, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Aug. 23, 1861	William T. Mason	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Aug. 23, 1861	Resigned 10th January, 1863.
Oct. 6, 1862	John Flournoy	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 6, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Jan. 4, 1862	John Riggen, Jr	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Jan. 4, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Dec. 6, 1861	Austin A. King	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 6, 1861	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Dec. 28, 1862	James H. Birch	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 28, 1862	Resigned Aug. 14, 1863.
Sept. 3, 1862	Cyrus B. Burnham	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 3, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Feb. 21, 1862	George G. Pride	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Feb. 21, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Sept 9, 1862	Thomas T. Gantt	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 9, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Sept. 18, 1862	William S. Moseley	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 18, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
April 14, 1862	William S. Hillyer	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	April 14, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
June 1, 1862	Michael P. Small	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	June 1, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.
Feb. 26, 1862	Isaac D. Snedeker	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Feb. 26, 1862	Transferred to staff Governor Hall.

UNDER GENERAL ORDERS No. 96, WAR DEPARTMENT, SERIES 1861.

Feb. 1, 1864	Willard P. Hall	Commander-in-Chief	Feb. 1, 1864	
March 20, 1863	John B. Gray	Colonel and Adjutant-General	March 20, 1863	
Aug. 1, 1862	E. Anson Morr	Colonel and Quartermaster	Aug. 1, 1862	
May 19, 1861	Alton R. Easton	Colonel and Inspector-General	Nov. 19, 1861	Resigned 15th February, 1864.
Feb. 17, 1864	Silas Woodson	Colonel and Inspector-General	Feb. 17, 1863	Resigned 4th August, 1864.
Aug. 5, 1864	J. M. Bassett	Colonel and Inspector-General	Aug. 5, 1864	
Dec. 2, 1861	Franklin D. Callender	Colonel and Chief Ordnance	Dec. 2, 1861	
Feb. 18, 1864	Allen P. Richardson	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Feb. 18, 1864	
Feb. 18, 1864	William P. Harrison	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Feb. 18, 1864	Resigned 12th May, 1864.
May 18, 1864	Mordecai Oliver	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	May 18, 1864	
July 15, 1864	C. C. Bailey	Lieut.-Col. and A. D. C., and Military Sec.	July 15, 1864	
April 1, 1863	C. C Bailey	Major, Aid-de-Camp, and Military Sec.	April 1, 1863	Promoted to Lieut.-Col. and Aid-de-Camp.

HONORARY AND E. M. M.

Aug. 23, 1862	C. P. E. Johnson	Colonel and Paymaster-General	Aug. 23, 1862	
June 1, 1863	Melville Sawyer	Lieut.-Col. and Deputy Paymaster Gen.	June 1, 1863	With pay and emoluments.
Sept. 1, 1862	John T. Hodgen	Colonel and Surgeon-General	Sept. 1, 1862	
Sept. 22, 1862	James O. Broadhead	Colonel and Judge Advocate-General	Sept. 22, 1862	
Oct. 8, 1862	Daniel G. Taylor	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 8, 1862	
Oct. 6, 1862	John Flournoy	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 6, 1862	
Jan. 4, 1862	John Riggen, Jr	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Jan. 4, 1862	
Dec. 6, 1861	Austin A King	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 6, 1861	
Sept. 3, 1862	Cyrus B. Burnham	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 3, 1862	
Feb. 21, 1862	George G. Pride	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Feb. 21, 1842	
Sept. 9, 1862	Thomas T. Gantt	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 9, 1862	
Sept 18, 1862	William S. Moseley	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept 18, 1862	
April 14, 1862	William S. Hillyer	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	April 14, 1862	
June 1, 1862	Michael P. Small	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	June 1 1862	
Feb. 22, 1864	Alton R. Easton	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Feb. 24, 1864	
Sept 29, 1864	George H. Stone	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 29, 1864	
Sept. 29, 1864	John Knapp	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 29, 1864	
Sept. 29, 1864	James Peckham	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 29, 1864	
Sept. 30, 1864	D. T. Kirby	Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 30, 1864	
Oct. 5, 1864	Elwood Miller	Lieutenant-Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 5, 1864	
Nov. 23, 1864	William Hoeck	Lieutenant-Colonel and Aid-de Camp	Nov. 23, 1864	
Feb 26, 1862	Isaac D. Snedeker	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Feb. 26, 1862	
Sept. 30, 1864	William M. R Grebe	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 30, 1864	
Oct. 4, 1864	William S. Allen	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 4, 1864	
June 1, 1864	Elias P. West	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	June 1, 1864	Resigned 13th July, 1864.
Nov. 3, 1864	John A. Dolman	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Nov. 3, 1864	
Nov. 5, 1864	Jesse G. Newman	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Nov. 5, 1864	
May 24, 1864	J. M Bassett	Lieutenant-Colonel and Aid-de-Camp	May 24, 1864	Appointed Col., A. D. C., and Inspec.-Gen.
Sept. 29, 1864	F. Wilhelmi	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 29, 1864	

COMMANDING GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI.

Under General Orders No. 96, War Department, Series 1861.

Nov. 19, 1861	H. W. Halleck	Major-General	Nov. 19, 1861	Relieved by Gen Curtis, 24th Sept., 1862.
Sept. 27, 1862	Samuel R. Curtis	Major-General	Sept. 27, 1862	Resigned 28th February, 1863
May 29, 1863	J. M. Schofield	Major-General	May 24, 1863	Vacated by appointment of Gen. Rosecrans.
Feb 1, 1864	W. S. Rosecrans	Major-General	Feb. 1, 1864	Vacated by appointment of Gen. Dodge.
Dec. 14, 1864	Grenville M. Dodge	Major-General	Dec. 9, 1864	
Dec. 4, 1864	Calvin W. Marsh	Lieut.-Col. and Assistant Adjutant-Gen.	Dec. 4, 1861	Resigned Nov. 3, 1864.
Nov 17, 1864	R. A Phelan	Lieut.-Col. and Assistant Adjutant-Gen.	Nov. 17, 1864	Vacated Dec. 7, 1864.
Dec. 9, 1864	James C. Dodge	Lieut.-Col and Assistant Adjutant-Gen.	Dec. 9, 1864	
Oct 7, 1862	C. S. Charbott	Lieut.-Col. and Assistant Adjutant-Gen.	Oct. 7, 1862	Resigned March 19, 1862.
Dec. 4, 1864	John B. Gray	Lieut.-Col. and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 4, 1861	Appointed Colonel 1st Infantry, M. S. M., March 1, 1862
Oct 8, 1862	Samuel S. Curtis	Lieut. Col. and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 8, 1862	Resigned Feb. 28, 1863.
Dec 4, 1862	Bernard G. Farrar	Lieut.-Col and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 4 1862	Appointed Col. 40th Mo. Vols. Oct. 30, 1862.
March 1, 1864	H. De Weuthorn	Lieut.-Col. and Aid-de-Camp	March 1, 1861	Honorary.
Sept. 28, 1864	L. Ferdinand Fix	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 28, 1864	Honorary.

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD.

Under General Orders, No. 96, War Department, Series 1861.

Date.	Name.	Rank.	Rank from	Remarks.
Nov. 26, 1861	John M. Schofield	Brigadier-General	Nov. 26, 1861	Resigned April 17, 1863.
Nov. 28, 1861	Henry Hescox	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Nov. 28, 1861	Resigned Jan. 24, 1862.
Feb. 13, 1862	Frank J. White	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Feb. 13, 1862	Appointed Maj 2d Battal. 2d th May, 1862.
Aug. 2, 1862	Charles S. Sheldon	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Aug. 2, 1862	Resigned Dec. 4, 1862.
Dec. 4, 1861	John B. Gray	Lieut.-Col., A. D. C. and Asst. Insp.-Gen.	Dec. 4, 1861	Appointed Col. 1st Infl., March 18, 1862.
Dec. 4, 1861	Bernard G. Farrar	Lieut.-Col., A. D. C. and Asst. Insp.-Gen.	Dec. 4, 1861	Appointed Col. 30th Mo. Vols., Oct 30, 1862.
April 18, 1862	Edward Harding	Major and Commissary	April 18, 1862	Resigned April 11, 1863.
April 18, 1862	E. Wilmot	Major and Quartermaster	April 18, 1862	Transferred to staff of Gen. Guitar.
Dec. 3, 1861	Henry McConnell	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 3, 1861	Appointed Major 10th Reg., June 14, 1862
Dec. 3, 1861	John F. Tyler	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 3, 1861	Appointed Lieut.-Col. 1st Infl., May 15, 1862
Dec. 4, 1861	Samuel H. Melcher	Major and Surgeon	Dec. 4, 1861	Mustered out by S. O. No. 81, series 1863

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL BEN LOAN.

Under General Orders No. 96, War Department, Series 1861.

Nov. 27, 1861	Ben Loan	Brigadier-General		Dismissed by Gen. Ord. No. 112, series 1863.
Feb. 13, 1862	John Severance	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Feb. 13, 1862	Resigned April 12, 1862.
March 5, 1862	James Rainsford	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	March 5, 1862	Transferred to staff of Gen. Guitar.
April 18, 1862	Henry Bright, Jr.	Major and Commissary	April 18, 1862	Discharged by General Orders No. 127, Department of Missouri, Nov. 2, 1863.
May 17, 1862	Joseph Penny	Major and Quartermaster	May 17, 1862	Ordered to be mustered out by Special Order No. 81, series 1863.
Sept. 1, 1862	James M. Wilson	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 1, 1862	Honorary.
May 20, 1862	Robert P. Richardson	Major and Surgeon	May 20, 1862	Transferred to staff of Gen. Guitar.

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES TOTTEN.

Under General Orders No. 96, War Department, Series 1861.

Feb. 19, 1862	James Totten	Brigadier-General	Feb. 19, 1862.	
March 25, 1862	Lucien J. Barnes	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	March 25, 1862	Resigned May 20, 1864.
Feb. 18, 1864	Walter M. Smallwood	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Feb. 18, 1864	
April 18, 1862	E. Anson More	Major and Commissary	April 18, 1862	Promoted to Q.M.-Gen. Aug. 1, 1862.
Aug. 1, 1862	W. Marsh Casson	Major and Commissary	Aug. 1, 1862	Resigned Sept. 13, 1862.
Oct. 15, 1862	Henry D. Woodsworth	Major and Commissary	Oct. 15, 1862	Ordered to be mustered out by Special Order No. 81, series 1863.
May 1, 1863	James Corning	Major and Commissary	May 1, 1863	Resigned Feb. 5, 1864.
March 28, 1864	John R. Moore	Major and Commissary	March 28, 1864	
Aug. 13, 1862	D. H. Barnes	Major and Quartermaster	Aug. 13, 1862	
April 18, 1862	Frank J. Porter	Major and Surgeon	April 18, 1862	Resigned Nov. 25, 1864.
Nov. 25, 1864	Joseph D. Smith	Major and Surgeon	Nov. 25, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL EGBERT B. BROWN.

Under General Orders No. 96, War Department, Series 1861.

May 1, 1862	Egbert B. Brown	Brigadier-General	May 1, 1862	Resigned May 21, 1863.
May 2, 1862	James H. Steger	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	May 2, 1862	Ordered to be mustered out by Special Order No. 81, series 1863.
May 7, 1862	Richard H. Melton	Major and Commissary	May 7, 1862	Resigned Nov. 28, 1862.
Nov. 29, 1862	George C. See	Major and Commissary	Nov. 29, 1862	Ordered to be mustered out by Special Order No. 81, series 1863.
May 7, 1862	James Corning	Major and Quartermaster	May 7, 1862	Commissioned Major and Brigadier Quartermaster First Brigade.
May 14, 1862	Robert H. Paddock	Major and Surgeon	May 14, 1862	Ordered to be mustered out by Special Order No. 81, series 1863.

STAFF OF BRIGADIER GENERAL ODON GUITAR.

Under General Orders No. 96, War Department, Series 1861.

June 27, 1864	Odon Guitar	Brigadier-General	June 27, 1863	Resigned Aug. 31, 1864.
Aug. 31, 1864	George H. Hall	Brigadier-General	Aug. 31, 1864	
March 5, 1862	James Rainsford	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	March 5, 1862	
April 18, 1862	E. Wilmot	Major and Quartermaster	April 18, 1862	
Oct. 5, 1863	Charles E. Clarke	Major and Commissary	Oct. 5, 1863	Resigned Dec. 7, 1864.
Dec. 8, 1864	D. K. Stockton	Major and Commissary	Dec. 8, 1864	
April 28, 1862	Robert P. Richardson	Major and Surgeon	April 28, 1862	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL COMMANDING FIRST DIVISION, E. M. M.

Date.	Name.	Rank.	Rank from	Remarks.
Aug. 20, 1862	John B. Gray	Brigadier-General	Aug. 10, 1862	Relieved from command of First Division by Special Order No. 32, 1862.
Aug. 21, 1862	George F. Glazer	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Aug. 21, 1862	
Aug. 21, 1862	Albert Pearce	Major and Quartermaster	Aug. 21, 1862	Revoked April 28, 1864.
April 29, 1864	Enos Sander	Major and Quartermaster	April 29, 1864	
Aug. 21, 1862	Samuel T. Hatch	Major and Commissary	Aug. 21, 1862	
Aug. 21, 1862	Joseph C. Cabot	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Aug. 21, 1862	
Aug. 21, 1862	S. H. Laflin	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Aug. 21, 1862	
Sept. 24, 1862	H. Folson	Captain, A. D. C., and Ordnance Officer	Sept. 24, 1862	
Oct. 10, 1862	John H. Blood	Captain and Assistant Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 10, 1862	
Oct. 4, 1864	William Hoffman	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 4, 1864	
Oct. 22, 1864	Edward Schueller	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 22, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL COMMANDING FIRST MILITARY DISTRICT, E. M. M.

Oct. 23, 1862	A. G. Edwards	Brigadier General	Oct. 21, 1862	Resigned Oct. 23, 1863.
Oct. 24, 1862	Alfred Mackay	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Oct. 23, 1862	Relieved by Special Order No. 175, Oct. 24, 1863.
Oct. 25, 1862	Carlos S. Greely	Major and Quartermaster	Oct. 25, 1862	Relieved by Special Order No. 175, Oct. 24, 1863.
Oct. 25, 1862	Philip W. Hermans	Major and Commissary	Oct. 25, 1862	Relieved by Special Order No. 175, Oct. 24, 1863.
Oct. 25, 1862	George P. Strong	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 23, 1862	Relieved by S. O. No. 175, Oct. 24, 1863.
July 1, 1863	A. S. Barnes	Major and Surgeon	June 26, 1863	Relieved by S. O. No. 175, Oct. 24, 1863.
Oct. 25, 1862	Samuel W. Eager, Jr.	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 25, 1862	Relieved by S. O. No. 175, Oct. 24, 1863.
June 22, 1863	Franklin L. Ridgely, Jr.	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	June 15, 1863	Relieved by S. O. No. 175, Oct. 24, 1863.

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL COMMANDING FIRST MILITARY DISTRICT, E. M. M.

March 29, 1864	E. C. Pike	Brigadier-General	March 29, 1864	
April 7, 1864	George Hoffman	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	April 7, 1864	Resigned Sept. 22, 1864.
Dec. 7, 1864	A. Wilhartitz	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Dec. 7, 1864	
Aug. 22, 1864	D. K. Stockton	Major and Quartermaster	Aug. 22, 1864	
May 12, 1864	M. P. Hanthan	Major and Commissary	May 12, 1864	
May 4, 1864	H. C. Marthens	Major and Surgeon	May 4, 1864	
Sept. 27, 1863	Julius Pitzman	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 27, 1864	
April 7, 1864	Charles H. Tillson	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	April 7, 1864	
April 22, 1864	John O'Brien	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	April 22, 1864	
Oct. 21, 1864	A. Wilkinson	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 21, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL COMMANDING SECOND MILITARY DISTRICT, E. M. M.

Oct. 23, 1862	H. C. Warmouth	Brigadier-General	Oct. 23, 1862	Relieved by S. O. No. 49, Dec. 8, 1862.
Nov. 17, 1862	John N. Ethridge	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Nov. 13, 1862	
Nov. 17, 1864	E. W. Bishop	Major and Quartermaster	Nov. 13, 1862	
Nov. 29, 1862	Ebenezer G. Morse	Major and Commissary	Nov. 21, 1862	
Nov. 17, 1862	Charles P. Walker	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Nov. 13, 1862	Recommissioned.
Jan. 5, 1864	Charles P. Walker	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Aug. 13, 1862	
Nov. 29, 1862	Hamilton K. Lathum	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Nov. 29, 1862	
Oct. 23, 1862	Thomas L. Crawford	Brigadier-General	Oct. 23, 1862	
June 24, 1863	Walter M. Smallwood	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Oct. 27, 1863	Commissioned Colonel and Aid-de-Camp Governor's staff, Dec. 25, 1863.
Nov. 29, 1862	Charles E. Clarke	Major and Quartermaster	Nov. 26, 1862	Comm'd Maj. and Comm'y Second Brigade, Missouri State Militia, Oct. 6, 1863.
Oct. 20, 1863	D. K. Stockton	Major and Quartermaster	Oct. 20, 1863	Resigned Aug. 2, 1864.
Sept. 26, 1864	Ignatius Hazel	Major and Quartermaster	Sept. 26, 1864	
Nov. 29, 1862	D. Walker Wear	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Nov. 26, 1862	
Nov. 29, 1862	R. J. Lackey	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Nov. 26, 1862	
Nov. 2, 1863	George B. Miller	1st Lieutenant and Aid-de-Camp	Nov. 2, 1863	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL RICHARD G. STOCKTON,

Commanding Third Military District.

Oct. 24, 1862	Richard G. Stockton	Brigadier-General	Oct. 20, 1862	Resigned Dec. 8, 1862; relieved by Special Order No. 48, Dec. 5, 1862.
Nov. 15, 1862	David W. Sheppard	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Nov. 14, 1862	
Dec. 1, 1862	Jacob Burrough	Major and Quartermaster	Dec. 1, 1862	
Dec. 1, 1862	Daniel S. Butt	Major and Commissary	Dec. 1, 1862	
Dec. 1, 1862	Patrick Gilroy	Major and Surgeon	Dec. 1, 1862	
Nov. 15, 1862	John A. Frank	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Nov. 14, 1862	
Dec. 1, 1862	John M. Clewley	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 1, 1862	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES R. McCORMICK,

Commanding Third Military District.

March 29, 1863	James R. McCormick	Brigadier-General	March 19, 1863	
April 8, 1863	George Huff	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	April 3, 1863	Vacated Oct. 8, 1864.
Oct. 8, 1864	T. R. Goulding	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Oct. 8, 1864	
Oct. 7, 1864	John J. Scherrer, Jr.	Major and Quartermaster	Oct. 7, 1864	
April 8, 1863	Felix Layton	Major and Aid-de-Camp	April 3, 1863	Resigned Feb. 20, 1864.

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. B. HOLLAND,

Commanding Fourth Military District.

Date.	Name.	Rank.	Rank from	Remarks.
Oct. 27, 1862	C. B. Holland	Brigadier-General	Oct. 27, 1862	
Dec. 18, 1862	Charles Sheppard	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Nov. 5, 1862	
May 23, 1863	Thomas J. Bishop	Major and Quartermaster	Nov. 5, 1862	
Nov. 18, 1862	A. C. Graves	Major and Commissary	Nov. 5, 1863	
Nov. 21, 1862	Morris M. McCluer	Major and Surgeon	Nov. 15, 1862	
Jan. 10, 1863	Dabney C. Dade	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 29, 1862	
Jan. 10, 1863	Sampson S. Clark	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 29, 1862	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL RICHARD C. VAUGHAN,

Commanding Fifth Military District.

Sept. 6, 1862	Richard C. Vaughan	Brigadier-General	Sept. 6, 1862	
Oct. 3, 1862	Moses Chapman	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Sept. 27, 1862	
Oct. 3, 1862	Alexander Mitchell	Major and Quartermaster	Sept. 27, 1862	Resigned January 20, 1863.
Feb. 2, 1863	William Spratt	Major and Quartermaster	Feb. 2, 1863	
Oct. 3, 1862	B. H. Wilson	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 27, 1862	Resigned April 14, 1863.
Feb. 2, 1863	George M. Vaughan	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Feb. 2, 1863	Resigned May 20, 1863.
June 13, 1863	Richard B. Vaughan	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	May 28, 1863	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLARD P. HALL,

Commanding Seventh Military District.

Aug. 25, 1862	Willard P. Hall	Brigadier-General	Aug. 25, 1862	Vacated by accession to Governor's chair.
Aug. 30, 1862	Edward Kirby	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Aug. 30, 1862	
Aug. 30, 1862	T. J. Chew, Jr.	Major and Quartermaster	Aug. 30, 1862	
Aug. 30, 1862	William Bertram	Major and Surgeon	Aug. 30, 1862	Recommissioned.
Sept. 16, 1864	William Bertram	Major and Surgeon	Aug. 13, 1862	
Aug. 30, 1862	John L. Bittinger	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Aug. 30, 1862	
Oct. 3, 1862	Jonathan M. Bassett	Major and additional Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 3, 1862	Resigned December 2, 1863.
May 5, 1863	James Hunter	Major and Aid-de-Camp	May 3, 1863	
June 24, 1864	Peter W. Fredericks	Second Lieutenant and Inspector	June 19, 1863	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES CRAIG,

Commanding Seventh Military District.

May 19, 1864	James Craig	Brigadier-General	May 19, 1864	
Oct. 18, 1864	Isaac B. Halsey	Major and Commissary	Oct. 17, 1864	
May 19, 1864	Leonidas M. Lawson	Major and Aid-de-Camp	May 19, 1864	
June 25, 1864	E. S. Castle	Major and Aid-de-Camp	June 24, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN McNEIL,

Commanding Eighth Military District.

Aug. 18, 1862	John McNeil	Brigadier-General	Aug. 6, 1862	Gen. McNeil relieved by S. O. No. 2, Jan. 3, 1863
Nov. 10, 1862	Zina Bennett	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Nov. 7, 1862	
Sept. 26, 1862	B. Ashley Cohen	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 21, 1862	
Sept. 26, 1862	John W. Dryden	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Sept. 21, 1862	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL T. J. BARTHOLOW,

Commanding Eighth Military District.

Dec. 15, 1862	T. J. Bartholow	Brigadier-General	Dec. 15, 1862	Resigned Aug. 31, 1863.
Dec. 16, 1862	H. Clay Cockerill	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Dec. 16, 1862	Resigned Aug. 31, 1863.
Dec. 16, 1862	John H. Turner	Major and Quartermaster	Dec. 16, 1862	Resigned Aug. 31, 1863.
Dec. 16, 1862	Isaac P. Vaughn	Major and Surgeon	Dec. 16, 1862	
Dec. 16, 1862	James W. Lewis	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 16, 1862	Resigned May 28, 1863.
Dec. 16, 1862	James O. Swinney	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Dec. 16, 1862	Resigned March 20, 1863.
Apr. 23, 1863	Benjamin F. Little	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	April 20, 1863	
June 12, 1863	Norman Bernard	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	June 1, 1863	Resigned Aug. 31, 1863.

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. B. DOUGLASS,

Commanding Eighth Military District.

Sept. 1, 1863	J. B. Douglass	Brigadier-General	Sept. 1, 1863	
March 26, 1864	Frank D. Evans	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	March 26, 1864	
March 26, 1864	R. G. Lyell	Major and Quartermaster	March 26, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL LEWIS MERRILL,

Commanding Ninth Military District.

Date	Name.	Rank.	Rank from	Remarks.
Aug. 7, 1862	Lewis Merrill	Brigadier-General	Aug. 7, 1862	Relieved by Special Orders No. 38, Nov. 7, 1862.

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL ODON GUITAR,

Commanding Ninth Military District.

Aug. 18, 1862	Odon Guitar	Brigadier-General	Aug. 11, 1862	Relieved by Special Orders No. 54, Dec. 16, 1862.
Nov. 10, 1862	Luther T. Hayman	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.	Nov. 10, 1862	Relieved by Special Orders No. 54, Dec. 16, 1862.
Nov. 17, 1862	William B. Kemper	Major and Quartermaster	Nov. 14, 1862	Relieved by Special Orders No. 54, Dec. 16, 1862.

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN W. DAVIDSON.

Sept. 27, 1862	John W. Davidson	Brigadier-General	Sept. 27, 1862	
Oct. 4, 1862	James A. Greason	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.	Oct. 4, 1862	
Oct. 4, 1864	Geo. K. McGunnegle, Jr.	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 4, 1862	
April 14, 1864	James R. Gray	Major and Aid-de-Camp	April 14, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL E. ANSON MORE.

June 16, 1864	E. Anson More	Brigadier-General	June 16, 1864	
Oct. 8, 1864	Thomas T. More	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.	Oct. 8, 1864	
Oct. 8, 1864	Rudolph Ehslin	Major and Quartermaster	Oct. 8, 1864	
Oct. 8, 1864	Orville A. Rose	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 8, 1864	
Oct. 8, 1864	J. A. Tennett	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 8, 1864	
Oct. 12, 1864	Samuel W. Eager	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 12, 1864	
Oct. 12, 1864	W. B. Edgar	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 12, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL MADISON MILLER.

Sept. 28, 1864	Madison Miller	Brigadier-General	Sept. 28, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	V. B. S. Reber	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.	Oct. 3, 1864	Resigned Oct. 12, 1864.
Oct. 5, 1864	Clarence Brown	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Oct. 5, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	A. L. Bergfeld	Major and Quartermaster	Oct. 3, 1864	
Oct. 4, 1864	Perry E. Noell	Major and Surgeon	Oct. 4, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	Elwood Miller	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 3, 1864	Transferred to staff of Commander-in-Chief.
Oct. 24, 1864	Jo[illegible]n H. Edward	Major and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 24, 1864	
Oct. 20, 1864	E. H. E. Jameson	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 20, 1864	
Oct. 18, 1864	A. K. Nesbit	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 18, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	A. K. Nesbit	Lieutenant and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 3, 1864	Promoted to Captain and Aid-de-Camp.
Oct. 3, 1864	James A. Billings	Major and Commissary	Oct. 3, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL D. C. COLEMAN.

Sept. 29, 1864	D. C. Coleman	Brigadier-General	Sept. 29, 1864	
Sept. 29, 1864	E. E. Furber	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Sept. 29, 1864	Resigned Nov. 4, 1864.
Oct. 7, 1864	Thomas Forrester	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 7, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOSEPH S. GAGE.

Sept. 29, 1864	Joseph S. Gage	Brigadier-General	Sept. 29, 1864	
Sept. 29, 1864	William B. Pratt	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.	Sept. 29, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE F. MEYERS.

Oct. 1, 1864	George F. Meyers	Brigadier-General	Oct. 1, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	F. R. Alexander	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Oct. 3, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	S. Crowell	Major and Quartermaster	Oct. 3, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	Theodore Kleinschmidt	Major and Commissary	Oct. 3, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	M. D. Seuler	Major and Surgeon	Oct. 3, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	T. W. Blackman	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 3, 1864	Resigned Oct. 15, 1864.
Oct. 18, 1864	Pascal P. Child	Capt. in and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 18, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	A. Thanberger	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 3, 1864	

STAFF OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. WOLF.

Date.	Name.	Rank.	Rank from	Remarks.
Oct. 1, 1864	C. D. Wolf	Brigadier-General	Oct. 1, 1864	
Oct. 2, 1864	Louis Lipman	Major and Assistant Adjutant-General	Oct. 2, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	E. W. Decker	Major and Quartermaster	Oct. 3, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	P. F. Zeppenfeld	Major and Commissary	Oct. 3, 1864	Resigned Oct. 22, 1864.
Oct. 3, 1864	W. T. Gempp	Major and Surgeon	Oct. 3, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	W. J. H. Becker	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 3, 1864	
Oct. 3, 1864	Henry H. Wernsee	Captain and Aid-de-Camp	Oct. 3, 1864	
March 18, 1864	James H. Moss	Brigadier-General	March 18, 1864	Resigned May 12, 1864.
Nov. 23, 1864	Frederick W. Benteen	Brigadier-General	Nov. 23, 1864	
Nov. 24, 1864	John F. Philips	Brigadier-General	Nov. 23, 1864	

Confederate Organization in Missouri.—Owing to the fact that no official records have been preserved (if any were ever prepared), it is impossible to present a complete list of those citizens of St. Louis who became officers in the Confederate service. In the following list, however, of the field officers of the Missouri State Guard as published in the *Missouri Army Argus* (issued at Pineville, McDonald Co., Mo., Nov. 16, 1861), will be found many well-known St. Louis names:

General Staff and Field Officers of the Missouri State Guards, Claiborne F. Jackson, Governor and commander-in-chief; Thomas C. Reynolds, Lieutenant-Governor; Brig.-Gen. Warwick Hough, adjutant-general; Capt. William H. Brand, assistant adjutant-general; Brig.-Gen. James Harding, quartermaster-general; Col. John Ried, commissary-general; Col. Thomas H. Price, chief of ordnance.

Aids to the Governor, Cols. M. C. Goodlet, F. T. Mitchell, William M. Cooke, Richard Gaines, Thomas L. Snead, William Jackson, Edward W. Shands, Robert C. Woods.

Sterling Price, major general and commander in-chief; Col. Henry Little, adjutant-general; Col. H. H. Brand, inspector-general; Cols. A. W. Jones and Robert Woods, aides-de-camp; Cols. R. H. Dyer, Edward Haren, Jr., and Maj. H. A. Galliher, assistant quartermaster-generals.

First Division, Brig.-Gen. M. Jeff. Thompson.

Second Division, Brig.-Gen. Thomas A. Harris; Col. B. C. Brent, adjutant-general; Lieut.-Col. J. A. Vaughn, quartermaster-general; Lieut.-Col. John S. Mellon, commissary; Lieut.-Col. E. H. C. Bailey, division surgeon; Lieut.-Col. Robert Shacklett, division inspector; Lieut.-Col. M. McElhaney, division judge-advocate; Lieut.-Col. E. C. McDonald, paymaster; Lieut.-Cols. William B. Littleman and D. W. Vowels, aides-de-camp. Infantry Battalion, Lieut.-Col. S. A. Rawlings commanding; Maj. C. Adams; Capt. John Combs. Infantry Battalion, Maj. J. W. Robinson commanding; Capt. McPheeters, adjutant. Cavalry, Col. Martin E. Green commanding; Lieut.-Col. J. C. Porter; Maj. Robert Shacklett; Capt. W. F. Davis, adjutant. Cavalry, Col. J. Q. Burbridge commanding; Lieut.-Col. E. B. Hull; Maj. R. D. Dwyer; Capt. J. T. Turpin, adjutant. Cavalry, Col. Thomas Bruce commanding; Lieut.-Col. W. C. Splaun; Maj. G. B. Milton; Capt. H. McClure, adjutant. Cavalry, Lieut.-Col. B. W. Hawkins; Maj. John L. Owen; Capt. George F. Hatch, adjutant. Cavalry, B. H. Franklin, colonel; Capt. C. Whaley, adjutant.

Third Division, John B. Clark, brigadier-general commanding; Lieut.-Cols. William O. Burton, Robert Walker, and Joseph Finks, aides-de-camp; Col. Caspar W. Bell, adjutant-general division; Dr. W. C. Boone, division surgeon. Cavalry, Col. J. P. Major; Lieut.-Col. Hoskins; Maj. A. H. Chalmers. First Regiment, Col. John B. Clark, Jr.; Lieut.-Col. S. Farrington; Maj. Thomas Boyce. Second Regiment, Col. Congreve Jackson; Lieut.-Col. J. R. White; Maj. Joseph Vaughn. Third Regiment, Col. Edward Price; Lieut.-Col. Hyde. Fourth Regiment, Col. McKinney; Lieut.-Col. Singleton; Maj. Peacher. Fifth Regiment, Col. R. S. Bevier; Lieut.-Col. X. J. Pindall; Maj. James Lovern; Surgeon Dr. B. G. Dysart. Sixth Regiment, Col. Poindexter; Lieut.-Col. Fort; Maj. Perkins.

Fourth Division, Brig.-Gen. Wm. Y. Slack commanding, Col. A. H. Conrow, adjutant-general; Lieut.-Col. William Hill, quartermaster; Lieut.-Col. D. H. McDonald, commissary; Lieut.-Col. Peter Austin, surgeon; Lieut.-Col. William Keith, division inspector; Lieut.-Col. W. H. Lyday, judge-advocate; Lieut. Col. William Peory, paymaster; and Lieut.-Cols. William E. Walker and Walter Scott, aides-de-camp. First Infantry, Col. J. T. Hughes commanding; Lieut.-Col. James A. Pritchard; Maj. William Mirick; Capt. S. H. McWilliams, adjutant. Second Infantry, Col. Thomas Patton commanding; Lieut.-Col. Robert A. Hewitt; Maj. William R. Gause; Capt. J. H. Cook, adjutant. Extra battalion infantry attached to Col. Hughes' command, Maj. C. B. Housand; Capt. Churchill Clark's battery, also attached to Col. Hughes' command. First Cavalry, B. A. Rives, colonel; Lewis Bohannan, lieutenant-colonel; John B. Corner, major; and Capt. F. L. Hubbell, adjutant. Extra battalion cavalry, Lieut.-Col. Richard Chiles, Maj. John Patton.

Fifth Division, Brig.-Gen. A. E. Stein commanding; Col. D. W. Flowerree, assistant adjutant-general; Lieut.-Col. S. R. Shrader, quartermaster; Lieut.-Col. B. Roberts, commissary. Lieut.-Col. Charles N. Palmer, surgeon; C. T. Hart and Wm. S. Wright, assistant division surgeons; Lieut. Col. Thomas W. Shields, inspector; Lieut.-Col. Alexander Harris, judge-advocate; Lieut.-Col. James M. Loughborough, paymaster; Lieut.-Cols. Wright Schnumburg and John W. Gillespie, aides-de-camp. First Regiment Infantry, Col. J. P. Sanders commanding; Lieut.-Col. W. H. Cundiff; Maj. D. Todd Samuel; Adjt. G. D. Shackleford; Asst. Surgs. John S. Teasdale and A. B. Nephler. Second Regiment Infantry, Col. John H. Winston commanding; Lieut.-Col. W. P. Chiles; Maj. J. Murphy; Adjt. John W. Rose; F. M. Johnson, surgeon; B. F. Johnson, assistant surgeon. Third Regiment Infantry, Col. L. M. Lewis commanding; Lieut. Col. C. C. Thornton; Maj. G. W. Thompson; Adjt. G. B. Howard, Jr.; Surg. C. H. Shotwell; Asst. Surg. A. B. Ralph. First Battalion Infantry, Lieut.-Col. John R. Boyd; Maj. John J. Hush; Adjt. S. Quinan; Surg. O. B. Knode; Asst. Surg. S. T. Gregory. Fifth Regiment Infantry (mounted), Col. A. W. Slayback commanding; Lieut.-Col. Welfrey; Maj. Florence; Adjt. John Kemper; Surg. C. M. France; Assist. Surg. B. S. Howard. First Regiment Cavalry, Col. J. T. Carneal commanding; Lieut.-Col. Elijah Gates; Maj. Nay Bostick; Adjt. J. H. Lawther; Surg. E. McD. Coffey; Asst. Surgs. W. W. S. Kelly and W. F. Stark. First Battalion Artillery, Maj. John Landis; Adjt. Toole.

Sixth Division, Brig.-Gen. M. M. Parsons.

Seventh Division, Brig.-Gen. J. H. McBride.

Eighth Division, Brig.-Gen. James S. Rains, commanding; Col. L. A. Meacham, adjutant-general; Lieut.-Col. John McMurtry, quartermaster; Lieut.-Col. William M. Dunn, commissary; Lieut.-Col. George W. Taylor, surgeon; Lieut.-Col. William E. Arnold, division inspector; Lieut.-Col. George S. Rathburn, division judge-advocate; Lieut.-Col. Warner Lewis, division paymaster; Lieut.-Cols. B. H. Woodson and William M. Briscoe, aides-de-camp; George W. Haymaker, sergeant-major. First Infantry, Col. Thomas H. Rosser, commanding; Lieut.-Col. William Martin; Maj. Eugene Erwin; Adjutant, Capt. J. E. Harwood. Second Infantry, Col. Benjamin Elliott, commanding; Lieut.-Col. L. W. Councilman; Maj. Samuel F. Taylor; Adjutant, Capt. George W. Lewis. Third Infantry, Col. Edgar V. Hurst, commanding; Lieut.-Col. J. L. Tracy; Maj. Frederick Routh; Adjutant, Capt. Robert Gibson. Fourth Infantry, Lieut.-Col. W. S. O'Kane, commanding; Maj. Elbert Feaster. Fifth Infantry, Col. James Clarkson, commanding; Lieut.-Col. Robert W. Crawford; Maj. Alexander C. Lamar; Adjutant, Capt. M. W. Buster. Second Cavalry, Lieut.-Col. James McCown, commanding; Maj. Moses W. Smith; Capt. William M. King. Third Cavalry, Col. R. L. Y. Peyton, commanding; Lieut.-Col. Martin White; Maj. W. S. Tyler; Adjutant, Capt. D. H. Williams. Fourth Cavalry, Col. B. F. Walker, commanding; Lieut.-Col. H. K. Hartley; Maj. Thomas H. Hartley; Adjutant, Capt. James L. German. Fifth Cavalry, Col. Jesse L. Cravens, commanding; Lieut.-Col. H. Slover; Maj. W. Langston; Adjutant, Capt. J. H. Williams. Sixth Cavalry, Col. John T. Coffee, commanding; Lieut.-Col. John W. Payne; Maj. M. W. Smith; Adjutant, Capt. A. Chilcutt. Seventh Cavalry, Col. Dewitt C. Hunter, commanding; Lieut.-Col. Richard A. Vaughan; Maj. C. W. Bolton; Adjutant, Capt. B. O. Weidemeyer. Eighth Cavalry, Lieut.-Col. Owens, commanding; Maj. R. K. Murrell; Adjutant, Capt. N. D. Short. Ninth Cavalry, Lieut.-Col. Cummings, commanding; Maj. J. Alexander Smith; Adjutant, Capt. H. C. Purcell. Tenth Cavalry, Col. Erwin, commanding; Lieut.-Col. Cunningham; Maj. Fleming. Eleventh Cavalry, Col. Talbot, commanding; Lieut.-Col. Pearsey; Adjutant, Capt. A. A. Hussley. General Provost Guard, Chief Marshal, Maj. Phineas M. Savery; Deputy Marshals, Capt. Edward Aldrich, and Lieuts. Carroll Wood, Henry C. Kerr, and John E. Brooks; Marshals of Military Commission, Carroll Wood and John Taylor.

The divisions were designated from the congressional districts into which the State was divided.

The Capture of Camp Jackson and the Events of May 11 and June 17, 1861.—The history of St. Louis would not be complete without a record of the exciting events of the year 1861 which preceded and accompanied the outbreak of the civil war. Public opinion is not heated now as it was then; but it is probably as much divided now as then upon the character, propriety, and policy of the several acts which were done during the period from the meeting of the Missouri Legislature, in January, 1861, and the date of the capture of Camp Jackson and the organization of the Missouri State Guard. It is not our province to decide where those chiefly interested have agreed to differ; we will therefore confine ourselves strictly to the task of collecting here and arranging in intelligent chronological order the facts, documents, and all the other authentic and indisputable evidence upon which public opinion is formed in every case, and upon which, in the end, it will rest in this case. Let others argue as much and how they please, we will be content to supply the materials for argument just as they exist, and no matter which side of the controversy they may tend to make or mar.

At the beginning of 1861, while there was great and wide-spread excitement everywhere, it was most intense in Missouri, some parts of which had been literally converted into a camp by the border troubles with Kansas. The city of St. Louis was Republican by the force of the German vote; the State was Democratic, and pro-slavery Democratic by a large majority, though the influence of Sterling Price and men of that stamp had enabled Douglas to carry it for the Presidency. The leader of the supporters of Mr. Lincoln in the exciting struggle of the Presidential election was Frank Blair, Jr., a man of intense views and impulsive, violent energy in enforcing them. The secession movement in the Southern States after the election had the effect of preventing the political armies from disbanding. The "Wide Awakes," who had borne torches and banners and shouted themselves hoarse for Lincoln and Hamlin, now undertook to form Union Clubs, and from this to form Union Companies, and call the muster-roll and drill. In St. Louis Frank Blair and the Germans fraternized and organized with terrible intensity, calling themselves the "Black Jägers," drilling and practicing rifle-shooting. On the other hand, the "Minute-Men" of the Democratic party kept up their organization and their headquarters, and in these places often not only was there drill going on, but recruiting also for the Confederate States army.

Frank Blair, defeated for Congress for the short term, had been elected for the long term by a large majority over the regular Democratic and the Bell and Everett candidates. The mayor of the city of St. Louis, O. D. Filley, was an energetic, advanced Republican, and afterwards a member of the "Committee of Safety" of the organized Unionists, and prominent in the Advisory Committee, to whom Mr. Lincoln left pretty much all the affairs of the city, civil as well as military. In the State elections, on the other hand, Claiborne F. Jackson was elected Governor, and Thomas C. Reynolds, Lieutenant-Governor, by a plurality of nearly eight thousand votes, which yet lacked ten thousand of being a majority over all opponents. The Legislature was strongly Democratic, and McAfee was elected Speaker of the House by a vote of seventy-six to forty-eight for all others. He

was an avowed Southern sympathizer. Governor Jackson, in his inaugural address, had declared it to be the duty of Missouri and Kentucky to stand by the South, and in the first days of the session a commissioner from the Confederate government at Montgomery, Ala., had been "received" by the Legislature. The military bill, which would probably not have passed but for the Camp Jackson excitement, was introduced the first week of the session, and at the same time a bill was introduced, which speedily became a law, giving St. Louis a metropolitan police system, and creating a board of police commissioners appointed by the Governor. This bill deprived the mayor of appointment and control of the police, and made the commissioners custodians of the public peace. A bill was also passed providing for the election of a State Convention, which was to determine the destinies of the State in the crisis which every one now saw was rapidly approaching.

In the mean time that crisis was coming more rapidly than people wished or expected, in consequence of the precautions each side took to protect itself from the supposed dangers which gathered on every side. Some of the organizations of minute-men, who had their headquarters at the Berthold mansion (where later the Confederate flag was hung out), were received into the State militia as regular bodies of uniformed volunteers, being which they could receive equipments and uniforms from the State. On the other hand, the "Wide Awakes," including many Germans of the Turner and other associations, already *quasi*-military in their organization, began to form regular companies, to drill, to raise money, to buy arms, and to provide themselves with ammunition. The secret and nightly drill of all these various clubs and companies could not but cause excitement and uneasiness.

St. Louis was a military position of great importance; it was a military station of great value, and in the event of war both parties would naturally seek to control it for the sake of the advantages which they might derive from its possession. The place had been a centre for troops and arms for two generations, and the barracks and the arsenal were treasures to whoever held them. The arsenal was the key to St. Louis. Whoever held that held the city. Besides, it contained military stores, arms, and ordnance of great value and in great quantity. There can be no doubt but that both parties looked with eager and hungry eyes upon the arsenal. The United States government held it, and the Unionists determined it should not be wrested away from them. The States rights party wished possession of it, and would have attempted to seize it, if in their power, upon occasion of the first overt act of violence or the first State act of secession. There is no need to go into the mass of charges and replies which are extant in regard to the possession of the arsenal. It is enough to know that, as was natural, nay, necessary under the circumstances, the arsenal was the main bone of contention between the opposing forces whose antagonism was being so rapidly crystallized, and that every effort made for its capture would intensify the steps and precautions taken for its defense, and *vice versa*. The evidence for all this is cumulative, and must be taken in connection with the action of the Legislature and the State military. Jan. 5, 1861, the following letter was addressed to ex-President Buchanan

"ST. LOUIS, Jan. 5, 186

"*His Excellency James Buchanan:*

"DEAR SIR,—In the present excited condition of the country I cannot help feeling concerned in regard to the safety of the government funds in my hands, its arms and munitions of war, which are at the arsenal, and within the limits of the city.

"I am satisfied that if either the Republicans or the secessionists should seize the arsenal here, war would at once begin in this section, as neither would submit to its possession by the other peacefully.

"I have now over four hundred thousand dollars of government money on hand, which might be seized, and I have thought proper, under all the circumstances, to submit to you whether it is not advisable, without delay, to concentrate troops at the arsenal for the protection of the government property there (which I think is very large), and the treasure in my care, if it should become necessary. I am satisfied that both sides here have their eyes fixed upon these two points, the arsenal and treasury, and that the taking possession of them by either will lead to conflict, and it therefore seems to me that the sooner provision is made to guard them the better. A week later and the excitement may arrive at that point here that any suggestion of bringing a force here for their protection would precipitate the seizure of them.

"I wish very much that the amount at this place, to the credit of disbursing officers, the United States treasurer, and the Post-Office Department, could be placed at a point where there would be less danger of its seizure. There may be none here, but I fear there is; I fear we are arriving at a point in our troubles that at this place there is danger from both sides.

"I should be glad if you would advise me, if there should seem to be imminent danger, what course to pursue, and what officer to apply to for protection.

"I sympathize most deeply with you in the trying and delicate position in which you are placed, and nothing shall be wanting on my part to render you all the aid I can command here or elsewhere.

"I am most respectfully and truly yours,

"ISAAC H. STURGEON,

"*Assistant Treasurer U. S., St. Louis, Mo.*"

In response to this letter the President at once ordered a force to be placed at the disposal of the assistant treasurer in this city, and they were marched to the custom-house and temporarily placed in that building by the military authorities. In the evening

after consultation with the officer in command, they were removed to the arsenal, where it was the design at first to have placed them.

After the police bill had become a law, Mr. Sturgeon wrote again to the President and also to Gen. Scott on the subject. When the bill providing for the State Convention became a law and the matter of the convention began to be canvassed and discussed, he wrote a third time (February 9th) to Gen. Scott, urging the necessity of defending the arsenal with every available military force. This last letter had its effect upon the lieutenant-general, who wrote to Gen. W. S. Harney, commanding at St. Louis, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
"WASHINGTON, Feb. 13, 1861.

"BRIG.-GEN. W. S. HARNEY, *commanding the Department of the West:*

"SIR,—The following dispatch was sent you by telegraph to-day: 'Have you in the St. Louis arsenal troops enough to defend it? Ought you not to send up all the men from Jefferson Barracks? *Winfield Scott.*' The general-in-chief desires to strengthen that dispatch by calling your attention to these considerations: that it is best to move in advance of excitement; that it is possible, when an emergency arises, reinforcements may be cut off, and that all the force may now be usefully employed at work in adding to the defense of the arsenal.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"GEORGE W. LAY,
"*Lieut.-Col. and Aide-de-Camp.*"

This was reiterated to Gen. Harney in other shapes, but he had come to the conclusion that no serious movement against the arsenal was contemplated, and that "the secession party is in a minority in St. Louis, and there is every reason to suppose that in the event of a movement from any quarter upon the arsenal its garrison would be promptly succored by an overwhelming force from the city." It may be added that about this time (February 9th) Maj. (afterwards Gen.) David Hunter was in St. Louis in conference with Mr. Sturgeon. Hunter was known then and later as the most stalwart of radical generals; he was on his way to Washington, and Mr. Sturgeon impressed his views on him of the urgency of the occasion. While they were talking, Gen. (then Capt.) Lyon came in,—also known as an ardent Republican,—and suggested that *he* would like to be the commander at the arsenal, in order to make sure of its protection and defense. The appointment of Capt. Lyon to the post soon after Hunter's arrival at the capital makes it probable that Gen. Hunter had actively recommended it.

In the meanwhile, to show the animus on the other side, the following letter is now in order:

"ST. LOUIS, Mo., Jan. 24, 1861.

"HIS EXCELLENCY C. F. JACKSON, *Governor of Missouri:*

"DEAR SIR,—I have just returned from the arsenal, where I have had an interview with Maj. Bell, the commanding officer of that place. I found the major everything that you or I could desire. He assured me that he considered that Missouri had, whenever the time came, *a right to claim it as being upon her soil.* He asserted his determination to defend it against any and all *irresponsible mobs*, come from whence they might, but at the same time gave me to understand that he would not attempt any defense against the proper State authorities.

"He promised me, upon the honor of an officer and a gentleman, that he would not suffer any arms to be removed from the place without first giving me *timely information*, and I in return promised him that I would use all the force at my command to prevent him being annoyed by irresponsible persons.

"I at the same time gave him notice that if affairs assumed so threatening a character as to render it unsafe to leave the place in its comparatively unprotected condition, that I might come down and quarter a proper force there to protect it from the assaults of any persons whatsoever, to which he assented. In a word, the major is with us, where he ought to be, for all his worldly wealth lies here in St. Louis (and it is very large), and then, again, his sympathies are with us.

"I shall therefore rest perfectly easy, and use all my influence to stop the sensationists from attracting the particular attention of the government to this particular spot.

"The telegraphs you received were the sheerest *canards* of persons who, without discretion, are extremely anxious to show their zeal. I shall be thoroughly prepared with the proper force to act as emergency may require. The use of force will only be resorted to when nothing else will avail to prevent the shipment or removal of the arms.

"The major informed me that he had arms for forty thousand men, with all the appliances to manufacture munitions of almost every kind.

"This arsenal, if properly looked after, will be everything to our State, *and I intend to look after it*, very quietly, however. I have every confidence in the word of honor pledged to me by the major, and would as soon think of doubting the oath of the best man in the community.

"His idea is that it would be disgraceful to him as a military man to surrender to a mob, whilst he could do so without compromising his dignity to the State authorities. Of course I did not show him your order, but I informed him that you had authorized me to act as I might think proper to protect the public property.

"He desired that I would not divulge his peculiar views, which I promised not to do, *except to yourself.* I beg, therefore, that you will say nothing that might compromise him eventually with the general government, for thereby I would be placed in an awkward position, whilst he would probably be removed, which would be *unpleasant* to our interests.

"Grimsley, as you doubtless know, is an unconscionable jackass, and only desires to make himself notorious. It was through him that McLaren and George made the mistake of telegraphing a falsehood to you.

"I should be pleased to hear whether you approve of the course I have adopted, and if not, I am ready to take any other that you, as my commander, may suggest.

"I am, sir, most truly, your obedient servant,

"D. M. FROST."

What action Governor Jackson took is not known, but the following letter from the President of the

Southern Confederacy appears to be addressed to him in answer to one on the subject of the arsenal:

"MONTGOMERY, ALA., April 23, 1861.

"HIS EXCELLENCY C. F. JACKSON, *Governor of Missouri:*

"SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 17th instant, borne by Capts. Green and Duke, and have most cordially welcomed the fraternal assurances it brings.

"A misplaced but generous confidence has for years past prevented the Southern States from making the preparation required by the present emergency, and our power to supply you with ordnance is far short of the will to serve you. After learning as well as I could from the gentlemen accredited to me what was most needful for the attack on the arsenal, I have directed that Capts. Green and Duke should be furnished with two 12-pounder howitzers and two 32-pounder guns, with the proper ammunition for each. These, from the commanding hills, will be effective both against the garrison and to breach the inclosing walls of the place. I concur with you as to the great importance of capturing the arsenal and securing its supplies, rendered doubly important by the means taken to obstruct your commerce and render you unarmed victims to a hostile invasion.

"We look anxiously and hopefully for the day when the star of Missouri shall be added to the constellation of the Confederate States of America.

"With best wishes, I am, respectfully yours,

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

The Capts. Duke and Green referred to are the gentlemen named in the following report from a St. Louis journal of Feb. 14, 1861, and who afterwards formed part of the force assembled at Camp Jackson. Basil Duke during the war was second in command to Gen. John H. Morgan, the independent partisan:

"The Missouri Minute-Men, who for some weeks have been drilling at their headquarters, corner of Fourth and Pine Streets, to prepare themselves for soldiers in the regular militia, were last evening sworn into the service of the State by Gen. Frost. Our reporter was not permitted to witness the proceedings, nor could the official list of officers be obtained; therefore the names given below, kindly furnished by an outsider, may not be correct.

"Each company is composed of fifty men. The uniform adopted, we learn, will be very simple, similar to that used in the United States army.

"As some inaccuracies appeared in our report of the election of officers in yesterday's paper, we give the following correct list:

"*Company A.*—Captain, Overton W. Barrett: first lieutenant, Louis E. Kennerly; second lieutenant, Edward Blennerhassett; third lieutenant, T. Sidney Russell.

"*Company B.*—Captain, Basil Wilson Duke; first lieutenant, James Douglass; second lieutenant, Aubrey C. Howard; third lieutenant, John V. Schmitt.

"*Company C.*—Captain, James R. Shaler: first lieutenant, W. W. Sanford; second lieutenant, Samuel Farrington; third lieutenant, Robert Duffey.

"*Company D.*—Captain, Colton Green; first lieutenant, Chas. Throckmorton; second lieutenant, —— Harrington; third lieutenant, Alton Long.

"*Company E.*—Captain, G. F. Hubbard; first lieutenant, J. Hammersly; second lieutenant, J. R. Champion; third lieutenant, W. C. Potter."

The secret meetings and secret drilling on both sides of citizens of the same community, yet arming palpably to cut one another's throats, and each side profoundly ignorant and profoundly mistrustful of the other's intentions and actions, must have tended greatly to complicate the situation and augment its inherent difficulties. About February 1st the active Union men had a meeting, at which the military form was finally agreed upon for all organizations and the initial company regularly enrolled. Frank Blair was made colonel, provisionally, of the force, and as he expected soon to have to go to Washington, to attend the extra session of Congress, the advisory Committee of Safety was selected, to act in his absence. This committee, which at one time (Frank Blair was a member *ex officio*) ruled the State of Missouri almost without appeal, with Nathaniel Lyon for its lieutenant and executive officer, consisted of O. D. Filley, John How, Samuel T. Glover, James O. Broadhead, and J. J. Witzig. In two weeks, according to Peckham, fourteen hundred and forty men were enrolled, divided into companies and arranged in battalions. Money was raised to buy arms, and the arms were procured and smuggled in, some from Governor Yates, of Illinois. The money raised for the support of the volunteers by contributions in every part of the country exceeded thirty thousand dollars. Frank Blair wanted the War Department to give him unvouched control of one hundred thousand dollars, and wrote to Governors Morton, of Indiana, and Yates, of Illinois, for control of men, munitions, and movements. But these things the Secretary of War declared to be inadmissible.

March 11, 1861, Frank P. Blair categorically demanded of Secretary Cameron, in the name of "our friends," the appointment of Capt. Lyon to have command of troops at the arsenal, Maj. Hagner (in command at the time) to control only the ordnance department. This appointment was accordingly made March 13th, but Lyon chafed under the restrictions put upon the sphere of duty to which he fancied himself called in some special manner, and in his private talk he did not scruple to inform "our friends" of his intention to resort to summary proceedings, law or no law. In fact, those who urged and insisted upon Lyon's having this command, seem to have gone principally upon the idea that he was the man to do something audacious, something out of the pale of law or precedent, so as to provoke a crisis and relieve the community from its state of unnatural and unpleasant tension. By successive orders Lyon was authorized to fortify the arsenal strongly (besides undermining it), he was largely reinforced, he was given discretionary authority to muster State militia into his

service, and he became commander-in-chief by the fact of Gen. Harney's being ordered to the East, nominally to be examined upon the merits of the San Juan del Fuca controversy, upon which, as he had agreed with sundry publishers, he was to write a book. The telegram from Adjt.-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas announcing this measure to Gen. Lyon was couched thus:

"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 21, 1861.

"CAPT. N. LYON, *Second Infantry, East St. Louis:*

"Gen. Harney has this day been relieved from his command. The Secretary of War directs that you immediately execute the order previously given to arm the loyal citizens to protect the public property and execute the laws. Muster four regiments into the service."

On April 30th, by special order of President Lincoln, indorsed by Secretary Cameron and Gen. Scott, this power of enrollment given to Lyon was made to include ten thousand men.

But the local scene must be looked at again. It is charged, in evidence of an old and maintained plot to capture the arsenal, that so early as the 8th of January Gen. Frost issued the following

"GENERAL ORDERS No. 4.

"HEADQUARTERS FIRST MILITARY DISTRICT,
"ST. LOUIS, Jan. 8, 1861.

"I. With a view to facilitate a prompt assemblage of the troops in this district, whenever it may be necessary so to do, it is hereby ordered that all officers and soldiers in the command shall assemble at their armories and headquarters, in full dress uniform, as soon as they may hear the bells of the churches sounding a continual peal, interrupted by pauses of five minutes. The troops having thus assembled will await in their quarters orders from their commanding officers.

"II. Commanding officers of corps will be held responsible that this order is communicated and explained to their commands.

By order,

"BRIG.-GEN. FROST, *Commanding.*

"WILLIAM D. WOOD, *A.A.G.*"

and that this was only the revealed part of a plot to be consummated in January, but which fell through in consequence of mistakes of the conspirators, or unconscious precautions taken by the defenders—regular and irregular and self-constituted—of the arsenal.

Lyon had scarcely become acquainted with his position at the arsenal before we find him writing the following letter to Frank Blair:

"ST. LOUIS ARSENAL, Feb. 25, 1861.

"HON. F. P. BLAIR, JR., *Washington, D. C.:*

"DEAR SIR,—I have recently written to Maj. Hunter, who, you must know, accompanied Mr. Lincoln to Washington, upon the wants of the service here, and with the hope that through his energy and zeal the proper measures might be adopted to meet existing emergencies here. The subject-matter, and which I stated to you verbally, I will here repeat, for such consideration and action as you may think it deserves.

"It is obvious that the fine stone wall inclosing our grounds affords us an excellent defense against attack, if we will take advantage of it; and for this purpose platforms should be erected for our men to stand on and fire over; and that artillery should be ready at the gates, to be run out and sweep down a hostile force; and sand-bags should be prepared and at hand to throw up a parapet to protect the parties at these pieces of artillery; inside, pieces should be placed to rake the whole length, and sweep down on each side a party that should get over the walls, traverses being erected to protect parties at these pieces; a pretty strong field-work, with three heavy pieces, should be erected on the side towards the river, to oppose either a floating battery or one that might be established on the island; and, finally, besides works about our houses, every building should be mined, with a train arranged so as to blow them up successively as occupied by the enemy. Maj. Hagner refuses, as I mentioned to you, to do any of these things, and has given his orders not to fly to the walls to repel an approach, but to let the enemy have all the advantages of the wall, to lodge himself behind it, and get possession of all outside buildings overlooking us, and to get inside and under shelter of our outbuildings, which we are not to occupy before we make resistance. This is either imbecility or d—d villany; and in contemplating the risks we run, and the sacrifices we must make in case of an attack, in contrast to the vigorous and effective defense we are capable of, and which, in view of the cause of our country and humanity, the disgrace and degradation to which the government has been subject by pusillanimity and treachery, we are now called upon to make, I get myself into a most unhappy state of solicitude and irritability. With even less force and proper disposition, I am confident we can resist any force which can be brought against us, by which I mean such force as would not be overcome by our sympathizing friends outside. These needful dispositions, with proper industry, can be made in twenty-four hours. There cannot be, as you know, a more important occasion nor a better opportunity to strike an effective blow at this arrogant and domineering infatuation of secessionism than here; and must this all be lost by either false notions of duty or covert disloyalty? As I have said, Maj. Hagner has no right to the command, and under the sixty-second article of war can only have it by a special assignment of the President, which I do not believe has been made; but that the announcement of Gen. Scott that the command belongs to Maj. Hagner is his own decision, and done in his usual sordid spirit of partisanship and favoritism to pets and personal associates and toadies; nor can he, even in the present straits of the country, rise above this in earnest devotion to justice and the wants of his country. If Mr. Lincoln chooses to be deceived in this respect, as I fear he will be, he will yet repent of it in misfortune and sorrow, for neither supercilious conceit nor unscrupulous tyranny was ever a veil for patriotism or ability. Maj. Hagner is not accustomed to troops, and manages them here awkwardly; but this is nothing compared to the great matter in hand, and, as I have plainly told him, this is of much more importance than that either he or I should conduct it. You may see in the *Missouri Democrat* of the 23d an account of our defenses, which sets forth what ought to be our state, but not what it is, and was given to frighten the secessionists. A simple order countermanding that assigning Maj. Hagner to duty, according to brevet rank, would give me command. With a view to defense here, it would be well to add that I should assume control, and avail myself of all means available for the purpose. With respect to those men discharged, either an investigation should be ordered or all who remain be discharged; this latter would be the better plan, and save government an expense for which they are rendering no necessary or compensating service.

"If I should have command I would have no trouble to arm any assisting party, and perhaps, by becoming responsible for the arms, etc., I might fit out the regiment we saw at the garden the other day; but most I concern myself with a view to sustain the government here, and trust to such measures as may be found available.

"Yours truly,

"N. LYON."

The matter of the State Convention had come to the front as soon as the bill passed, and on February 4th there was a meeting at Washington Hall, in St. Louis, to nominate a Union ticket. After much discussion a degree of unanimity was secured, and an "Unconditional Union ticket," comprising men of all former parties, was put in the field and elected, February 18th, by nearly six thousand majority. The Legislature had appointed peace commissioners to go to Washington, under the provisions of the Crittenden Compromise Act, but there was no abatement of the local political excitement. In April the municipal election came off to choose a successor to Mayor O. D. Filley. Daniel G. Taylor, a moderate man and a compromise candidate, was elected. He acted admirably well under very trying circumstances. A few days after this election Governor Claiborne F. Jackson gave the bill for the new police commissioner his approval and named the commissioners. They were Charles McLaren, Basil W. Duke, James H. Carlisle, and John A. Brownlee, the mayor being *ex officio* president of the board.

The new board proceeded at once to organize, and elected James McDonough chief of police. The board also issued a variety of orders, of which the following are examples:

"TO THE CITIZENS OF ST. LOUIS.

"OFFICE OF THE POLICE COMMISSIONERS
FOR THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS.

"April 23, 1861.

"WHEREAS, In consideration of the great excitement prevailing throughout the country and in this city, and of the danger to be apprehended from mobs of partisans, and the consequent destruction of life and property, and of the fact that these dangers are greatly increased by the variety of rumors and reports that are constantly being circulated by designing partisans and thoughtless persons, and by misrepresentations that are made of the objects and intentions of those in whose charge the protection of the city has been placed, it is thought proper that this board should make to the citizens this

PROCLAMATION.

"That all law abiding and peaceable citizens shall be protected in their persons and property so far as this board has the power; that all mobs or riots shall and will be suppressed; and that in the discharge of these duties no discrimination will be made as against one class of citizens and in favor of another.

"The preservation of the peace of the city should be the paramount object of all good citizens. Our laws, if enforced, will afford ample protection; they can and will be enforced if our citizens will only second the efforts of the proper legal officers. To this end we earnestly and solemnly appeal to the citizens of St. Louis, as they value their lives and their property to discountenance in every manner the assembling, arming, and drilling of men acting without authority of law, and consequently without restraint or responsibility; that they will obey the laws of the State and the ordinances of the city, and endeavor, so far as in their power lies, to maintain the peace and dignity of our city.

"J. A. BROWNLEE, *President.*"

The need for such an order was obvious, as will be seen from the following paragraphs, selected from numberless others current in the newspapers of the day. We give the dates without naming the journals:

—12th February.—"*Arming for the Conflict.*—We have good authority for stating that large quantities of arms were distributed in various beer-saloons in the First Ward on Sunday, and that leading black Republicans were in attendance, and that a constant drill was kept up during the day. Instructions were issued for their guidance between this time and the election, and a great improvement is promised on the 'Wide Awake' organization of last year, when thousands of fraudulent votes were polled."

—23d February.—"*Military Parade.*—Missouri Volunteer Militia, First Military District. Staff: Gen. D. M. Frost, commander of the brigade; Maj. R. S. Veorhis, acting adjutant general; Col. A. R. Easton, colonel of the First Regiment; Capt. Buchanan, adjutant; Capt. Hatch, commissary; Maj. F. M. Cornyn, M.D., surgeon; Col. J. N. Pritchard, major battalion engineer corps.

"Missouri Dragoons, Capt. Gaeffel, thirty-five men, attended by the Jackson Cornet Band.

"Engineer Corps, National Guards, Maj. J. N. Pritchard commanding, seventy-four men, rank and file. First Company, Capt. Hazeltine; Second Company, Lieut. Pike, attended by the Engineer Corps Cornet Band.

"St. Louis Grays, Capt. Burke, thirty men, two musicians (fifteen privates and one sergeant are with the Southwest expedition).

"Missouri Guard, George W. West, forty men, [illegible] and two musicians.

"Independent Guard, Capt. C. H. Fredericks, twenty-two men, four officers, two musicians.

"Washington Blues, Capt. Kelly, thirty nine men, rank and file.

"Montgomery Guard, Lieut. Russell.

"City Guard, Capt. J. J. Morrison, thirty men combined.

"Sarsfield Guard, Capt. Rogers, thirty men, rank and file.

"Washington Guard, Lieut. Tucker, thirty men, two musicians."

25th February.—"Military parade and review of the Black Guards, or Jaegers. A whole battalion drilling. Frank Blair the originator of the movement.

"So far as could be ascertained the officers in command were the following: Major of the battalion, J. S. Schuttner, adjutant, Sigismund Hornberg; First Company, seventy five men, Capt. Dahmer; first lieutenant, August Boecuteen. Second Company, one hundred and thirty eight men, captain, Christian Goerisch; first lieutenant, George Strickler. Third Company, one hundred men, captain, George Schuttg, first lieutenant, C. Shuttg."

March 4th.—"The Fifth Street excitement. The removal out of the 'State Rights' flag from the Missouri Minute Men's headquarters yesterday produced an unusual excitement. The large crowds of people that congregated on Fifth Street were called together, it seems, more from curiosity than from any

"OFFICE OF THE POLICE COMMISSIONERS
FOR THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS.

"April 12, 1861.

"It being of absolute necessity for the peace and quiet of the city that the law in respect to the Sabbath, commonly called the Sunday law, shall be strictly observed, it is hereby ordered that all shows, games, exhibitions, plays, and fights of man and beast, sales of liquor, or other violation of said law are forbidden, and notice given that the penalties against the violation of said laws will be strictly enforced.

"J. A. BROWNLEE, *President*."

"OFFICE OF THE POLICE COMMISSIONERS
FOR THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS.

"April 12, 1861.

"Hereafter no permits or authorization of whatever nature or kind of negro parties, or other assemblages of negroes, shall be issued by the chief of police; and all saloons, or public-houses of whatever character, kept or owned by negroes are forbidden, and will be suppressed.

"J. A. BROWNLEE, *President*."

"OFFICE OF THE POLICE COMMISSIONERS
FOR THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS.

"April 12, 1861.

"Crowds or assemblages of idlers, loafers, or others on the prominent thoroughfares of the city, interfering with the free and legitimate use of the public streets and sidewalks, and the safety and security of the good and orderly citizens, are positively prohibited; and the Chief of Police is strictly enjoined to see that the spirit of this order is enforced.

"J. A. BROWNLEE, *President*."

desire to do injury to the defenders of said flag. Some did go so far as to say, 'That flag must come down,' yet no one seemed willing to commence the attack upon it. The mayor, thinking some bad results might follow the assembling of the crowd, sent a letter to some of the minute-men asking them very politely to take it down. They gave him some encouragement that his wishes should be granted, but up to a very late hour last night the flag was still there.' The vast crowd kept swaying to and fro all the afternoon and evening, but they did no harm. A few passed back and forth on the balcony of the 'Berthold mansion,' but that was the only appearance of fighting we observed."

"March 6th.—The flag at Fort Berthold. Another flag of similar description was run out from the Breckenridge and Lane headquarters, on Locust Street between Third and Fourth streets. A few Good fire-eaters gathered around to admire the flag, but none others came to do it reverence."

"April 14th.—Keep cool. Yesterday was a day of great excitement in St. Louis. It was known that a brisk cannonading had been commenced by the forces of the Confederate States, under the command of Gen. Beauregard, against Maj. Anderson, in command of a small party of United States troops in Fort Sumter. The dispatches were by no means satisfactory, as to regards the attack there was no question. Some doubt was felt, too, as to the immediate cause of the commencement of hostilities,—a point as to which there was a good deal of tenderness on each side,—the United States claiming the right to provision, if no more, the forces under Maj. Anderson without interfering with the status of a pre-existing arrangement, and the Confederate States claiming that Capt. Fox, in command of a supply vessel, had availed himself of his position to get into Fort Sumter, with a view of perfecting a plan for the relief of the fort both in men and provisions."

"OFFICE OF THE POLICE COMMISSIONERS.
"ST. LOUIS, April 12, 1861.

"Churches for negroes, or churches wherein negroes or mulattoes officiate as preachers, will not be allowed to open unless an officer of the police is present and appointed to be there by the undersigned or the Chief of Police.

"J. A. BROWNLEE, *President*."

"OFFICE OF THE POLICE COMMISSIONERS
FOR THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS.

"April 12, 1861.

"The requirements of law in regard to slaves hiring their own time, in violation of law, will be rigidly enforced.

"J. A. BROWNLEE, *President*."

"OFFICE OF THE POLICE COMMISSIONERS
FOR THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS.

"April 12, 1861.

"Notice is hereby given that all free negroes found within the limits of this city without *license* from and after *five days* from this date will be dealt with according to law.

"The Chief of Police is ordered to arrest all free negroes, mulattoes, or slaves found selling liquor, or keeping any house where liquor of any kind is sold, and to disperse all unlawful assemblages of free negroes, slaves, or mulattoes.

"The Chief of Police is further ordered to arrest all persons keeping *public gambling-houses* or *rooms* wherein gambling is allowed, for the purpose of bringing them to trial under the laws of this State and the ordinances of the city."

"OFFICE OF CHIEF OF POLICE.
"ST. LOUIS, MO., April 13, 1861.

"All night assemblages of negroes and mulattoes in this city, either for religious or other purposes, will hereafter be prohibited.

"By order of the Board of Commissioners.

"JAMES MCDONOUGH, *Chief of Police*."

"NOTICE TO FREE NEGROES AND MULATTOES.

"By order and direction of the president of the Police Commissioners of the city of St. Louis, I hereby notify all free negroes and mulattoes who have no license, or are not permitted by law to reside within this State, to leave the State forthwith; and all such who may be found in the city of St. Louis after the expiration of five days from the date of this notice will be arrested and dealt with according to law.

"JAMES MCDONOUGH, *Chief of Police*.

"April 12, 1861."

"OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF POLICE.
"ST. LOUIS, April 15, 1861.

All negroes found in the street after the hour of ten o'clock without a proper pass will be arrested and brought before the recorder.

"JAMES MCDONOUGH, *Chief of Police*."

These various and rather stringent orders in relation to the colored people were as necessary, perhaps, for their protection as for the preservation of order. The "color line" was drawn very closely at that time of excitement and exasperation. But the Republicans naturally made capital out of these things, which they construed to mean fear of a servile outbreak. As Capt. Peckham has said in his highly colored memorial of Gen. Lyon, "The conspirators must have feared what the Republicans had entirely overlooked. No one of the Unionists thought at that time of re-

lying upon the three or four thousand negroes in the city for assistance in case of armed resistance. The idea of allowing Sambo to fight was a later development of the war."

The last of these police orders is as follows:

"OFFICE OF THE POLICE COMMISSIONERS
FOR THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS.

"April 24, 1861.

"In order that this board may have the means more effectually to suppress mobs or riots, and to protect the lives and property of the people, it has been deemed proper to call upon responsible citizens to form themselves into companies, elect officers, and perfect such an organization as will render them effective when their services may be required. It is recommended that two companies be formed in each ward and sworn into the service, to act under the orders of this board and of the Chief of Police.

"All companies so formed are requested to report at once at this office, where instructions more in detail will be furnished.

"J. A. BROWNLEE, *President*."

"NOTICE TO CITIZENS.—In consequence of the numerous burglaries which of late have been committed in our city, and which are almost nightly occurring, it is thought advisable to give the following notice in order to prevent crimes, if not detect the offenders.

"The police are instructed to stop all persons found on the streets or highways after the hour of 1 o'clock A.M., and respectfully inquire of them their residence, and if necessary to accompany them home. Persons not giving satisfactory answers, or against whom suspicion may be aroused, will at once be taken to the police office.

"JAMES MCDONOUGH, *Chief of Police*."

The conflict had fairly begun now. Every one admitted that it was war when Fort Sumter was fired upon. According to the Republican conception of things there had been war before that, conducted, as Frank Blair said, in his bitter and exasperating way, "by stealing empty forts and full treasuries." But now the appeal to arms had come from both sides. Which one would Missouri answer?

The President called for seventy-five thousand volunteers, and ordered persons in arms against the government to disband and go home. Missouri had her quota assigned to her, four regiments,—between three and four thousand men. Governor Jackson immediately telegraphed to Washington, upon reading the proclamation, that "Missouri would not furnish a single man to subjugate her sister States of the South." This language simply showed that a man may sometimes be a good politician without being a good prophet. The Secretary of War sent to Governor Jackson an estimate of Missouri's quota. He responded at once:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF MISSOURI,
"JEFFERSON CITY, April 17, 1861.

"To Hon. SIMON CAMERON, *Secretary of War, Washington City*:

"SIR,—Your dispatch of the 15th inst., making a call on Missouri for four regiments of men for immediate service, has been received. There can be, I apprehend, no doubt but these men are intended to form a part of the present army to make war upon the people of the seceded States. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its objects inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade.

"C. F. JACKSON,
"*Governor of Missouri*."

Frank Blair returned to St. Louis on the day this answer was written, and learning its contents (it was published immediately), telegraphed at once to Washington that he would be able to furnish four regiments forthwith for active service, if an officer should be sent to muster them in. On the same day and the next (April 17th and 18th) Maj. Schaeffer and Col. John N. Pritchard, Surgeon Florence M. Cornyn and Adjt. John S. Cavender peremptorily resigned from the St. Louis State militia. In his letter of resignation Maj. Schaeffer used the following language:

"I cannot reconcile it with my ideas of military fealty and discipline that a part of your command has hoisted another flag than the only true flag of these United States."

This was pronounced by Gen. Frost to be "*conduct unworthy of an officer and a gentleman*," and that officer, in command of the First Military District of Missouri, ordered a court-martial to try the [illegible]. It may be interesting to know the names of the persons constituting the court. They were Col. Alton R. Easton, president of the court; Lieut.-Col. John Knapp, Lieut.-Col. John S. Bowen, Maj. James R. Shaler, Capt. Joseph Kelly, Capt. George W. Wes[illegible], Capt. William Wade, Capt. Martin Burke, Capt. Charles S. Rogers, Capt. William B. Hazeltine, Capt. Charles H. Frederick, Capt. Henry W. Williams, judge-advocate.

Maj. Schaeffer refused to acknowledge the order of arrest, and entering the army afterwards, was killed in command of a brigade at Murfreesboro'.

The letter of Surgeon Cornyn was couched in similar language. These resignations were followed by a general stampede of the active Union men of the rank and file; but there were still more, however, who continued in the State militia and paraded at Camp Jackson who afterwards did gallant service under the Federal colors.

The following correspondence shows that Governor Jackson did not treat overtures from the Confederates as curtly as he did the directions of the Federal government. The documents are official:

"MONTGOMERY, April 26, 1861.

"GOVERNOR C. F. JACKSON, *Jefferson City, M[illegible]*

"Can you arm and equip one regiment of infantry for service in Virginia, to rendezvous at Richmond? Transportation

will be provided by this government. The regiment to elect its own officers, and must enlist for not less than twelve months, unless sooner discharged.

"L. P. WALKER."

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
"JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., May 6, 1861.

"HON. L. P. WALKER, *Secretary of War, Montgomery:*

"SIR.—Yours of 26th ultimo *via* Louisville is received. I have no legal authority to furnish the men you desire. Missouri, you know, is yet under the tyranny of Lincoln's government, so far at least as forms go. We are wofully deficient here in arms, and cannot furnish them at present; but so far as men are concerned, we have plenty of them ready, willing, and anxious to march at any moment to the defense of the South.

"Our Legislature has just met, and, I doubt not, will give me all necessary authority over the matter. If you can arm the men, they will go whenever wanted to any point where they may be most needed. I send this to Memphis by private hand, being afraid to trust our mails or telegraphs. Let me hear from you by the same means. Missouri can and will put one hundred thousand men in the field, if required. We are using every means to arm our people, and until we are better prepared must move cautiously. I write this in confusion. With my prayers for your success, I remain,

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"C. F. JACKSON,
"*Governor of Missouri.*"

On April 20th the arsenal at Liberty, Mo., was entered and plundered of the arms and ammunition gathered there, and it was supposed that an attempt would be made upon the St. Louis arsenal the next night. Every precaution was taken for its safety, and the Union volunteers in the city slept on their arms. Arrangements were made for mustering these volunteers into the regular service and arming them, and a part of them were admitted into the arsenal to provide for its defense. For the next few days there was such an intense state of excitement and so many apprehensions of violence on every side that even so fearless a man as Frank Blair sent his family out of town. He was at this time engaged in officering, arming, and equipping his four regiments and having them mustered into the service. The excitement was farther increased by the shipment of arms from the St. Louis arsenal to Kentucky, which was bitterly opposed by the Southern element.

On April 22d, Governor Jackson issued a proclamation summoning the Legislature to meet in the State Capitol on May 2d. At the same time an order was issued by him for the State militia to assemble in their respective military districts on May 3d and go into encampment for the period of six days, as allowed by law. The Governor also borrowed fifty thousand dollars of the banks to arm and equip the militia.

It is claimed, on the one hand, that this annual drill was ordered at that inopportune time for the purpose of forcing the secession of Missouri and capturing the arsenal; that it was an overt act, to which the capture of the camp was a proper retort in the sense of a defensive measure.

It is argued, on the other hand, that there was no occasion for interference with Camp Jackson; that the muster expired by limitation two days after the seizure of the camp; that the act, not warranted by the President's proclamation (under which Gen. Lyon claimed to act), was the wanton illicit act of an ambitious man, and its effect was to plunge Missouri into the civil war which all good citizens hoped might be kept beyond her borders.

We will simply state these two propositions. Nor will we argue the question of the policy or expediency of a military encampment of holiday soldiery at such a time. As to the *legality* of Camp Jackson there can be no doubt at all. There has never been any pretense even that it was an unlawful assemblage or an illegitimate muster. On this point the statement of Gen. Frost, prepared with great care and published in 1882 in the *Missouri Republican*, is accepted on all hands as substantially accurate and complete. He says,—

"Camp Jackson was formed under and in accordance with the requirements of a bill framed in 1855, with the assistance of the Hon. B. Gratz Brown, by the person who commanded the camp, and which became a law, after many vicissitudes, in 1858.

"The measure was urged upon the Legislature during the years which intervened between its introduction and passage as one which, in view of the threatening relations between the North and South, the conservative views of the people seemed to demand.

"Missouri, being a border State, would, in the event of hostilities between the sections, be among the first, as well as the greatest sufferer.

"Her people were also made up, in nearly equal proportions, from the North and the South, and for both these reasons an internecine strife threatened her with peculiar horrors.

"The law, then, was intended and regarded from its inception by its movers as a peace measure,—a measure which it was hoped and believed would be adopted by the other Border States, and thus enable them each to raise, organize, and discipline, under the Constitution of the United States, a militia force sufficient to command and enforce the peace between the hostile sections. But its power in Missouri for the main object had in view, viz., a large force, was destroyed by the refusal of pecuniary aid from the State, and all that remained of its value was that it gave to the patriotic citizen-volunteer the poor privilege of regarding himself as a soldier of the State, with a State law to govern him, whilst he gave his own time to instruction, and his own money to his equipment.

"Such, then, was the origin and truly patriotic intention of the law under which Camp Jackson was held."

And Gen. Frost adds,—

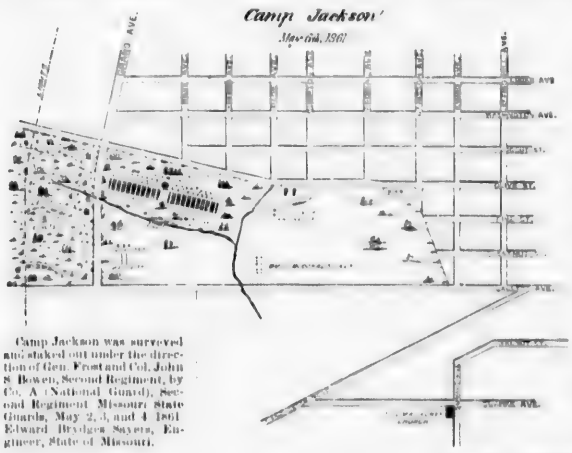
"In order to a better comprehension of the Camp Jackson question, it is considered necessary to say something of its precursor, Camp Lewis. By a provision of the law of 1858 an

encampment was required to be held annually in each military district, whenever there should be a certain number of uniformed companies mustered into service in that district.

"Under the stimulus given by the new act to military enterprise, a sufficient number of companies had been organized and mustered into the service of the State in the First Military District (embracing the city and county of St. Louis) to call for a brigade formation within a few months after its enactment. A brigadier-general was accordingly chosen by those companies, and commissioned as such by Governor Robert M. Stewart on the 23d day of August of that year. During the next year means were found to purchase the requisite camp equipage, and the advent of 1860 found the militia of the district ready and anxious to enter upon the varied and pleasant duties of camp life.

"The 'St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Fair Association' tendered the use of their beautiful grounds in the suburbs of the city, and there the first encampment of Missouri militia was pitched, and was named Camp Lewis, in honor of the great explorer of the West, and there its varied duties were performed for the period limited by law. Many of the citizens of St. Louis will doubtless still remember the pleasure they enjoyed in witnessing its guard mountings, parades, and reviews. The elements of Camp Lewis were as varied as the nationalities and occupations of the citizens of the country.

"An event of some interest may be mentioned in connection with the German element. It was found that some of them could not comprehend the word of command and the method of execution as given in the tactics, and to cure that difficulty it was proposed by Capt. Chris. Stifel, commander of a cavalry company, that a synopsis of them should be prepared and printed in the German language, and at the same time be suggested Mr. Franz Sigel (then a school-teacher) as a person quite competent for the work. He was accordingly employed upon it, and gave full satisfaction.



Camp Jackson was surveyed and staked out under the direction of Gen. Frost and Col. John S. Bowen, Second Regiment, by Co. A (National Guard), Second Regiment Missouri State Guards, May 2, 3, and 4 1861 Edward Bridges Sayers, Engineer, State of Missouri.

"Thus did that subsequently distinguished general render his first service to his adopted country by facilitating the instruction of the troops of Camp Lewis, the precursor of Camp Jackson.

"The existence of Camp Lewis having left none but pleasant memories to the inhabitants of the city, its successor of the following year was looked forward to as a desirable event."

Gen. Frost further claims that

"the Missouri Convention had been elected, and a majority of eighty thousand for the Union candidates showed that at least three-fourths of the people were in favor of preserving their relations with the Federal Union. The convention had met, and by its first resolution declared with but a single dissenting vote against secession."

But he is in error in contending that in consequence of this there was "a benignant calm" prevailing at the time of the issuance of the order for this encampment. We have shown the contrary.

The encampment was ordered under General Orders No. 7 of the adjutant-general of the State. There was a large and cheerful turnout. The tents were pitched in Lindell Grove, now the Fair Grounds, a wooded valley near the intersection of Olive Street with Grand Avenue. Gen. Frost's narative says:—

"This point was chosen in preference because of the existence of a street railway leading towards it, which afforded facilities for citizens to visit the camp, and the denizens of the camp to visit their homes from time to time and give at least necessary attention to their various professions, business, and trades.

"It was named Camp Jackson, in honor of the governor of the State, who, though he afterwards died in exile, was the probably the most popular Governor the State had had.

"The first duty performed in the camp was the hoisting of the United States flag to the tall centre-pole of the commanding officer's tent, from which it continued to wave its graceful folds until it was captured, pulled down, and carried off in triumph by the captors of the camp.

"Having thus installed the flag of the United States in the place of honor, the flag of Missouri in a subordinate position, the military duties of the camp were entered upon with the regularity and precision that had characterized those of its predecessor, 'Camp Lewis,' and as its predecessor, it at once became a popular and fashionable resort of citizens of all ages, classes, and conditions of society who thronged its shady avenues all the day and into the night, until the last lingering beat of the 'tattoo' warned them to retire.

"Thus happily passed the hours and days of that ill-fated camp. Its every feeling hoped for and expected as undesirable incident of its existence was just developing into maturity between its members, and continued to increase until the premature and violent closing on Friday the 10th of May."

The camp, in fact, was begun on May 3d, Friday, when the lines were traced. It was laid out according to military rules and some of the avenues were named by the officers after men prominent in the cause of the Southern Confederacy, as Beauregard, Jefferson Davis, Lovell. The following is the organization of the camp as given in Peckham's "Memorial of Gen. Lyon

ORGANIZATION OF STATE TROOPS AT CAMP JACKSON, MAY 3, 1861.

"Brig.-Gen. D. M. Frost, commanding; Lieut.-Col. R. S. Voorhies, adjutant-general; Maj. N. Wall, commissary; Maj. Henry W. Williams, quartermaster; Joseph Scott, M.D., surgeon; Maj. William D. Wood, aide-de-camp.

"FIRST REGIMENT.—Lieut.-Col. John Knapp, commanding; Capt. N. Hatch, A. Q. M. and A. C. S.; Capt. John B. Drew, paymaster; Lieut. W. C. Buchanan, adjutant; A. J. P. Garesche, judge-advocate; Louis T. Pimm, M.D., surgeon.

"*Company A, St. Louis Grays.*—Martin Burke, captain; Stephen O. Colman, first lieutenant; H. B. Belt, second lieutenant; R. N. Leonori, third lieutenant. Fifty-one rank and file.

"*Company B, Sarsfield Guards.*—Charles W. Rodgers, captain; Thomas Curley, first lieutenant (absent on Southwestern expedition); Hugh McDermott, second lieutenant. Forty-six rank and file.

"*Company C, Washington Guards.*—Robert Tucker, first lieutenant (commanding); Thomas Moylan, second lieutenant; Cornelius Heffernan, third lieutenant. Forty-eight rank and file.

"*Company D, Emmet Guards.*—Philip W. Coyne, captain.

"*Company E, Washington Blues.*—Joseph Kelly, captain; J. M. Furbar, second lieutenant. Forty-five rank and file.

"*Company F, Laclede Guards.*—Fraser, captain.

"*Company G, Missouri Guards.*—George W. West, captain.

"*Company H, Jackson Guards.*—George W. Fletcher, captain; J. M. Henning, first lieutenant; William Morony, second lieutenant; John Bullock, third lieutenant. Forty six rank and file.

"*Company I, Grimsley Guards* (organized Thursday night, May 2, 1861).—R. N. Hart, captain; Thomas Keith, first lieutenant; R. C. Finney, second lieutenant; John Gross, third lieutenant. Forty eight rank and file.

"*Company K, Davis Guard.*—James Longuemare, captain; I. Kretschmar, first lieutenant; A. Hopton, second lieutenant; Louis Ladue, third lieutenant. Sixty-five rank and file.

"*Squadron of Dragoons.*—Emmet McDonald, captain.

"SECOND REGIMENT.—John S. Bowen, colonel; A. E. Steen, lieutenant colonel; J. R. Shaler, major.

"*Engineer Corps of National Guards* (former two companies of National Guards merged in one).—William H. Finney, first lieutenant; Charles Perrine, second lieutenant; John M. Gilkerson, third lieutenant. On the ground May 6th forty rank and file.

"*Company A, Independent Guards.*—Charles Fredericks, captain; Oliver Collins, second lieutenant; Charles McDonald, third lieutenant.

"*Company B, Missouri Vedettes.*—O. H. Barrett, captain. Forty-five rank and file.

"*Company C, Minute-Men*).—Basil W. Duke, captain (the Morgan raider).

"*Company D, McLaren Guards* (*Minute Men*).—Sandford, captain. Sixty one rank and file.

"*Company E, Minute-Men*).—Colton Greene, captain.

"*Company F, Jackson Grays* (*Minute-Men*).—Garland, captain. Sixty-five rank and file.

"*Company G, Dixie Guards* (*Minute-Men*).—Campbell, captain. Forty eight rank and file.

"*Company H, Southern Guards* (*Minute Men*).—J. H. Shacklford, captain. Forty-five rank and file.

"*Company I, Carondelet Rangers.*—James M. Loughborough, captain. Fifty rank and file."

Col. Peckham says,—

"The State law, under the old militia bill, authorized the annual existence of such a camp as this in each military district for six days. Since Jackson had issued his order for this gathering of the militia the Legislature had organized, and every indication pointed to a speedy adoption of the new military bill. It was expected to continue the camp under the provisions of the latter. The design of the conspirators was to fill Camp Jackson with secessionists from the interior of the State, and such were constantly arriving after the formation of the camp. By Thursday and Friday, so numerous were the arrivals, that it was contemplated forming a third regiment."

Several of these statements do not appear to have any authority, and some of them seem to have proceeded principally from the writer's imagination.

But this which follows from the same source can be corroborated:

"On Wednesday night, May 8th, the steamer 'J. C. Swon,' just from New Orleans, loaded with arms, cannon, and ammunition from the arsenal at Baton Rouge, La. (which the traitors had surprised and captured from the United States government), discharged her freight at the Levee at St. Louis. The material above described, which had been obtained through the agency of Colton Greene, acting as an agent of Claib Jackson, from the rebel authorities of the seceded States, was that same night removed to Camp Jackson. It is stated that from fifty to one hundred dray-loads were included in this murderous freight. Greene saw the goods safely lodged inside the camp, and on the morning of the 10th of May, accompanied by a company from the camp, he proceeded on the cars to Jefferson City with some of the stolen munitions of war.

"Lyon was cognizant of the whole proceeding, and had a strong notion to seize the boat at the Levee before she could unload; but after conversing with Mr. Blair, he agreed with the latter, and concluded to allow the material to be received in the camp, thus furnishing additional evidence of the treasonable nature of the camp. The Safety Committee met at the same time, and were strongly urged to seize the property before it could be taken to Lindell Grove, but they also agreed with the plan adopted by Lyon. The latter had already designed capturing the whole camp, but the opposition of a majority of the Safety Committee, upon a merely legal point, caused him to delay the movement. He now felt it his duty to act."

The Committee of Safety, and especially those agreeing with Mr. Glover, took a legal view of the case: The camp would end soon. It was a lawful assembly. It did not constitute a real menace to the arsenal. It would cause great excitement to attack it. But Lyon resolved that he would not take the lawyer's but the military man's view of it. He thought compulsion should be used to make the Southern sympathizers acknowledge the authority of the Federal government. He looked upon the camp's existence as an intimidation of Union men. He was therefore very eager to get Col. Blair to use his influence with the Safety Committee, without whose sanction he could accomplish nothing. This was effected by informing the committee that Gen. Harney would arrive and resume his command on Sunday. When he heard that even Mr. Glover consented to act, and Lyon began his preparations forthwith.

Gen. Frost knew or feared that his camp would be attacked by the forces under Gen. Lyon, which also he knew he had no means of effectively resisting. Lyon had arranged to capture the camp on the morning of the 10th. On that morning Frost wrote to Lyon. As he says in his narrative,—

"Having known Capt. Lyon from the period of his cadetship at West Point in 1840, the commander of the camp believed him to be possessed of a fair proportion of good sense, and of that conservative patriotism that long military service begets, and as neither good sense nor patriotism could prompt an attack upon his camp, he did not believe he would make it, and it was not until early on the morning of the 10th that a private communication from a friend in the councils of the conspirators undeceived him, and he was forced to the conclusion that Lyon, too, had been stricken by the more than midsummer madness that seemed to afflict the whole community. Nevertheless he determined to make a last effort to avert from his State the horrors of anarchy and civil war, which he foresaw the capture of his camp would necessarily invoke. Therefore he hastily penned the following letter:

"'HEADQUARTERS CAMP JACKSON,
"'MISSOURI MILITIA, May 10, 1861.

"'CAPT. N. LYON, *commanding U. S. Troops in and about St. Louis Arsenal:*

"'SIR,—I am constantly in receipt of information that you contemplate an attack upon my camp. Whilst I understand that you are impressed with the idea that an attack upon the arsenal and United States troops is intended on the part of the militia of Missouri, I am greatly at a loss to know what could justify you in attacking citizens of the United States who are in the lawful performance of duties devolving upon them under the Constitution in organizing and instructing the militia of the State, in obedience to her laws, and therefore have been disposed to doubt the correctness of the information I have received.

"'I would be glad to know from you personally whether there is any truth in the statements that are constantly pouring into my ears. So far as regards any hostility being intended towards the United States or its property or representatives by any portion of my command, or, as far as I can learn (and I think I am fully informed), of any other part of the State forces, I can positively say that the idea has never been entertained. On the contrary, prior to your taking command of the arsenal I proffered to Maj. Bell, then in command of the very few troops constituting its guard, the services of myself and all my command, and if necessary the whole power of the State to protect the United States in the full possession of all their property. Upon Gen. Harney taking command of this department I made the same proffer of services to him, and authorized his adjutant-general, Capt. Williams, to communicate the fact that such had been done to the War Department. I have had no occasion since to change any of the views I entertained at that time, neither of my own volition nor through orders of my constitutional commander.

"'I trust that, after this explicit statement, we may be able by fully understanding each other to keep far from our borders the misfortunes which so unhappily afflict our common country. This communication will be handed to you by Col. Bowen, my chief of staff, who will be able to explain anything not set forth in the foregoing. I am, sir,

"'Very respectfully,
"'Your obedient servant,
"'D. M. FROST,
"'*Brigadier-General Commanding Camp Jackson.*'

"This letter was dispatched by the hands of Col. John S. Bowen, at about eleven o'clock A.M. Soon after midday he returned with it, and reported that he had proffered it to Capt. Lyon, who had refused to receive it. He also reported that he had found Lyon mustering his forces, with the evident intention of at once leaving the arsenal. There could no longer be any doubt as to his intention of marching upon the camp, and the question of how he was to be met was considered. The encampment having been formed for instruction alone and not for war, no more than five rounds of ammunition had been supplied, and that only for the uses of the guard. Resistance, therefore, being out of the question, nothing remained but to calmly await events. In the mean time the same gentleman who had a few hours before given the first authentic information of Lyon's intentions returned in haste to say that he was on the march, but that he intended no act of immediate hostility, that he was advancing merely as a *posse comitatus* to the United States marshal, who was coming to make a formal demand for a body of arms believed to belong to the United States, and which had been deposited on the evening of the 8th in the camp."

Lyon, in fact, had resolved to capture the camp, as well as the contraband material in it, the soldiers as well as the equipments. His force was ample. He had five regiments of Missouri volunteers and five regiments of "Home Guards," then called the "United States Reserve Corps." He had several companies of the old "Citizen's Guard," organized in January, and five or six companies (nearly four hundred men) of United States regular troops, with abundant supplies of artillery, arms, and ammunition.

For the capture of Camp Jackson Gen. Lyon had made elaborate preparations. All the orders were given out, every colonel instructed, and every detail arranged.

In order to secure his "mounts," says Col. Peckham, "on the 9th of May, some time previous to his visit to Camp Jackson, Capt. Lyon dispatched Lieut. Thurneck with a note to Giles F. Filley, requesting that gentleman to procure and send to him at the arsenal by four o'clock P.M. thirty-six horses. Mr. Filley called at once upon Mr. James Harkness (Glasgow & Harkness) for assistance in purchasing the horses. Twenty-two were purchased at the stables of Messrs. Glasgow & Harkness and forwarded by Lieut. Thurneck to the arsenal, while Messrs. Filley and Harkness visited other places in order to secure the balance of the desired number. Enough were bought to make up, with some few which were loaned by Union citizens, to fill the order; and Giles F. Filley and O. D. Filley signed their names as securities to Mr. Harkness for their payment." Lyon in this matter disregarded army regulations because of his personal distrust of Maj. McKinstry, the department chief quartermaster.

The regiments selected by Lyon for the march and assault were the First, Second, Third, and Fourth

Missouri Volunteers and the Third and Fourth Home Guards. The other troops, with the regulars, were left at the arsenal to do guard duty. A few of the regulars, under Maj. Sweeney, acting as brigade commander, marched at the front of Col. Blair's regiment, which approached Camp Jackson by way of Laclede Avenue; Col. Boernstein's regiment marched up Pine Street, Col. Schüttner's up Market Street, Col. Sigel's up Olive Street, Col. Brown's up Morgan Street, and Col. McNeil's up Clark Avenue. In this way the camp would be surrounded, while six field-pieces were planted on adjacent heights so as to command the camp. Lyon marched at the head of the battalion of regulars. The marching was timed so that the heads of the different columns converged at their destination almost simultaneously. As was naturally to be expected, great excitement was the result of these unusual military movements.

In a contemporary account, written fresh from the scene for use in a newspaper the following morning, and thus not biased by any after-thoughts, we read:

"Unusual, and to some extent alarming, activity prevailed early yesterday morning at each rendezvous of the "Home Guard" and in the vicinity of the arsenal. The men recently provided with arms from the arsenal to the number of several thousand were ordered, we understand, to be at their different posts at twelve o'clock, in readiness to march as they might be commanded. A report gained some currency that Gen. Harney was expected on the afternoon train, and that the troops were to cross the river to receive him and escort him to the city. Very little reliance, however, was placed in this explanation of the military movements, and at about two o'clock P.M. the whole town became greatly agitated upon the circulation of the intelligence that some five or six thousand men were marching up Market Street, under arms, in the direction of Camp Jackson. The news proved to be correct, except as to the number, and in this case the report rather underestimated the extent of the force. According to our best information there were probably not less than seven thousand men, under Capt. Lyon commanding the United States troops at this post), with about twenty pieces of artillery.

"The troops, as stated above, marched at quick time up Market Street, and on arriving near Camp Jackson rapidly surrounded it, planting batteries upon all the heights overlooking the camp. Long files of men were stationed in platoons at various points on every side, and a picket-guard established covering an area of say two hundred yards. The guards, with fixed bayonets and muskets at half cock, were instructed to allow none to pass or repass within the limits thus taken up.

"By this time an immense crowd of people had assembled in the vicinity, having gone thither in carriages, buggies, rail-cars, baggage-wagons, on horseback, and on foot. Numbers of men seized rifles, shot-guns, or whatever other weapons they could lay hands upon and rushed pell-mell to the assistance of the State troops, but were, of course, obstructed in their designs. The hills, of which there are a number in the neighborhood, were literally black with people, hundreds of ladies and children stationing themselves with the throng, but, as they thought, out of harm's way."

When his dispositions were fully made, Gen. Lyon sent Maj. B. G. Farrar to Gen. Frost with the note which follows:

"HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES TROOPS,
"ST. LOUIS, MO., May 10, 1861.

"GEN. D. M. FROST, *commanding Camp Jackson:*

"SIR,—Your command is regarded as evidently hostile to the government of the United States.

"It is for the most part made up of those secessionists who have openly avowed their hostility to the general government, and have been plotting at the seizure of its property and the overthrow of its authority. You are openly in communication with the so-called Southern Confederacy, which is now at war with the United States; and you are receiving at your camp from said Confederacy and under its flag large supplies of the material of war, most of which is known to be the property of the United States. These extraordinary preparations plainly indicate none other than the well-known purpose of the Governor of this State, under whose orders you are acting, and whose purpose, recently communicated to the Legislature, has just been responded to in the most unparalleled legislation, having in direct view hostilities to the general government and co operation with its enemies.

"In view of these considerations, and of your failure to disperse in obedience to the proclamation of the President, and of the eminent necessities of State policy and welfare, and the obligations imposed upon me by instructions from Washington, it is my duty to demand, and I do hereby demand of you, an immediate surrender of your command, with no other conditions than that all persons surrendering under this demand shall be humanely and kindly treated. Believing myself prepared to enforce this demand, one-half hour's time before doing so will be allowed for your compliance therewith.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"N. LYON,
"*Captain Second United States Infantry, Commanding Troops.*"

Gen. Frost then had, he says, six hundred and thirty-five militia on duty in the camp. The newspaper account goes on to say that "immediately upon the receipt of Gen. Lyon's letter, Gen. Frost called a hasty consultation of the officers of his staff. The conclusion arrived at was about as follows: The brigade was in no condition to make resistance to a force so numerically superior; with but a few field-pieces

of small calibre, and with less than a dozen rounds of cartridges for his command, a battle must necessarily be of short duration and of but one result,—the total rout and defeat of the State troops; to have withstood an attack would have been sheer recklessness and cruelty to the men of Gen. Frost's command; in short, the brigade was not by any means in a war condition. Gen. Frost stated, moreover, that he had no war to wage upon the United States or its troops; that he was only acting in cheerful obedience to the orders of his superior officer, and in compliance with the laws of the State; that he had anticipated no conflict, and would not willingly jeopardize the lives of his men in anything that might be construed into hostility to the United States government. 'Only one course was to be pursued, and that was quickly agreed upon, viz., a surrender."

Gen. Frost, in his narrative, says,—

"The events following the demand above recited may be briefly stated as follows: A hasty council of the chief officers was called, the demand read to them, and their opinion asked for. A moment's consideration of our hopelessly defenseless condition was sufficient to elicit a unanimous vote to surrender, and reply was made accordingly in the following words, to wit:

"'CAMP JACKSON, Mo., May 10, 1861.

"'Capt. N. LYON, *Commanding U. S. Troops.*

"'SIR.—I never for a moment conceived the idea that so illegal and unconstitutional a demand as I have just received from you would be made by an officer of the United States army.

"'I am wholly unprepared to defend my command from this unwarranted attack, and shall therefore be forced to comply with your demand. I am, sir, very respectfully,

"'Your obedient servant,

"'D. M. FROST,

"'*Brig.-Gen. Comdg. Camp Jackson, M. V. M.*'"

The contemporary account proceeds: "The demand of Capt. Lyon was accordingly agreed to. The State troops were therefore made prisoners of war, but an offer was made to release them on condition that they would take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and would swear not to take up arms against the government. These terms were made known to the several commands, and the opportunity given to all who might feel disposed to accede to them to do so. Some eight or ten men signified their willingness, but the remainder, about eight hundred, preferred, under the circumstances, to become prisoners. (A number of the troops were absent from the camp in the city on leave.) Those who declined to take the prescribed oath said that they had already sworn allegiance to the United States and to defend the government, and to repeat it now would be to admit that they had been in rebellion, which they would not concede.

"The preparations for the surrender and for marching as prisoners, under the escort of the arsenal troops, occupied an hour or two. The brigade was then formed in line, headed by Gen. Frost and his staff on horseback, and with colors flying and drums beating marched through the wood skirting the road up to an opening that had been made in the fence near the turnpike. Here a halt was ordered for some reason, and the opportunity was improved by a large crowd of excited citizens to draw near the officers of the staff and salute them with cheers. The men appeared dejected and rather sad, but evidently were not conscious of having done anything cowardly. One of the officers achieved a volley of deafening huzzas by riding up to a fence and hacking away at it with his sword, breaking and bending it so as to render it useless. It was a very handsome sword, costing one hundred dollars, and was a recent present from some military friends. This example was followed by others amidst shouts of applause."

Gen. Frost's narrative is clearer and more graphic. He says,—

"Orders were at once sent to the companies (still engaged at their military exercises) to march to their camp grounds, stack their arms, and form into line by battalions. These orders having been executed, Capt. Thos. W. Sweeny, with his regulars, was sent forward by Capt. Lyon to take possession of the camp and its property, public and private, whilst Lieut. John M. Schofield, of the regulars, was delegated to conduct the prisoners out of the camp on their way to imprisonment in the arsenal. Preparatory to departure from the camp, the prisoners had been formed into line, facing to the right flank, with the First Regiment leading, closely followed by the Second, and in this order they were closed up, so that the leading files had passed out at the northeast corner of the camp-ground, at which point the fence had been torn down to admit of egress upon the road, and proceeded about a block and a half along Olive Street towards the city. Then a halt was ordered, and the prisoners kept standing in their ranks, unarmed of course, and in a line nearly parallel with the Olive Street road, and at a distance varying from a few feet to perhaps seventy yards therefrom. The road itself was occupied by a portion of Lyon's command, drawn up in open battle facing the line of prisoners, and extending both east and west far beyond the extremities of that line. Lieut. Schofield, a thorough soldier and polished gentleman, having fulfilled his orders in thus placing the prisoners, remained beside the late camp commander, who, surrounded by his mounted staff, formed a small cavalcade at the head of the column. In this position the troops and prisoners were held stationary for a long time, probably two or three hours, whilst an anxious consultation seemed to be in progress between the leading captors.

"By the terms of the surrender officers were permitted to retain their side-arms,—*i.e.*, their swords; but whilst the prisoners were held at a halt in front of Lyon's troops, a German officer came down the line demanding the swords of all officers, and claiming to act by order of Capt. Lyon. When he made this demand, Col. Knapp, of the First Regiment,—that officer wore at his side a valuable weapon that had been presented to him by his command,—finding remonstance against its seizure of no avail, determined to break rather than surrender it into the

hands of captors who, by even making the demand, violated their honor. He accordingly broke the blade over a fence-post, thus preventing the weapon, especially valued as a memento, from being seized as a trophy in violation of the assurance previously given not to take their swords from the officers of the command. This act directed attention to what the German officer was doing, and immediately after it all swords that almost had been taken were restored to their owners by the orders of Lieut. Schofield, who had been reminded of the terms of surrender by the camp commander.

"In the mean time hordes of men, women, and children, hearing of the movement of Lyon's force, came flocking after it and filled all the avenues of the camp, crowding around the prisoners, and filling the narrow space that separated them from the troops occupying the Olive Street road. As all St. Louis was excited to madness that day, the natural result of so long a halt in the midst of a furious multitude soon showed itself. Injurious and insulting remarks were hurled from the crowd against Lyon's troops. Their military appearance was criticised and ridiculed. Still the fatal halt (which has never been explained) was maintained, whilst the wild excitement of the unthinking crowd and the animosity of the raw, undisciplined troops were rapidly increasing."

Col. Peckham says that "Capt. C. Blandowski, of Company F (Third Missouri Volunteers), had been ordered with his company to guard the western gateway leading into the camp. The surrendered troops had passed out and were standing passively between the inclosing lines on the road, when a crowd of disunionists began hostile demonstrations against Company F. At first these demonstrations consisted only of vulgar epithets and the most abusive language; but the crowd, encouraged by the forbearance and the silence of the Federal soldiers, began hurling rocks, brickbats, and other missiles at the faithful company. Notwithstanding several of the company were seriously hurt by these missiles, each man remained in line, which so emboldened the crowd that they discharged pistols at the soldiers, at the same time yelling and daring the latter to fight."

Then ensued a dreadful scene. The troops fired with fatal effect. Many were killed and wounded, and a feeling of bitter hostility engendered which before it could be allayed desolated half the State of Missouri with fire and sword, and deluged it in the blood of its best and bravest citizens.[1]

Col. Peckham says, "Not until one of his men was shot dead, several severely wounded, and himself shot in the leg did the captain (Blandowski) feel it his duty to retaliate, and as he fell he commanded his men to fire. The order was obeyed, and the multitude fell back, leaving upon the grass-covered mound some twenty of their number dead or dying. Some fifteen were instantly killed, and several others died within an hour. Several of Sigel's men were wounded and two killed."

Among the wounded were Dr. Roepke, Thomas Meek, John J. Weigart, Michael Davy, Mr. Chapman, Jerome Downey, W. L. Carroll, John Rice, C. Wilson, John Scherer, Fred. D. Allen, Mr. Bradford, John Matthews. Numbers of the wounded were not officially reported. Capt. Lyon, in his own report of the disturbance, says,—

"The first firing was some half-dozen shots near the head of the column, composed of the First Regiment, which was guarding the prisoners. It occurred in this wise: The artillery were stationed upon the bluff northeast of Camp Jackson, with their pieces bearing on the camp. The men of this command were most insultingly treated by the mob with the foulest epithets, were pushed, struck, and pelted with stones and dirt. All this was patiently borne until one of the mob discharged a revolver at the men. At this they fired, but not more than six shots, which were sufficient to disperse that portion of the mob. None of the First Regiment (Col. Blair's) fired, although continually and shamefully abused by both prisoners and the mob. The second and most destructive firing was from the rear of the column guarding the prisoners. The mob at the point intervening between Camp Jackson and the rear of the column, and in fact on all sides, were very abusive; and one of them, on being

her face cold and white from the sudden touch of death. We counted fifteen dead persons, and half as many wounded lying around. The only bodies recognized last night were those of Walter McDowell, living on Elizabeth Street, killed by a shot in the temple; Emily Sommers, a girl of fourteen, whose parents live on Carr and Seventeenth Streets; Thomas A. Haren, residence on Sixth Street above O'Fallon; and Nicholas Knobloch, an artilleryman. A son of Capt. Andrew Icenhower was killed by a gunshot in the chest. A man named Carl, a Mrs. McCauliff, and a mechanic at the Pacific Machine-Shop, Christian Dean, were recognized after being taken to the dead-house.

"The wounded who were unable to be moved were suitably cared for on the grounds. Mr. Claiborne Wilson was wounded in the thigh, the ball entering through his coat pocket, and forcing a handkerchief with it into his body. Dr. Roepke, living at Eleventh and Madison Streets, was wounded in the side. Trueman Wright received two balls in the hip. Frank Dallen, living on Spruce Street, between Sixth and Seventh, was wounded in the leg. Denis Keliher injured in the same manner. These were all the names that could be learned at the time, owing to the removal of the injured by their friends. The most of the people exposed to the fire of the soldiers were citizens, with their wives and children, who were merely spectators and took no part in the demonstration whatever. As night closed in and hid the ghastly horrors of the scene, a German regiment took possession of the bloodstained camp and the tents of the State soldiers."

[1] An eye-witness, who went over the camp immediately after it was captured, says, after the firing began, men, women, and children were beheld running wild and frantically from the scene. "Many while running were suddenly struck to the ground, and the wounded and dying made the late beautiful field look like a battle-ground. We went over the ground immediately after the occurrence, and a more fearful and ghastly sight is seldom seen. Men lay gasping in the agony of death, and staining the green grass with their blood as it flowed from their wounds. Children of eight or ten years of age were pale and motionless, as if asleep under the trees, and women cried in pain as they laid upon the ground. One, a girl of fourteen, presented a mournful picture as she reclined against a stump,

expostulated with, became very belligerent, drew his revolver and fired at Lieut. Saxton. The man who commenced the firing, preparatory to a fourth shot, laid his pistol across his arm, and was taking deliberate aim at Lieut. Saxton, when he was thrust through with a bayonet, and fired upon at the same time, being killed instantly.

"Here, the column of troops having received the order to march, Lieut. Saxton's command passed on, and a company in his rear became the object of a furious attack from the mob. After several of them were shot they came to a halt and fired with fatal effect. The mob in retreating from both sides of the line returned the fire, and the troops replied again.

"The sad results are much to be lamented. The killing of innocent men, women, and children is deplorable. There was no intention to fire upon peaceable citizens. The regular troops were over in the camp, beyond the mob, and in range of the firing. The troops manifested every forbearance, and at last discharged their guns, simply obeying the impulse, natural to us all, of self-defense.

"If innocent men, women, and children, whose curiosity placed them in a dangerous position, suffered with the guilty, it is no fault of the troops."

Gen. Frost's narrative of the occurrence is as follows:

"Suddenly, and without warning, some shots of musketry were delivered at the head of the column of prisoners of Col. Knapp's regiment, followed almost immediately by volley after volley, extending in regular succession down the line of Lyon's troops from east to west, until apparently every regiment had thus 'fired by company.' The regularity and precision of the firing indicated beyond question that it was done [illegible] order each captain repeating the command of his predecessor.

"In an official statement of this affair, authorized by N. Lyon (Peckham, page 154), will be found these words: 'After several of them were shot they came to a halt and fired with fatal effect. The mob in retreating from both sides of the lines returned the fire, and the troops replied again. The command was then given by Gen. Lyon to cease firing, and the order was promptly obeyed,' etc. . . . As the technical command to 'cease firing' was so promptly obeyed, the order to 'commence firing' may very properly be assumed to have preceded it.

"But again in the paper above referred to will be found these words, 'There was no intention to fire upon peaceable citizens.' The intention to fire upon the prisoners of war is therefore to be inferred from Capt. Lyon's own statement. Certainly he does not deny the intention nor its execution.

"The observations of the commander of the camp led him to believe at the time, and he still believes, that the firing was stopped by Lieut. Schofield, who, being reproached for allowing unarmed prisoners of war to be murdered, galloped rapidly in the direction of the firing, which ceased only when he reached the scene of it.

"The reputed sins of Camp Jackson having now been avenged in the blood of fifteen citizens and prisoners dead upon the ground, including a babe in its mother's arms, and (at the usual computation of five to one) at least seventy-five more wounded, many of whom afterward died, the extraordinary halt before referred to was quickly broken and the prisoners were rapidly marched between two regiments to their prison in the arsenal, where they arrived at dusk. The rank and file were all huddled together in a single empty store-room, capable only of holding them when standing close together, and exit from which for any purpose whatever was prevented by armed guards. A movement was inaugurated by Lyon, as soon as the prisoners were safely secured, looking towards getting happily rid of captives whom he had no law, civil or military [illegible] as such.

"To that end a proposition was made that they [illegible] their parole not to bear arms against the United States [illegible] that be released. In reply to this it was asserted [illegible] such parole would leave the inference that there was [illegible] tification for their capture, and it was at once refused [illegible]

"They were accordingly rigidly confined to their [illegible] kept standing all night (because there was not room [illegible] even if the filth which covered the floor had permitted [illegible] Thus were the rank and file of the prisoners held for [illegible] hours almost without food or water or light, in order [illegible] come their obstinate determination to refuse to be paroled [illegible] to promise not to serve against a government which they [illegible] already sworn to support.

"At the end of that time the persuasive eloquence [illegible] prison-house had removed all hesitancy as to the manner of getting out of it, which to most of them had become a matter of life or death, and so on the evening of the 11th the parole was given and they were discharged.

"The commissioned officers, thanks to Capts. Totten, Saxton, Sweeny, Schofield, and others of the regulars, were as well treated as the circumstances of their captors permitted. They shared with them their rooms, their provisions, and their beds as far as they would go, and but for the armed sentinels at the doors they might have fancied themselves, although rather numerous, still honored guests."[1]

[1] An event of this exciting and deplorable character always leads to much confusion of statements. In the case of Camp Jackson there was a coroner's inquest, and a good many facts also came out from eye-witnesses. Below we give a summary of such of these things as seem worthy to be preserved, and constitute part of the "record" which the future historian will need in order to form his own judgment.

Capt. West's Report (*Missouri Republican*, May 14th).

"MR. PASCHALL,—In compliance with my note of this morning, I herewith submit a statement, upon honor, of what actually occur on the right of the command, where the first firing took place, in answer to the statement furnished to Capt. Lyon, as published in the *Democrat* of the 13th inst.

"We had been marched out of camp at the head of the [illegible] Regiment, and were halted on Olive Street, with a [illegible] pany in the centre of our company, on the north side of Olive, and immediately opposite to a brick dwelling with a wooden front, and distanced two hundred and fifty yards from the terminus of the Olive Street Railroad. On the hill above mentioned was posted a body of men with muskets, three [illegible] four deep, and commanded by a German, who was addressed as major. The artillery were stationed in the rear of the hill, in a more elevated position. The first firing took place on the hill, and not among the artillery, as stated in Capt Lyon's report to the *Democrat*.

"The west front of this hill was graded to the [illegible] street, and on the level space in front of it was congregated a number of men, women, and children, who, together with the crowd in the rear of this column of troops, were heaping on them a great amount of wordy insult, but not [illegible] was [illegible]

"The officer in command swore that if they did [illegible] would make them, and the crowd answered by a howl, and ordered his men to charge bayonets and [illegible] loading.

"His order was obeyed, and whilst the crowd [illegible] and children were fleeing before the bayonets [illegible] them, not six, but at least twenty or thirty [illegible]

"I immediately cried to him to stop his men from killing defenceless men and women, and added that he was neither an officer nor a soldier to have given such a command. He ordered his men back to the ranks, and turning to me, denied having given the order to fire. I replied that the order to charge was equally criminal. I then looked up and down the line in the hope of seeing some officer whom I knew, and perceiving Capt. John S. Cavender, requested him to approach. He came within the lines, when I told him that if he possessed any feelings of humanity to report that officer, and have his men arrested for firing upon a retreating crowd. He replied that he would attend to it, and started in search of Capt. Lyon, returning in a few moments with him.

"An inspection of arms was at once ordered, and *whilst* it was taking place Capt. Lyon, finding that they had fired without orders, commanded the officer to march his men off the ground and report himself and them under arrest.

"I would add that when their commander fired on the crowd, the escort on each side of my men cocked their pieces and brought them to bear upon us, and only came to a shoulder when I ordered them to throw up their muskets, adding, 'You infamous scoundrels, do you intend to fire upon unarmed prisoners?'

"GEORGE W. WEST.
"Captain Co. G, First Regiment M. V. M.

"P. S.—In addition, I will add that I have the sworn statement of twenty-five members of my company to the correctness of the account which I have given of this affair."

Capt. Saxton's Statement.

"ST. LOUIS, May 14, 1861.

"In consequence of some delay in the march of the column of which the battalion of regular soldiers under my command formed a part, my company was halted for a short time near the scene of the tragedy near Camp Jackson. At that point persons in the crowd became very insulting and abusive towards the soldiers under my command and myself, threatening to kill me: and subsequently, as I am credibly informed, shots were fired at myself, which, fortunately, did not take effect. One shot passed through Sergt. Hudson's cap. The regular soldiers displayed great coolness, and did not fire upon the mob; the only injury inflicted by them was to strike down with the bayonet a man who was taking deliberate aim with a pistol at Capt. Totten or myself. I was marching my company onward, and the firing was commenced immediately afterwards by the volunteer regiment immediately in my rear.

Signed) "R. SAXTON,
"Capt. U. S. A."

After a protracted and thorough sifting of the whole evidence presented at the inquest, the following verdict was rendered: "That the several victims of the events which took place at Camp Jackson on the 10th of May came to their death from gunshot wounds inflicted by musket-balls discharged by certain United States volunteers, under the command of Gen. N. Lyon, and Cols. F. P. Blair, H. Boernstein, and others."

In the case of Nicholas Knoblock, an artillery-man, found dead in a tent, was that his death was caused by fracture of the skull and laceration of the brain, caused by some [illegible] to the jury; and in the case of Philip Lester, but from the effect of their wounds): Philip Leister, John Sweikhardt, Casper H. Glencoe, William Eisenhardt, P. Doane, Henry Jungle, Walter McDowell, Nicholas Knoblock, Jacob Carter, Emma Somers, that he came to his death by a pistol-shot through the breast, inflicted by some unknown Union Home Guard.

Statement of Dr. Johnston.

"ST. LOUIS, May 14, 1861.

"EDITOR *Republican*,—It is with regret and sorrow that I refer to the scene of unprovoked murder and slaughter of unoffending citizens of last Friday afternoon. I left my residence on Pine Street, near Thirteenth, to come down town to my office, but on reaching Twelfth Street, my attention was directed to Olive Street, where I saw a column of soldiers going west, out Olive. I immediately joined this column of soldiers, for the purpose of ascertaining what was going on, when I was informed by some gentleman that the troops from the arsenal were on their way to take Camp Jackson. I followed this column of soldiers, and nothing occurred to attract my attention until we got up to Twentieth Street, when a song was struck up by some soldiers in German (for to me they all seemed to be Germans). When I asked what was the meaning of this, I was answered that it was a German war-song, for it was not in my language. When the column arrived at the edge of the grove, or right opposite to Mr. Coleman's house, part of the column with a battery was filed off immediately to the northeast, with the left resting on Coleman's house. During the whole of this time I did not hear one word from any *citizen* which was calculated to offend the ear of any one. I now immediately turned north, and when I arrived on top of the hill, about one hundred yards from where the battery was planked, the first thing that attracted my attention near the battery was a German soldier beating a young man with his sword, and on ascertaining the cause, I found that he did not move his horse and buggy soon enough to suit this brute of a soldier. I now looked to the west, and saw a column of soldiers filing into Olive Street from Grand Avenue. This column marched up Olive until it met the column already stationed on Olive. I then left the top of the hill north of Olive, and went near Grand Avenue, and joined the column in the rear of Olive, and walked behind this column to the eastward, occasionally conversing with the soldiers, and about one hundred yards west of the pond I stopped a few moments and held a short conversation with an officer whom I took to belong to the United States regular service, who spoke and acted like a gentleman. But how different it was when I arrived at the end of the column on Olive Street and immediately opposite Mr. Coleman's house. Here I first learned that Camp Jackson had surrendered by hearing a little German, who really had a sword in his hand, exclaim to another that the 'damn scoundrels had surrendered, and that they could have no fight.' I replied to this neophyte Napoleon not to be uneasy, that he might have fighting enough to do yet, and I was now marched off and put under guard; but, luckily for me and my companion, I happened to know by sight Col. Bishop, whom I called, and he immediately had us released. And with all due deference to Capt. Lyon, I must say that I did not hear any citizen use one word which was calculated to insult any of his soldiers, or to wound their very sensitive feelings, and even if they had used all the foul language known to both the English and German vocabulary, would this have been a cause sufficient to justify his soldiers in brutally murdering women and children, as was done on last Friday afternoon? I now appeal to the soldiers and to their officers, both North and South, in this

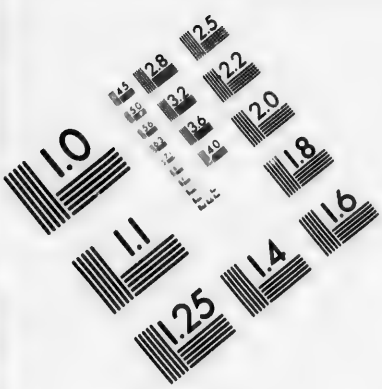
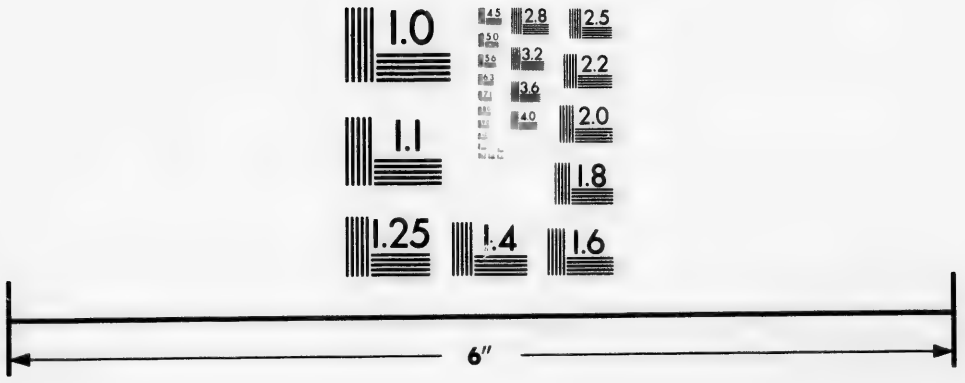
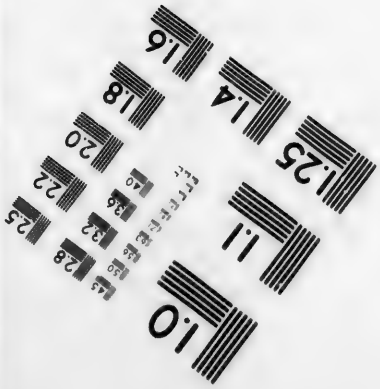
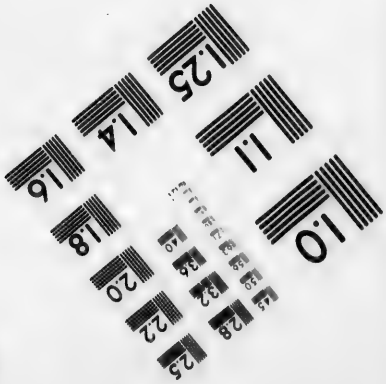




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John Roepke (or Koeper), William Juenhower, William Sheffield, William Patton Summers,[1] Patrick Enright, Capt. Blandowski, Armand Latour, John Waters, Thomas A. Huhren, J. J. Jones, Eric Wright, James McDonald, Francis Wheelan, Charles Bodsen, Mrs. Elisa McAuliff, Christopher Dean, John Underwood,[2] John English, Jacques Yerdi, Benjamin Dunn, Frank D. Allen, and a private soldier.

Intense excitement very naturally followed this bloody event. Popular feelings had been worked up already to a very high pitch, and now St. Louis seethed like a volcano in eruption. The mob filled the streets, and practically usurped the functions of government. Business was suspended everywhere; stores and even the fronts of dwellings were closed. There were numerous collisions, bloody assaults, and more than one murder, and Col. Peckham says that on that Friday night and the ensuing Saturday "it was a bold act for any known Union man to show his face on the street north of Walnut, south of Cass Avenue, and east of Twelfth Street." He adds, and with apparent justice, that

"fortunate, indeed, was it for the city of St. Louis in general, and the proprietors of the *Missouri Democrat* in particular, that the police force were under the control, during those troublous times, of such a chief as James McDonough. Whatever may have been his sympathies or predilections in the great political issues of that day, he did not allow them to interfere with his official duties. Regarding himself as a conservator of the peace, he struggled to prevent violence and enforce order. On the night in question he was exceedingly vigilant, and with admirable foresight had so arranged his force that he could furnish assistance to any of the newspapers which might be threatened by a mob. As the crowd rushed down Locust Street and across Second Street, they were greeted by a platoon of thirty policemen, who, with bayonets fixed, were in line extending across the street and facing the mob. The chief soon gave them to understand that his duty was to keep the peace, and he intended faithfully to discharge that duty. The crowd reflected, and hearing orders given, in case of resistance, to use both ball and bayonet, set up a shout of derision, but did not advance. Finally, convinced they were wasting time in that locality, they turned around, and shouting '*Anzeiger!*' '*Anzeiger!*' moved off to attack that office. McDonough had some of his men there also, but they were strongly backed by a company or two of Sigel's soldiers. The mob then moved off towards the Planters' House and the Berthold mansion, and until after midnight groups were standing in many places throughout that portion of the city, engaged in boisterous conversation upon the events of the day and cursing the 'd—d Dutch.'"

unholy and unnatural war, to spare the unoffending women and children.

"WILLIAM JOHNSTON, M.D."

Another Statement.

"We were standing on Olive Street, immediately in the rear of the company who commenced the firing. They were facing towards the south side of Olive, and were forming in ranks two deep. There was a dense crowd of citizens—men, women, and children—lining the south side of Olive Street, and back on a slight rise in Lindell's Grove. The crowd had been abusing the soldiers, cursing, and hurrahing for Jeff. Davis, but had not thrown a stone nor fired a shot at the soldiers. They had been assailed with nothing worse than words. Finally a citizen, slightly in advance of the crowd, by some means gave offense to some of the soldiers, who jumped out of their ranks (some five or six of them) and presented their bayonets at him. He threw up his hands and said, What are you going to do? One of the soldiers drew back his gun and stabbed him with the bayonet. The soldier immediately upon his right fired at the same moment. The company then commenced an irregular volley, firing right into the densest of the crowd, who turned and ran up the hill through Lindell's Grove. We stood for a few minutes until the firing became general down the line, and then turned and ran across the common north of Olive Street. When we were about twenty or thirty steps distant we could hear the bullets whistling around us and see them striking in the water of the pond just ahead of us. After getting over on the hill we turned to look at them. The soldiers were, some of them, still pursuing the crowd. We saw an officer, a large, tall, and fleshy man, strike a man who was down twice with his sword. We do not know the officer's name, but know him well by sight. He wore a dark-blue uniform, and had been mounted on a bay horse previous to the commencement of the butchery.

"We were standing only some five or six feet in the rear of the company who commenced the firing. It was a German company and not in uniform. We were looking directly at the men who fired the first shots, and again state positively that there had not been a stone or other missile thrown, nor a pistol fired at them, and that the firing was not provoked by anything more than words, and that the account as published in the *Democrat*, that they were assailed by rocks, brickbats, and other missiles, and that pistols were fired at them, or a soldier of Corps H was killed before the troops fired on the defenseless crowd of men, women, and children, is untrue in every particular.

"The company which first fired was the rear-guard; immediately beyond them in line, towards the east, were the prisoners, who were in the centre of the street, with a rank of Federal soldiers on either side of them.

"In giving the above statement we have desired to state nothing but the plain unvarnished facts of the first firing on the crowd, without prejudice to one or the other party, believing that the truth should be known by all, and we do not believe that any one was in a better position to see, or did see more of the commencement of the affray than ourselves.

"We did not hear the officers of the company give orders to fire on the crowd.

"VOLNEY A. WOODFOLK.
"PATRICK CONNALLAN.
"J. B. HENTHORNE."

[1] W. P. Summers was shot by a Minié rifle ball while standing some distance north of Olive Street. He was cashier of a bank at Newark, N. J., and was on a visit to St. Louis. He went to Camp Jackson through curiosity.

[2] John Underwood was eighteen years of age. "It appears," says the *Republican* of May 15, 1861, "that he was stabbed in the thigh by a bayonet in the hands of the United States volunteers. According to a statement which he made previous to his death, he in company with several others were taken prisoners, although present at the camp-ground as spectators. After being taken prisoner, young Underwood sat down upon the ground. He had been seated but a short time when the troops suddenly approached, and one of them stabbed him with a bayonet."

There was very little congregating on the street corners. Everybody was on the move, and rapid pedestrianism was turned to account. Thousands upon thousands of restless human beings could be seen from almost every point of Fourth Street, all in search of the latest news. Imprecations loud and long were hurled into the darkening air, and the most unanimous resentment was expressed on all sides at the manner of firing into the crowds near Camp Jackson. Hon. J. R. Barret, Maj. Uriel Wright, and other speakers addressed a large and intensely excited crowd in front of the Planters' House, and other well-known citizens were similarly engaged at various other points in the city. All the drinking saloons, restaurants, and other public resorts of similar character were closed by their proprietors almost simultaneously at dark, and the windows of private dwellings were fastened, in fear of a general riot. Theatres and other public places of amusement were entirely out of the question, and nobody went near them.

Crowds of men rushed through the principal thoroughfares, bearing banners and devices suited to their several fancies, and by turns cheering and groaning. Some were armed, and others were not armed, and all seemed anxious to be at work. A charge was made on the gun-store of H. E. Dimick, on Main Street; the door was broken open, and the crowd secured fifteen or twenty guns before a sufficient number of police could be collected to arrest the proceedings. Chief McDonough marched down with about twenty policemen armed with muskets, and succeeded in dispersing the mob and protecting the premises from further molestation. Squads of armed policemen were stationed at several of the most public corners, and the offices of the *Missouri Democrat* and *Anzeiger des Westens* were placed under guard for protection. A great deal of excitement was exhibited in the neighborhood of the Health Office, where the bodies of some of the killed were brought. Others who were wounded and dying were also deposited there for whatever relief could be administered by surgical aid.

The family from which Gen. Daniel M. Frost, the commander of Camp Jackson, descended, emigrated to this country and settled near Jamaica Plains, Long Island, while that region was yet a wilderness, and became one of the best-known and most influential families of that portion of New York. One of his grandfathers served in the Revolutionary war, and his (Gen. Frost's) father was a man of fine attainments. He was a member of the Legislature, and was the referee of his neighbors in all matters requiring for their settlement a clear judgment and sound common sense. Mr. Frost was one of the most accomplished surveyors and civil engineers of his day, and was employed by the State to survey the upper part of the Hudson River, and made the first complete survey, soundings, and map of that stream. He was also engaged by the State to survey its wild lands in the northern counties, and located the railroad from Albany to Schenectady. He raised a company for the war of 1812, and was very active in his services to the government during that conflict.

Gen. D. M. Frost was born in Schenectady County, N. Y., Aug. 9, 1823. He received an excellent common-school education, and enjoyed a course of instruction at the Albany Academy, then presided over by Dr. T. Romeyn Beck, a noted teacher and author, upon whose recommendation he was admitted, when sixteen years of age, to the Military Academy at West Point. Here he graduated in 1844 with high honors, being the first up to that time in the institution who had been "among the first five" in every branch he had studied. He was also conspicuously proficient in fencing, wrestling, and the other athletic accomplishments which form part of a soldier's training.

Among his fellow-graduates and intimate acquaintances at West Point were many young men who became famous subsequently in the civil war and otherwise. Among the best known may be mentioned Gens. Grant, McClellan, Rosecrans, Franklin, Beauregard, and Lyon. Stone Pasha, the Egyptian celebrity of recent years, was a member of his class.

Upon graduating young Frost was assigned to the First Regiment of artillery as brevet second lieutenant, and passed two years in uneventful service, at the expiration of which, learning that his regiment was expected to guard sea-coast points, and desiring a more active career, he was at his own request transferred in 1846 to a regiment of mounted riflemen, which he joined at Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, and in the same year went to Mexico, and fought under Gen. Scott. Upon entering West Point he had presented a letter to this great soldier, who had received him kindly. Scott always took a more than common interest in the young cadet, often encouraged him by friendly commendation, and paid him numerous little attentions, naturally very flattering and cheering to the young soldier. Frost had the good fortune to be near Scott in the bloody battle of Churubusco, and even now cannot recall without emotion the demeanor of the old hero on that critical occasion. Lieut. Frost participated in all the engagements from Vera Cruz to Mexico, and at Cerro Gordo was, on Gen. Harney's

recommendation, breveted first lieutenant for gallant and meritorious conduct.

Peace having been declared he returned in the fall of 1848 to St. Louis, and in the spring of 1849 was ordered with his regiment across the plains to Oregon, being charged as regimental quartermaster with the conduct of the immense train which accompanied the expedition,—a most arduous and important service, which he performed to the entire satisfaction of the commanding officer. The next year he returned to St. Louis, and in April, 1851, married Miss Graham, granddaughter of John Mullanphy, and daughter of the late Maj. Graham, a brave soldier, and one of Gen. Harrison's aides-de-camp in the war of 1812.

Lieut. Frost's judgment and ability had always been held in the highest regard by his superior officers, and on the recommendation of Gen. Scott he was dispatched to Europe to gather information concerning cavalry drill and discipline. In 1852 he returned and joined his regiment in Texas, where in pursuit of a band of marauding Indians he was seriously wounded and nearly lost the sight of one eye.

In 1853 he returned to St. Louis, and considerations of a domestic character induced him to resign his commission; but his interest in military matters still continued, and he was soon after elected and for five years was commander of the Washington Guards, an organization then forming which afterwards became locally famous.

From this time for some years he engaged largely in business, first in the lumber trade, and later, under the title of D. M. Frost & Co., in immense fur operations on the upper Missouri, having numerous large trading stations throughout that region.

In 1854 he was elected to the State Senate as a Benton Democrat, serving four years. He was active in shaping the legislation of that period, but took especial interest in two measures. The first was a bill to secure the closing of all beer gardens and saloons in St. Louis on Sunday. Being then, as he is now, a strong opponent of sumptuary legislation, Mr. Frost energetically combated this measure and succeeded in defeating it.

The other measure was the military bill under which the famous "Camp Jackson" was organized in May, 1861. As a student of the political history of his country, and particularly of the exciting controversies on the slavery question, Mr. Frost had become convinced that war between the North and South was sooner or later inevitable; and at an early period of his career in the Senate he delivered a speech predicting that in 1856, or at the latest in 1860, the differences between the two sections would culminate in bloodshed unparalleled in history. He argued that in the event of such a catastrophe Missouri, being a Border State, would be among the first and the greatest sufferers, and that civil war would visit her with peculiar horrors. In order to avert the war, or at least to lessen the chances of its precipitation, Gen. Frost conceived that the Border States should organize a militia sufficient to command and enforce the peace between the hostile sections. At one time there was reason to think that Kentucky and Maryland would fall in with this view. The bill was framed by Gen. Frost and B. Gratz Brown, solely, as this explanation shows, as a sort of police measure between the States; but Frost's Cassandra prophecies fell on deaf ears and his warnings were unheeded, and it was not until 1858 that, after many vicissitudes, the bill became a law, and then only after having been shorn of that which would have made it effective, namely, the provision appropriating sufficient money to raise an effective force. But the patriotic intention of the law was none the less clear, and should not be forgotten when the incidents of the capture of Camp Jackson come to be considered.

Upon the passage of this measure Mr. Frost was elected brigadier-general commanding the First Military District of Missouri, embracing the city and county of St. Louis. While acting in this capacity he was in charge of Camp Jackson, in May, 1861, when it was captured by Gen. Lyon. "Probably no single event of the war," says a friend of Gen. Frost from whom we received the material facts of this sketch, "has ever been discussed as this has been, and although more than twenty years have elapsed, the affair is yet misunderstood by many, who persist in declaring that the camp was established to aid Governor Jackson's secession designs, that Gen. Frost and his command sympathized with the South, and had treasonable designs upon the arsenal, and that, consequently, it became Gen. Lyon's patriotic duty to break it up. The latter conclusion would follow legitimately, perhaps, if the facts were as alleged, but Gen. Frost denies the premises as stated above.

"The camp was established by virtue of a law passed in 1858, in the hope that all the Border States would unite in raising a body of militia strong enough to keep the peace between the North and South. Whether that result would have been accomplished by such means may be questioned; but there is no doubt that such or similar united action on the part of those States would have exerted an incalculable moral influence on the two sections, and would, beyond dispute, have compelled an adjustment of the difficulties; for had it been well understood that Missouri, Ken-





D. H. Frost

tucky, Virginia, and Maryland would not secede, the South assuredly would not have taken the fatal plunge into secession, and the war would, for a season at least, have been stayed. At any rate, the object of the law was patriotic; and who can now say that the result would not have been what Gen. Frost anticipated had the other Border States joined in such action?

"Under this law encampments had been held in previous years, and the assembling of troops at Camp Jackson in 1861 was, therefore, in pursuance of well-known law and established custom. The camp was named in compliment to probably the most popular Governor Missouri ever had. It was organized May 6, 1861, and was composed mainly of citizens of St. Louis, many of whom had long served in the militia, and who had thus assembled, as they had done before, as a matter of military obligation, and without the slightest reference to the existing agitation. While no doubt some of them sympathized with the South, there is no proof that the great body of them did so to a greater extent than might have been predicated of men gathered from a city so closely bound to the South as St. Louis had always been. However, its members were serving under an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and they were presumably 'loyal;' the Stars and Stripes waved commandingly above the flag of Missouri, and to all external appearances the camp was a loyal gathering, assembled, as it had a right to assemble, under the laws of Missouri.

"It was, however, reported in Union circles that the Confederate flag was displayed over the camp; that recruits in large numbers were being mustered in for service in the Confederate armies. It was also charged that even the streets of the camp were named after Davis, Beauregard, and other Confederate leaders. Gen. Frost explicitly denies that there was ever to his knowledge a Confederate flag in the camp, that troops were ever enrolled for the Southern service, or that the streets were named as alleged, except as may have been done through the whim or caprice of some humorous soldier. In any proper encampment the streets are never named, and in Camp Jackson they were not named by any authority. Supposing 'the boys,' either playfully or in earnest, to have designated any of the streets after Southern leaders, Gen. Frost would have regarded it as a matter quite unworthy of his notice, and would not have paid any attention to it subsequently, but that it was prominently assigned by Gen. Harney as one of the reasons why the camp was broken up.

"As to the graver allegation that he had designs upon the arsenal, Gen. Frost submits the following: He had no force for that purpose, the troops under his command numbering only six hundred or seven hundred men. The camp having been formed for instruction and not for war, it was practically without ammunition, there being but five rounds, and that, which was exclusively for the guards, had been nearly exhausted. Now, had he actually entertained designs against the arsenal, he submits whether an officer of his experience would have contemplated so grave a step against a place so well guarded as the arsenal then notoriously was with such an inadequate force, and with one so inadequately equipped for such an undertaking?

"But it is further charged that the camp, even though conceded to have been lawfully convened, was still intended as a nucleus for hostile demonstrations upon the government property at St. Louis, and that its capture by Lyon was a strategic necessity. Had it been designed as a centre for offensive operations, however, would it, Gen. Frost asks, have been located in a valley, where, as was shown when the capture took place, it was easily commanded by cannon on the hills on every side? Such a location seems to have been singularly chosen if the design was to mass a large body of troops at Camp Jackson, either to proceed against the arsenal or overawe the loyal sentiment of St. Louis.

"Furthermore, Gen. Frost asserts that the camp was easy of access to all who chose to visit it; that it was daily thronged with people from St. Louis, and that Gen. Lyon or any of his subalterns had the amplest opportunity of learning the condition of affairs there. He could easily have convinced himself that no such alleged hostile preparations were being made, and if he believed such to be the case, he came to the conclusion only through blindness to well-known and notorious facts.

"When, on the 10th of May, Lyon proceeded against Camp Jackson with eight thousand men, planted cannon on all the neighboring heights, and demanded its surrender, Gen. Frost could only submit; but he made a manly and energetic protest against the illegality and unconstitutionality of Lyon's action, who, without the color of authority or excuse, as he (Frost) viewed it, had undertaken to make war upon the State of Missouri by attacking an encampment of her militia, assembled not in hostile array but for purposes of instruction, as had been done annually under a law of many years' standing.

"Gen. Frost was a witness of the deplorable slaughter which took place later on that memorable day, accompanied his men as prisoners to the arsenal, and joined in the parole that Lyon exacted of them as the read-

iest way out of the existing difficulty, although he protested against it as falsely assuming that he had borne arms against the United States. His parole lasted until the latter part of 1861, when he was exchanged for Col. Mulligan."

He then entered the Confederate army, serving until the latter part of 1863, and was in the battles of Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove. His services in the field were without marked distinction, but by the introduction of a system of drill and discipline in the Army of the Trans-Mississippi he rendered the Confederacy essential service. As commander at Little Rock he had charge of the Federal prisoners, and discharged the delicate and responsible duties of his position in accordance with the instincts of a humane and generous gentleman.

During the war his wife (who had remained on the plantation near St. Louis) was "banished," her only offense being that she had a husband in the Confederate army, and the fact that she and her five little children were homeless and uncared for induced Gen. Frost to tender his resignation, in the fall of 1863, to Gen. E. Kirby Smith. It was accepted, and Gen. Frost went to Montreal, where he was joined by his family. He remained in Montreal until the latter part of 1865, when he returned to his farm near St. Louis. He was actively engaged in the management of this property until 1876, when he retired, and since then his chief care has been to look after the estates of his children.

Gen. Frost's first marriage has been mentioned. His second wife was the daughter of Jules Chenier, the granddaughter of Antoine Chenier and the niece of Henry Gustave Soulard. His third wife was (like the first) a granddaughter of John Mullanphy.

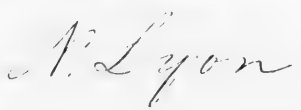
Gen. Frost has eleven children living. Public interest attaches to one of them, the son, who when the war broke out was a mere boy, and who is now the Hon. R. Graham Frost, member of Congress from one of the St. Louis districts.

Nathaniel Lyon, who commanded the forces that captured Camp Jackson, was born at Ashford, Windham Co., Conn., on the 14th of July, 1819, and was the son of Amasa Lyon and Keziah Knowlton. Two members of his mother's family, Thomas and Daniel Knowlton, were distinguished in the Revolutionary war, and his father was a respectable farmer and a leading member of the community in which he lived. Nathaniel worked on a farm and attended the village school until his eighteenth year, when (July 1, 1837) he entered the Military Academy at West Point, from which he graduated in 1841, being the eleventh in order of merit of his class. On leaving the academy he was appointed second lieutenant in the Second Regiment of infantry, and was ordered to Florida, where he served in the latter part of the Seminole war. He afterwards served at various posts in the western country, and behaved with conspicuous gallantry during the Mexican war. He took part in the bombardment and capture of Vera Cruz, and at the battle of Cerro Gordo his company was the only one to reach the crest of the hill in time to engage the Mexicans before their retreat. At Contreras his regiment performed important service in repelling a cavalry charge, and his own company, held in reserve in the centre of the hollow square, acted with great coolness and courage. On the following day, at the head of his men, he pursued the fleeing Mexicans and captured several pieces of artillery. He also distinguished himself at Churubusco, and the commander of his regiment in his report on the action recommended him to the special notice of the colonel commanding the brigade. He was promoted to the rank of brevet captain for his behavior in this action, and in the assault upon the City of Mexico again distinguished himself, being wounded while fighting near the Belen Gate. After the war with Mexico Capt. Lyon was ordered to Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, and in 1847 was dispatched with his regiment to California, by way of Cape Horn. He remained in California until 1853, his time being chiefly employed in fighting Indians in California and Oregon, and was afterwards employed in similar service in Kansas and Nebraska.

During the slavery agitation in Kansas he took an active part in favor of abolition principles, and in the summer of 1860, while stationed at Camp Riley, Kan., contributed a series of articles to a local paper, the *Manhattan Express*, advocating the election of Abraham Lincoln, which were afterwards collected and printed in a volume entitled "The Last Political Writings of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon." In the spring of 1861, Capt. Lyon was in command of the United States arsenal at St. Louis. On the 7th of May the police commissioners of the city demanded the removal of United States troops from all places occupied by them outside the arsenal grounds. The demand was refused by Capt. Lyon, and the matter was referred by the commissioners to the Governor and the Legislature, the position taken by the commissioners being that "Missouri had sovereign and exclusive jurisdiction of her whole territory," and "had delegated a portion of her sovereignty to the United States over certain tracts of land for military purposes, such as arsenals, parks, etc." The conclusion was that the United States government had no right

to occupy any portion of the soil of the government except that which had been ceded to it, and that the presence of troops should therefore be restricted to the arsenal. Capt. Lyon, anticipating that an attempt might be made on the part of the State troops assembled at Camp Jackson to seize the arsenal, collected a large force of Home Guards, and, as





already stated, took possession of Camp Jackson, and made the State troops prisoners. On the 14th of May the first four regiments of United States volunteers were formed into a brigade as the First Brigade Missouri Volunteers, and Capt. Lyon was elected brigadier-general. The next day he sent an expedition against the secessionists at Potosi, and the troops routed a Confederate cavalry company, captured fifty prisoners and a Confederate flag, and destroyed a lead manufactory. In the latter part of May, Gen. Lyon ordered the steamer "J. C. Swon" to be seized at Harlow's Landing, below St. Louis, and taken to the arsenal, his reason for this action being the allegation that the vessel had transported arms from Baton Rouge, La., to the Missouri troops under Gen. Frost at Camp Jackson. About five thousand pounds of lead, said to be on its way to the South, was also seized, in accordance with Gen. Lyon's orders, at Ironton, on the Iron Mountain Railroad.

On the 31st of May, Gen. Harney, in command at St. Louis, was relieved, and Gen. Lyon was left free to prosecute his vigorous policy. An interview with him was sought by Governor Jackson, Gen. Sterling Price, and other secession leaders, and was granted. In the course of the conversation which ensued and which lasted four hours, the Governor and his associates demanded that no United States troops should march through or quarter in Missouri. Gen. Lyon refused to accede to this demand, asserting that the government possessed the right to send its troops wherever it pleased, and announced his intention to protect all loyal citizens and to attack all disloyal ones wherever he found them. Governor Jackson returned to Jefferson City, and learning that Gen. Lyon was on his way with a strong force to take possession of the capital, withdrew on the morning of the 14th, together with the members of the Legislature and the State troops, to Boonville. Gen. Lyon followed in pursuit, and in a sharp skirmish defeated and dispersed the Confederate troops under Gen. J. S. Marmaduke on the 17th of June. On the 3d of July he left Boonville with a force of about two thousand men for the southwestern portion of the State, where the Confederate forces, under Gens. Sterling Price and McCullough, were rapidly augmenting. Gen. Lyon's little army, however, received large accessions as he advanced, until on the 20th it numbered about ten thousand men. After his arrival at Springfield his force decreased, owing to the expiration of the time for which many of the men had enlisted, and on the 1st of August it had diminished to six thousand. Anticipating an attack by Gen. McCullough, who was reported to have an army of fifteen thousand men, Gen. Lyon moved to Crane Creek, ten miles south of Springfield. On the morning of the 2d the column reached Dug Springs, where the Confederates were found drawn up in line of battle. After a short engagement the Confederate force retreated, but on the 6th, Gen. Lyon, being confronted by a large force, determined, after consultation with his officers, to retire towards Springfield. His position was now critical, and he applied to Gen. Fremont for reinforcements, but they were not forthcoming. On the evening of the 6th, the Confederate forces under Gen. McCullough and Gen. Sterling Price having effected a junction, established a camp on Wilson's Creek, about ten miles from Springfield, on the Fayetteville road. Gen. Lyon formed a project of surprising them by night, but afterwards abandoned it. On the 9th he determined to attack them simultaneously at either end of the camp, which extended about three miles along the banks of the creek. Gen. Sigel was in-

structed to make the attack on the extreme left, and Gen. Lyon led the main assault on the right.

The whole army left Springfield about sunset of the 9th, the left column taking the Fayetteville road, and the right the road leading to Mount Vernon. Early on the morning of the 10th they came upon the enemy strongly posted on Wilson's Creek. A desperate and stubbornly-contested engagement followed, and at a critical juncture Gen. Lyon, who had already been twice wounded, placed himself at the head of an Iowa regiment, whose colonel had fallen, and led it to the charge, crying, "Forward, men! I will lead you!" While thus advancing he was struck in the breast, just above the heart, by a rifle-ball, and fell dead from his horse. Maj. Sturgis then took command, and after the conflict had waged fiercely for some time with disastrous results to the Union forces, ordered a retreat to Springfield. Sigel's column was also badly routed and compelled to fall back. It is said that for several days before the battle of Wilson's Creek, Gen. Lyon appeared much depressed, and that on one occasion he said to a member of his staff, "I am a man believing in presentiments, and ever since this night surprise was planned I have had a feeling I cannot get rid of that it would result disastrously. Through the refusal of the government to properly reinforce me I am compelled to abandon the country. If I leave it without engaging the enemy the public will call me a coward. If I engage him I may be defeated, and my command cut to pieces. I am too weak to hold Springfield, and yet the people will demand that I bring about a battle with the very enemy I cannot keep a town against. How can this result otherwise than against us?"

The body of Gen. Lyon was temporarily interred on the farm of Hon. John S. Phelps, near the battle-field, on the afternoon of the 13th, and on the 26th it was taken to St. Louis on a special train. It was met at the Fourteenth Street depot by a detachment of Col. McNeil's Home Guards, and conveyed to an undertaker's establishment. On the 25th the following orders in relation to the battle of Wilson's Creek and the death of Gen. Lyon were issued by Gen. Fremont:

"General Orders No. 4.

"Headquarters Western Department,
"St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 25, 1861.

"1. The official reports of the commanding officer of the forces engaged in the battle near Springfield, Mo., having been received, the major-general commanding announces to the troops embraced in his command with pride and the highest commendation the extraordinary services to their country and flag rendered by the division of the brave and lamented Gen. Lyon.

"For thus nobly battling for the honor of their flag he now publicly desires to express to the officers and soldiers his cordial thanks, and commends their conduct as an example to their comrades whenever engaged against the enemies of the Union.

"Opposed by overwhelming masses of the enemy in a numerical superiority of upwards of twenty thousand against four thousand three hundred, or nearly five to one, the successes of our troops were nevertheless sufficiently marked to give to their exploits the moral effect of a victory.

"2. The general commanding laments, in sympathy with the country, the loss of the indomitable Gen. Nathaniel Lyon. His fame cannot be better eulogized than in these words from the official report of his gallant successor, Maj. Sturgis, United States Cavalry, 'Thus gallantly fell as true a soldier as ever drew a sword; a man whose honesty of purpose was proverbial; a noble patriot, and one who held his life as nothing when his country demanded it of him.' Let all emulate his prowess and undeviating devotion to his duty.

"3. The regiments and corps engaged in this battle will be permitted to have 'Springfield' emblazoned on their colors as a distinguishing memorial of their services to the nation.

"4. The names of the officers and soldiers mentioned in the official reports as most distinguished for important services and marked gallantry will be communicated to the War Department for the consideration of the government.

"5. This order will be read at the head of every company in this department.

"By order of Maj.-Gen. Fremont.

"J. C. Kelton,
"*Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

Gen. Lyon's remains were removed from the undertaker's to Gen. Fremont's headquarters on the 27th, escorted by Company K of Col. McNeil's regiment, and on the following day the following orders were issued by Gen. Fremont:

"Special Orders No. 98.

"Headquarters Western Department,
"St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 28, 1861.

"The remains of the late Brig.-Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, United States army, having arrived in this city on the way East, will be escorted with proper ceremonies, at one o'clock this afternoon, from the quarters of Maj.-Gen. Fremont to the depot of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, where they will be delivered to the Adams Express Company, to be conveyed East under escort of officers.

"The escort, commanded by Brig.-Gen. Sigel, will consist of Capt. Tiedman's and Capt. Zagony's companies of cavalry, a section of Capt. Carlin's battery of artillery, and the First Regiment Missouri Volunteers.

"The following-named officers will act as pall-bearers:

"Col. Blair,	Col. Albert,
Col. Osterhaus,	Col. Wolf,
Maj. Sturgis,	Maj. Schofield,
Maj. Conant,	Maj. Shepherd.

"As many officers now present in this city as can be spared from their duties will join the procession in uniform with side-arms.

"The city judges, the mayor, Common Council, city officers, and citizens are invited to attend.

"The rear of the procession will be closed by a section of Capt. Carlin's battery and the Third Regiment United States Reserve Corps, Col. McNeil.

"By order of Gen. Fremont.

"J. C. Kelton,
"*Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

In accordance with these orders, the remains were escorted to the railroad depot and forwarded thence to Eastford, Conn., where they were interred in the family burial-ground. At St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, New York, and Hartford (Conn.) the remains lay in state, and were visited by thousands of people. At Eastford the funeral obsequies were of the most imposing character, and addresses were delivered by Hon. Galusha A. Grow, (Speaker of the United States House of Representatives), Governor Buckingham (of Connecticut), Governor Sprague (of Rhode Island), and others. On reading his will it was discovered that Gen. Lyon had bequeathed thirty thousand dollars (nearly the whole of his estate) to the United States government for the prosecution of the war. To Nathaniel Lyon must be ascribed the chief share of credit for the preservation of Missouri to the Union, his energetic measures having contributed immensely to inspire the Union party in the State with confidence and courage, and to baffle and dishearten the secession leaders. He was an ardent patriot, a man of rare energy and decision of character, and an able and intrepid soldier.

In 1868 a public meeting of the admirers of Gen. Lyon was held at the St. Louis court-house, and an association was formed for the purpose of erecting a monument to his memory. About fifteen thousand dollars was raised by private subscription and by a grant from the county court. In 1870, I. Wilson Macdonald was selected as the artist and intrusted with the execution of the work. Congress, by the act of July 25, 1868, amended March 3, 1869, and July 11, 1870, granted that portion of the grounds of the St. Louis arsenal lying between Carondelet Avenue and Fourth Street to the city of St. Louis as a public ground, on condition that the city should within three years complete the erection of a monument thereon to the late Brig.-Gen. Nathaniel Lyon. These facts were communicated to the mayor by Isaac T. Shepard, secretary of the Lyon Monument Association, as the Secretary of War, William W. Belknap, had requested to be informed whether it was "the intention of the city authorities to accept the grant, and, if so, whether steps are being taken to comply with the conditions thereof within the time fixed by Congress." Mr. Shepard showed that all payments and subscriptions had been made, but for the completion of the statue, with its pedestal, more funds were needed, and added that as fast as they were received the work would be pushed to completion.

The day following the capture of Camp Jackson (May 11th) there was, if possible, greater excitement and more bloodshed, as must always happen if troops raw and undisciplined are permitted to march indiscriminately through crowds of excited citizens. In this case, as in that of Camp Jackson, there are conflicting accounts. Col. Peckham says that the troops were assaulted, stoned, and fired at, and became bewildered. We can well believe it, but this does not explain why they should be marching at will through the streets, a regiment just mustered in, of whom some had never handled a musket in their lives. A contemporary account of this terrible affair is as follows:

"At about half-past five o'clock on Saturday evening, May 11th, a large body of the German Home Guards entered the city through Third Street from the arsenal, where they had been enlisted during the day and furnished with arms. Large crowds collected to witness their march, and they passed unmolested along until they reached Walnut, when they turned up that street and proceeded westward. Large crowds were collected on these corners, who hooted and hissed as the companies passed, and one man standing on the steps of the church fired a revolver into the ranks. A soldier fell dead, when two more shots were fired from the windows of a house near by. At this time the head of the column, which reached as far as Seventh, suddenly turned and, leveling their rifles, fired down the street, and promiscuously among the spectators who lined the pavements. Shooting as they did, directly towards their own rear ranks, they killed some of their men as well as those composing the crowd. The shower of bullets was for a moment terrible, and the only wonder is that more lives were not lost. The missiles of lead entered the windows and perforated the doors of private residences, tearing the ceilings and throwing splinters in every direction. The house of Mr. Mathews was entered by three bullets, and Mr. Mathews' daughter was struck slightly by a spent ball. On the street the scene presented as the soldiers moved off was sad indeed. Six men lay dead at different points, and several were wounded and shrieking with pain upon the pavements. The dead-carts, which have become familiar vehicles since the scenes of the last two days, were soon engaged in removing the corpses from the ground. The wounded were carried to the Health Office. Four of the men killed were members of the regiment, and two were citizens. Last night the former had not been recognized. Jerry Switzelan, an engineer on the river, was passing by the door of Mr. H. Glover's residence, on Seventh Street, next to Walnut, when a ball struck him in the head, and scattered his brains over the door and walls. A pool of blood marked the spot where he fell after his body had been removed. Jeremiah Godfrey, a hired man of Mr. Cozzens, county surveyor, was working in the yard of Mr. Cozzens at the time of the occurrence. While stooping over in the act of fastening some flowers to a frame, three soldiers entered the gate, and approaching within the yard fired three shots into his body. Fortunately none of them were fatal, being all flesh wounds. The family witnessed the affair, and says that the man had not been out of the yard, and was unaware of the approach of his assailants until stricken down by their bullets. Charles H. Woodward, a clerk in Pomeroy & Benton's store, was shot in the shoulder, and will have to have his entire arm amputated. He was carried into the residence of Mr. Mathews and kindly cared for. James F. Welsh, living at No. 189 Wash Street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth Streets, was shot through the foot." Michael Davy, residing

between O'Fallon and Cass Avenue and Sixth and Seventh, received a ball through the ankle, and amputation will be necessary. John Nelus was wounded in the cheek. Several others were injured slightly. The houses on the right side of Walnut from Fifth to Seventh were considerably injured by bullets, and the inmates in several cases had very narrow escapes. At a late hour in the night the bodies of John Garvin, whose brother keeps a livery-stable on Market Street, William Cody, a book-peddler from New Orleans, and John Dick were recognized among the dead. Immense crowds of people filled the streets after the occurrence, and the whole city presented a scene of excitement seldom witnessed.

"Mayor Taylor made an address to the people from the steps of the church on Fifth and Walnut Streets, exhorting them to disperse peaceably, and promising that they should be fully protected from violence. The address evidently had a good effect, and the streets became more quiet. The action of the soldiers in retaliating upon two or three individuals by firing recklessly among the crowd and into houses excited universal indignation."

A newspaper correspondent the next day visited the scene of conflict on Walnut Street, and described it as follows:

"The scene of Saturday's fatalities, on Walnut and on Seventh Streets, was visited during the day by multitudes of people. The appearance of the residences on the north side of Walnut and west side of Seventh was the subject of a great deal of animated conversation. The sides of the houses were scarred in dozens of places by niches in the brick or stone and mortar, made by the Minié-bullets, whilst shutters, doors, windows, and casements were shattered by the same terrible instruments of destruction. The force of these leaden messengers was truly astonishing. Notches large enough to hold a man's fist were made in solid stone. In many spots whole bricks were crumbled to fragments. Shutters and window sashes were riddled into splinters. Panes of glass were perforated by balls, leaving holes as nicely cut as if done with a diamond. Some forty or fifty marks of this kind, by as many bullets, upon the walls and sides of dwellings showed what fearful work powder and lead are capable of doing; and the universal wonder on surveying these mute testimonials was that there had not been a much greater amount of fatality.

"On the corner of Seventh and Market Streets lay the carcass of a noble-looking gray horse, which, having received a terrific shot in the forehead, had fallen dead beneath his rider. The latter escaped by lying down, with great presence of mind, behind the prostrate animal."[1]

[1] As a part of the record of this tragical collision, we have deemed it of sufficient importance to append the following statements from other contemporary accounts:

"St. Louis, May 13, 1

"N. Paschall, Esq.:

"Dear Sir,—Having been an eye-witness of the commencement of the tragical affair on Walnut Street on last Saturday afternoon, and not having seen in the papers of this city any correct report of the same, I am induced, at the request of many citizens, to send to you for publication a brief statement of facts as they occurred. In proceeding from my office to my home on Seventh Street, between Walnut and Elm, I met the head of a column of soldiers called the 'Home Guard,' marching west on Walnut Street, and walked on the north side of the street, nearly opposite the head of the column, until I got nearly opposite the door of Mr. Mathews (some three or four buildings from the corner of Sixth and Walnut, on the north side of Walnut). I stopped at the point mentioned to see if I could recognize any persons in the ranks, as they passed me, with whom I was acquainted, in order to ascertain whether the troops were citizens of St. Louis or not. Having recognized a number of familiar faces as citizens of St. Louis, my attention was drawn to the crowd of persons collected at the corner of Fifth and Walnut, many of whom I could see standing on the south end of the church steps, on the northwest corner of Fifth and Walnut. There was at this time considerable hooting and abusive language used, and a pistol-shot fired from the steps of the church, as I supposed from the flash and smoke. Immediately after the firing of the pistol from the crowd on the steps of the church, a man stepped out from the ranks of the troops and returned the fire with a pistol, which was almost immediately followed by a general fire from the rear ranks of troops, which I supposed dispersed the crowd on Fifth Street, as the fire of the whole body of troops (at this time extending from near Fifth Street to Seventh) became general, the fire being mainly directed to the north side of Walnut and up Sixth and Seventh Streets, although there was, so far as I could discover, nothing to fire at but a few quiet men, women, and children to be seen on Walnut Street, and, I have been told also, on Sixth and Seventh, who had gathered to see the soldiers pass. I did not leave the spot I occupied on Walnut Street at the commencement of the firing until the troops had nearly all discharged their pieces and retired, some down Sixth Street to Elm, and some through the alley between Sixth and Seventh, but the main body rallied at the church on the corner of Eighth and Walnut, and commenced reloading their guns, at which time I entered the house opposite to which I had been standing, and observed what was going on. I heard a few scattering shots about the time I entered the house, and afterwards ascertained that a man was wounded in Mr. Cozzen's garden, and another I saw brought up Walnut. My children and servants were pursued in the alley between Seventh and Eighth Streets with pointed bayonets by the 'Home Guard,' and I suppose were not shot in consequence of their guns being discharged. The report of persons firing from windows of houses in the neighborhood, unless it took place after the general firing commenced, I know to be untrue, and it is not at all probable anything of the kind took place at any time during the firing. I also know the statement to be untrue that any person was shot down and killed from the firing of any pistol-shot from the crowd at the corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets. If any person was hurt by the fire from the crowd, they were able to walk away, and have died since, and if such is the fact, I have not been informed of it. I have not made this statement with any view to create more excitement than now exists. I deprecate the indiscretions of persons in a mob firing upon the soldiers, though God knows the shooting down of innocent women and children would seem to be at least some palliation, and if language would serve me to express the loathing or abhorrence I have for those who would deliberately do such an act (without any provocation), or their apologists, and those who actually approve of their acts, I would at least make an effort to reach their consciences, but I think the hot iron has long since been applied to them, and they are seared beyond all hope of reaching a soft spot, unless it is by bullets and bayonets, with which they are so ready to act.

"Mortimer Kensell."

The mayor issued a proclamation on this momentous Saturday morning which was calculated to promote quiet and tend to reduce the multitudes thronging the streets. It was in the terms here set forth:

"MAYOR'S OFFICE, CITY HALL,
"May 11, 1861.

"In view of the prevailing excitement, and for the purpose of removing, as far as practicable, all causes of additional irritation, and of maintaining the public peace, I, Daniel G. Taylor, mayor of the city of St. Louis, hereby respectfully request all owners and keepers of bars, drinking-shops, beer-houses, and other places where intoxicating liquors are sold to close the same forthwith, and keep them closed during the continuance of the present excitement.

"I also, by virtue of the power in me vested by act of the Legislature, require all minors to keep within doors three days next succeeding the issuing of this proclamation. I also request of all good citizens to remain within doors after nightfall, as far as practicable, and to avoid all tumultuous gatherings or meetings.

"Relying upon the loyalty and good judgment of his fellow-citizens, the undersigned confidently expects a cordial compliance with these requests.

"DANIEL G. TAYLOR, *Mayor.*

"Attest: WM. S. CUDDY, *City Register.*"

But, besides the rioting, there was much to disquiet and disturb the people. Troops were marching and countermarching in the city, and the danger of a general collision between them and the citizens was terribly imminent. They seized upon what seemed to be strategic points, and it was feared that in a moment of exasperation a general conflagration and massacre would result. The depot of the Pacific Railroad was seized by them, as the following correspondence shows:

"PACIFIC RAILROAD, PRESIDENT'S OFFICE,
"ST. LOUIS, May 12, 1861.

"COL. JOHN MCNEIL:

"SIR,—I have the honor to address you as the president of the Pacific Railroad Company, having been referred to you by one of the officers under your command. I learn that armed troops under your command have taken possession of and are quartered in the depot and freight buildings of this company, situated on Fourteenth Street, and the purpose of this note is to respectfully inquire the object and purposes of those men in possessing themselves of private property. You will greatly oblige, by allaying the excitement of the traveling public and the anxiety of the officers of this road, by an early reply.

"I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,
(Signed) "G. R. TAYLOR, *President.*"

"HEADQUARTERS U. S. RESERVE CORPS,
"May 12, 1861.

"SIR,—In response to your note of this morning, I will state that the only object which was aimed at in occupying the Fourteenth Street depot of your railroad company was to aid in preserving the peace of the city.

"The ordinary business of the road was left to be conducted as heretofore, and no interference therewith will take place.

"Very respectfully, etc.,
"CHESTER HARDING, JR.,
"*Acting Ass't Adj't.-Gen. U. S. Reserve Corps.*
"TO GEORGE R. TAYLOR, *President Pacific Railroad.*"

There was an ulterior object in this, of course, viz., to prevent militia from the country from coming in to add to the excitement and perhaps attack the arsenal. Troops were also busily engaged all day in removing the captured military stores from Camp Jackson to the arsenal, a proceeding which did not tend to promote the public quiet.[1]

That night at Jefferson City the military bill was passed, and the whole State was thrown into an uproar, the enrollment of State troops beginning at once, and attended with musterings, bridge-burnings, seizure of railroads, arsenals, etc. But that night Gen. Harney returned to St. Louis, and a measure of quiet and confidence returned with him. None too soon, for many of the best citizens of St. Louis were preparing for flight and contemplating the necessity of expatriation.[2]

"The subscribers, residents of Walnut Street, between Fifth and Sixth, eye-witnesses of the melancholy transaction of Saturday evening, assert in the most positive manner that there was not a pistol nor any other arm fired from the windows of any house in our square on either side of the street; that the only firing not done by the troops or persons in the street was one shot from a pistol by a boy from the church steps, and there is a difference of opinion among us whether that was fired in the air or at the troops.

"A. Miltenberger, R. P. Hall, W. T. Miller, Robert A. Reilly, R. C. Shackelford, B. M. Runyan, W. A. Doan, John Matthews, Jr."

The coroner's jury of the Walnut Street tragedy returned the following verdict: "That six of the persons shot on Walnut Street came to their death by gunshot-wounds, inflicted by musket-balls discharged by volunteer United States soldiers, under the command of certain officers unknown to the jury; that two of the parties shot at the same time came to their death by pistol-shots fired by persons unknown to the jury."

The jury was composed of Richard Ivers, foreman; N. P. Thayer, Richard Owen, James F. Maude, J. B. Breed, and J. Thayer.

[1] These stores and munitions were considerable. Among other things carried off were the following: Three thirty-two-pounders; three mortar-beds; a large quantity of balls and bombs, in ale-barrels; artillery pieces, in boxes of heavy plank, the boxes marked "marble," "Tamaroa, care of Greeley & Gale, St. Louis—Iron Mountain Railroad;" twelve hundred rifles of late model, United States manufacture; tents and camp equipage; six brass field-pieces; twenty-five kegs of powder; ninety-six ten-inch bomb-shells; three hundred six-inch bomb-shells; six brass mortars, six inches diameter; one iron mortar, ten inches; three iron cannon, six inches; five boxes of canister-shot; fifty artillery-swords; two hundred and twenty-seven spades; thirty-eight hatchets; eleven mallets; one hundred and ninety-one axes; forty horses; several boxes of new muskets; a very large number of musket-stocks and musket-barrels; together with lots of bayonets, bayonet-scabbards, etc.

[2] A rumor was current in the city that there was a revolt among the German volunteers against Gen. Harney's authority, and that a detachment of four hundred regulars, who had been ordered for service under the command of the police commissioners for the preservation of the peace of the city, would not be allowed to depart from the arsenal. This alleged rebellion against the peaceful measures of Gen. Harney produced the greatest consternation and dismay among the citizens, and many hastened to leave the city.

Gen. Harney's first efforts upon his return to St. Louis were directed to arresting panic and allaying excitement. He was fortunate in possessing the confidence of the majority of the citizens, especially among the thinking and influential classes. He brought the four companies of regular soldiers from the arsenal into the heart of the city, and expressed his determination to put down all rioting and bloodshed with the strong hand.[1] At the same time he avowed himself a firm upholder of the government

"Frenzied imaginations added extrinsic terrors," says the *Republican*, "to even the most exaggerated rumors, and the wildest conjectures were indulged in as to what might be expected. In some parts of the city a perfect panic prevailed. Had there been notice of a destructive hurricane or an earthquake about to visit the city, there could scarcely have been a more disturbed sense of impending peril than existed in many quarters. Trunks were hurriedly packed, and directions given for an immediate departure. Vehicles of all descriptions were in sudden demand, the railroad ticket-offices thronged, and steamboat clerks kept busy in registering the names of passengers. Hasty adieus were exchanged among relatives and friends, and from three to six o'clock in the afternoon the streets presented much the same appearance as on the last day of one of our great fairs. We can hardly underestimate the extent of the stampede by placing the number of persons fleeing the city at about four thousand. The windows of dwellings were like picture-frames, groups of people being there congregated to view the preparations in the streets for this terrified *hegira*. Capt. McDonough, chief of police, hearing of the facts, posted messengers about to quell the alarm, and assure the citizens that there was no danger by contradicting the reports in circulation.

"About six o'clock Mayor Taylor rode in amongst the railroad omnibuses, crowded with passengers, which were ready to start from the Planters' House, and addressed the people as follows:

"'*Citizens of St. Louis*,—I am extremely sorry to observe such a stampede of citizens from the city, as I have convinced myself that you need fear no danger from any quarter. The rumor which has been extensively circulated this afternoon in all parts of the city that there is much insubordination among the armed men known as 'Home Guards' is entirely without foundation. These men are all under the command of their officers, and there is no probability that there will be riot and bloodshed. I assure each and every one of you that no danger threatens your persons or property at this time. There is no disturbance at the arsenal, and the regulars are already in the city for the purpose of aiding the police, if necessary, in preserving peace and quietness and restoring confidence to our citizens.'

"The address was received with long-continued cheering from the crowd, and the railroad coaches drove off on their way across the river."

To close out the history of Camp Jackson, it may be added here that all the prisoners were discharged on parole between five and six o'clock Saturday evening, excepting Capt. Emmet McDonald, who insisted upon a free discharge, and, that being denied to him, sought his legal remedy in a writ of *habeas corpus*. He refused to give his parole, on the ground that he had already taken the oath of allegiance and had never been guilty of any act of disloyalty. When the writ was served at the arsenal the return of *non est* was made. He had been spirited away across the river to Illinois, to prevent the question of the legality of his imprisonment from being tested in the courts. He was taken from the arsenal on Monday, May 13th, in a skiff, under the escort of four soldiers and Capt. Cole. An attempt would have been made to rescue him had he not forbidden his friends to do anything of the sort. The boat nearly sunk in crossing the river, but finally Caseyville, Ill., was reached, where there was a large encampment of Federal troops under Col. McArthur. Gen. Harney made answer to the process of the court, saying that he was not in command when the prisoner was taken, and that McDonald was not in his custody, adding, however, with characteristic frankness, that "while I am not therefore responsible for the proceedings at that camp, and under ordinary circumstances should not feel at liberty to comment upon them officially, I am not disposed, in the existing state of things, to shrink from the responsibility of acknowledging that my predecessor in command saw in the proclamation of the President of the United States ordering the dispersion of all armed rebels hostile to the United States, as described in the proclamation, a high and imperative duty imposed upon him with respect to the camp in question, the evidences of its treasonable purposes having been to his mind indisputably clear. His action in the premises I recognize, therefore, as imposing upon me the obligation of assuming the consequences of his proceedings, so far as to abstain from pursuing any course which, by implication, might throw a doubt upon the sufficiency of his authority.

"Upon looking into the circumstances attending the detention of Emmet McDonald, I find they are such, if I had him in charge, that I could not give orders that might set him at large, unless some sufficient evidence should be furnished that he was not of the number of those in Camp Jackson who gave to that camp its character by which it came under the class of disaffected men hostile to the government of the United States, according to the terms of the proclamation referred to."

Another writ was served upon Col. McArthur and the other officers of the Illinois camp, but they refused to respect it, saying that they had no orders from the government to release the prisoner. Soon after this, however, Capt. McDonald was discharged. The rest of the paroled prisoners were regularly exchanged in December, 1861, by Gen. Price for Federal prisoners whom he had taken. This was to prevent possible complications, for Gen. Harney had said that if he caught a paroled Camp Jackson prisoner with arms in his hands he would hang him on the spot.

[1] In consequence of the general panic which spread among a portion of the citizens, Capt. McDonough and Mr. Brownlee, president of the board of police commissioners, on Sunday, May 12th, made arrangements with Gen. Harney for detachments of United States regular soldiers, to be stationed in the central portion of the city, to insure the preservation of the public peace. Accordingly, late in the afternoon several detachments of troops, amounting in all to about four hundred regulars, left the arsenal and marched up Carondelet and Fourth Streets to the Union Armory, over Thornton's livery-stable, on Walnut Street, between Third and Fourth, where they were stationed. The officers in command of the regulars were Capt. James Totten, of the Second Artillery; Capt. Sweeney, of the Second Infantry; Capt. R. Saxton, of the Fourth Artillery; and Lieut. Lathrop, of the Fourth Artillery. They had four pieces of artillery, which were placed in the archway of the livery-stable, in readiness for service at a moment's warning. Crowds of people lined the streets through which the regulars marched, and general approbation was manifested at their appearance.

and its measures, but willing to employ, in extraordinary times, unusual means for accomplishing his object and aim. In fact, his mere presence restored quiet by bringing back confidence, and people returned at once to their ordinary avocations as soon as they appreciated the fact that the reign of terror was over. As the press said, "A confident belief is expressed that his government of the department will be productive of the greatest good to the greatest number. A service of forty years in the regular army, and the high character for energy and impartiality which this gentleman so justly bears, may well inspire confidence that his best efforts will be used for preserving the peace of the city and protecting old friends and neighbors. Let our citizens continue to put a proper value upon his experience and qualifications, and second his plans to the best of their abilities. Such a course will immediately restore quiet and safety to all."

On the second day after his resumption of command Gen. Harney issued the following proclamation:

"MILITARY DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST.
"ST. LOUIS, May 14, 1861.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI:

"On my return to the duties of the command of this department, I find, greatly to my astonishment and mortification, a most extraordinary state of things existing in this State, deeply affecting the stability of the government of the United States, as well as the governmental and other interests of Missouri itself.

"As a citizen of Missouri, owing allegiance to the United States, and having interests in common with you, I feel it my duty, as well as privilege, to extend a warning voice to my fellow-citizens against the common dangers that threaten us, and to appeal to your patriotism and sense of justice to exert all your moral power to avert them.

"It is with regret that I feel it my duty to call your attention to the recent act of the General Assembly of Missouri, known as the military bill, which is the result, no doubt, of the temporary excitement that now pervades the public mind. This bill cannot be regarded in any other light than an indirect *secession ordinance*, ignoring even the forms resorted to by other States. Manifestly its most material provisions are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States. To this extent it is a nullity, and cannot and ought not to be upheld or regarded by the good citizens of Missouri. There are obligations and duties resting upon the business people of Missouri, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, which are paramount, and which I trust you will carefully consider and weigh well before you will allow yourselves to be carried out of the Union, under the form of yielding obedience to this military bill, which is clearly in violation of your duties as citizens of the United States.

"It must be apparent to every one who has taken a proper and unbiased view of the subject, that whatever may be the termination of the unfortunate condition of things in respect to the so-called 'Cotton States,' Missouri must share the destiny of the Union. Her geographical position, her soil, and, in short, all her material interests point to this result. We cannot shut our eyes against this controlling fact. It is seen, and its force is felt throughout the nation. So important is this regarded to the great interests of the country, that I venture to express the opinion that the whole power of the government of the United States, if necessary, will be exerted to maintain Missouri in her present position in the Union. I express to you, in all frankness and sincerity, my own deliberate convictions, without assuming to speak for the government of the United States, whose authority, here and elsewhere, I shall at all times, and under all circumstances, endeavor faithfully to uphold.

"I desire, above all things, most earnestly to invite my fellow-citizens dispassionately to consider their true interests, as well as their true relation to the government under which we live, and to which we owe so much.

"In this connection I desire to direct attention to one subject, which, no doubt, will be made the pretext for more or less popular excitement. I allude to the recent transactions at Camp Jackson, near St. Louis. It is not proper for me to comment upon the official conduct of my predecessor in command of this department, but it is right and proper for the people of Missouri to know that the main avenue of Camp Jackson, recently under command of Gen. Frost, had the name of Davis, and a principal street of the same camp that of Beauregard, and that a body of men had been received into that camp by its commander which had been notoriously organized in the interests of the secessionists, the men openly wearing the dress and badge distinguishing the army of the so-called Southern Confederacy. It is also a notorious fact that a quantity of arms had been received into the camp which were unlawfully taken from the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge, and surreptitiously passed up the river in boxes marked 'marble.'

"Upon facts like these, and having in view what occurred at Liberty, the people can draw their own inferences, and it cannot be difficult for any one to arrive at a correct conclusion as to the character and ultimate purpose of that encampment. No government in the world would be entitled to respect that would tolerate for a moment such openly treasonable preparations.

"It is but simple justice, however, that I should state the fact that there were many good and loyal men in the camp, who were in no manner responsible for its treasonable character.

"Disclaiming, as I do, all desire or intention to interfere in any way with the prerogatives of the State of Missouri, or with the functions of its executive or other authorities, yet I regard it as my plain path of duty to express to the people in respectful, but at the same time decided, language that within the field and scope of my command and authority the 'supreme law' of the land must and shall be maintained, and no subterfuges, whether in the forms of legislative acts or otherwise, can be permitted to harass or oppress the good and law-abiding people of Missouri. I shall exert my authority to protect their persons and property from violations of every kind, and I shall deem it my duty to suppress all unlawful combinations of men, whether formed under pretext of military organizations or otherwise.

"WM. S. HARNEY,
"*Brig.-Gen. U. S. Army, Commanding.*"

The next day the following significant papers appeared in the newspapers:

"MILITARY DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST,
"ST. LOUIS, May 15, 1861.

"My attention has been called to publications in several of the city papers to the effect that the volunteers under my command at this post were disorderly, and that they were acting, to some extent, in defiance to the discipline of the army.

"I deem it my duty, and it affords me great pleasure to say

that these publications are wholly unfounded and do great injustice to the volunteers. These troops have submitted cheerfully and with alacrity to the discipline of the service, and nothing has come under my observation or been reported to me that should subject them to the injurious publications to which I have alluded.

"I beg to express my entire disapproval of such unfounded publications, as they are only calculated to injure the public service, and create disquiet and ill-feeling in the community.

"W. S. HARNEY,
"*Brig.-Gen. U. S. Army, Commanding.*"

"TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF ST. LOUIS:

"BELOVED BRETHREN,—The deplorable events which have lately occurred admonish me to renew the exhortation I addressed you on a former occasion, and recall to your minds the great principles of our holy religion, as the only effectual means of calming the excitement that prevails. In no case is the Christian justified in forgetting the precept of universal charity inculcated in the teaching and exhibited in the practice of the Son of God. Listen not to the suggestions of anger, but banish from your thoughts, as well as from your hearts, every feeling incompatible with the duty of subjecting it to the dictates of reason and religion. It is not in the excitement of the moment that you can hope to find the remedy of the evils from which the community is suffering, and which have brought so much bereavement and distress to individuals.

"Remember that any aggression by individuals or bodies not recognized by the laws, from which the loss of life may follow, is an act of murder, of which every one engaged in such aggression is guilty, no matter how great and galling the provocation may have been; and bear in mind that under the influence of such unholy feelings as lead to such acts the innocent are confounded with the guilty, or those who are presumed to be such.

"A firm reliance on the superintending care of Providence, an humble submission to His will, which has permitted the present trial to befall us, doubtless for our correction, and to remind us of our dependence on Him, and a generous sacrifice of every feeling incompatible with that spirit of brotherhood with which all men, and especially the inhabitants of the same city, should be animated, are dispositions which will be more efficacious in restoring public tranquillity and maintaining order than the promptings of vindictiveness, which would surely increase and aggravate our evils. 'Dearly beloved, let us love one another; for charity is of God. And every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is charity.' (1 John, iv. 7, 8.)

"PETER RICHARD,
"*Archbishop of St. Louis.*"

Mean time, however, State affairs were approaching a crisis. The new military law began to be put in force with vigor. It was first promulgated, and next the following general order was published:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE
"COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FORCES OF MISSOURI,
"JEFFERSON CITY, May 16, 1861.

"*General Orders No.* 2.

"1st. For the purpose of carrying into effect the militia laws of the State, the brigadier-generals in their respective districts will, with the least possible delay, proceed to organize the militia according to law, and hold them in readiness for active service should the emergency arise to require it.

"2d. The brigadier-generals will, as soon as possible, forward to the adjutant-general of the State full returns of the strength of their respective districts, and will appoint for temporary service such staff officers as may be necessary to aid them in carrying into effect the foregoing orders.

"3d. The militia, when organized, will, until further orders, remain in their respective neighborhoods.

"4th. All officers and soldiers of the militia are enjoined to use every lawful authority and means in their power to protect the persons and property of the citizens of the State, without reference to political opinions.

"5th. The object of organizing the militia being simply to protect the people in their rights under the Constitution of this State and of the United States, all officers and soldiers of the militia will be careful to avoid collision with any armed bodies, unless in an emergency it should be necessary to protect the lives, liberty, and property of the people.

"6th. The only flag to be used by the militia will be the flag of the State of Missouri, which will be furnished to the respective districts from these headquarters.

"STERLING PRICE,
"*Commander-in-Chief.*"

This was speedily succeeded by another general order, officering the army which Governor Jackson intended to call out. These appointments were as set forth below:

"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"JEFFERSON CITY, MO., May 21, 1861.

"*General Orders No.* 16.

"The following appointments by the Governor of the State in the 'Missouri State Guard' are announced for general information. The officers appointed will take rank in order and from the date set opposite their respective names:

"GENERAL STAFF.

"*To be Major-General Commanding.*

"Sterling Price, May 18, 1861.

"*To be Brigadier-Generals, Commanding Districts.*

"5th District, A. W. Doniphan, May 14, 1861.
"6th District, M. M. Parsons, May 15, 1861.
"8th District, James S. Rains, May 16, 1861.
"9th District, M. L. Clark, May 16, 1861.
"3d District, John B. Clark, May 16, 1861.
"1st District, N. W. Watkins, May 17, 1861.
"2d District, Bev. Randolph, May 17, 1861.
"4th District, W. Y. Slack, May 18, 1861.
"7th District, J. H. McBride, May 18, 1861.

"*To be Assistant Adjutant-General, with the Rank of Colonel.*

"Henry Little, May 18, 1861.

"*To be Aides-de-Camp to the Major-General commanding, with the Rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.*

"Alfred W. Jones, May 18, 1861.
"Richard T. Morrison, May 18, 1861.

"*To be Surgeon, with the Rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.*

"W. N. Snodgrass, May 18, 1861.

"*To be Assistant Surgeon, with the Rank of Captain.*

"Henry W. Cross, May 18, 1861.

"WARWICK HOUGH,
"*Adjutant-General M. S. G.*"

The same day on which this order was promulgated, Gens. Harney and Price had a conference in St. Louis, at which a *modus vivendi* was happily established between them, as the contemporary account of the interview shows: "An important interview took place yesterday in this city between Gen.

S. Price, of the Missouri State Guard, and Gen. Harney, of the United States army, for which purpose Gen. Price left Jefferson City the day previous. The interview was a long one, and resulted in the adoption of a declaration which, if seconded by the people of the State, and faithfully adhered to by the people of the United States, as we have no doubt it will be, must end in restoring peaceful relations throughout our borders. Of course a friendly and full interchange of sentiments and opinions was indulged in; and being thus possessed of each other's views, little danger need be apprehended, while they have the direction of military affairs, of any real disturbance of the public peace. The arrangement thus entered into has, as will be observed, the sanction of Governor Jackson; and we take it for granted that the State troops now encamped at Jefferson City, as well as in any other encampments, will be disbanded, and that no incursions of the United States forces into any section of the State will be necessary or authorized:

"'THE DECLARATION.

"'ST. LOUIS, May 21, 1861.

"'The undersigned, officers of the United States government and of the government of the State of Missouri, for the purpose of removing misapprehensions and allaying public excitement, deem it proper to declare publicly that they have this day had a personal interview in this city, in which it has been mutually understood, without the semblance of dissent on either part, that each of them has no other than a common object, equally interesting and important to every citizen of Missouri, that of restoring peace and good order to the people of the State in subordination to the laws of the general and the State governments.

"'It being thus understood, there seems no reason why every citizen should not confide in the proper officers of the general and State governments to restore quiet; and, as the best means of offering no counter-influence, we mutually recommend to all persons to respect each other's rights throughout the State, making no attempt to exercise unauthorized powers, as it is the determination of the proper authorities to suppress all unlawful proceedings, which can only disturb the public peace.

"'Gen. Price, having by commission full authority over the militia of the State of Missouri, undertakes, with the sanction of the Governor of the State, already declared, to direct the whole power of the State officers to maintain order within the State among the people thereof; and Gen. Harney publicly declares that, this object being thus assured, he can have no occasion, as he has no wish, to make military movements which might otherwise create excitements and jealousies, which he most earnestly desires to avoid.

"'We, the undersigned, do therefore mutually enjoin upon the people of the State to attend to their civil business, of whatsoever sort it may be; and it is to be hoped that the unquiet elements which have threatened so seriously to disturb the public peace may soon subside, and be remembered only to be deplored.

"'WM. S. HARNEY,
"'*Brig.-Gen. Commanding.*
"'STERLING PRICE,
"'*Maj.-Gen. Missouri State Guard.*'

"As one immediate effect of the arrangement between Gen. Harney and Gen. Price, we hear that the prisoners taken by the United States troops at Potosi, and since confined at the arsenal, will be discharged.

"'TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI:

"'I take great pleasure in submitting to you the above paper, signed by Gen. Price, commanding the forces of the State, and by myself on the part of the government of the United States. It will be seen that the united forces of both governments are pledged to the maintenance of the peace of the State and the defense of the rights and property of all persons, without distinction of party. This pledge, which both parties are fully authorized and empowered to give by the governments which they represent, will be by both most religiously and sacredly kept, and, if necessary to put down evil-disposed persons, the military power of both governments will be called out to enforce the terms of the honorable and amicable agreement which has been made. I therefore ask of all persons in this State to observe good order and respect the rights of their fellow-citizens, and give them the assurance of protection and security in the most ample manner.

"'WM. S. HARNEY,
"'*Brig.-Gen. Commanding.*'"

Maj.-Gen. Sterling Price was a native of Virginia, born in Prince Edward County, Sept. 14, 1809. After a school and academy course he was sent to Hampden-Sidney College, and there graduated at the age of nineteen. For two years after this he acted as deputy in the clerk's office of his native county, getting thus a knowledge of business and of legal forms. Having attained his majority, he obeyed the impulses of an enterprising and energetic disposition and went West, arriving in Missouri in 1830, and settling in the Boon's Lick country, his permanent residence being made in Chariton County. Soon after he became known to his fellow-citizens he was appointed brigadier-general of the State militia, and having passed the bar, entered into politics. He was an ardent and active Democrat, and as early as 1836 was elected to represent his county in the General Assembly of the State. He made a useful, practical member, not given to declamation, but knowing and helping to promote the public interests. In 1840, and again two years later, he was member of the Legislature and Speaker of the Assembly.

In 1844 he was elected to Congress from the then Third District of Missouri, entering the House of Representatives in time to support the administration of President Polk. The Mexican war breaking out, he was authorized by President Polk to raise a regiment of cavalry for service in Mexico, was mustered in Aug. 12, 1846, and early in the war marched to Santa Fé with one of the best volunteer cavalry regiments raised during the war. It was known as the Second Missouri Mounted Volunteers. Col. Price soon distinguished himself by the prompt manner in

which he suppressed the insurrection of the New Mexicans and Pueblo Indians in his district of Gen. Kearney's Department of New Mexico. The insurrection began on Jan. 14, 1847, with the murder of Governor Charles Bent, at San Fernando de Taos. The news of this and other outrages reached Santa Fé on January 20th, and Col. Price, with three hundred and fifty men and four twelve-pounder guns, marched to



MAJ.-GEN. STERLING PRICE.

punish the organized insurgents. He came up with their main force, mumbering fifteen hundred, on January 24th, near the small village of Canada. Price at once opened upon them and their village, and after a brief struggle the rebels were dispersed with a loss of thirty-six killed and a large number wounded. Price's loss was only two killed and six wounded. The pursuit was continued up the valley of the Rio del Norte, and on January 29th, at Lafaya, another serious blow was inflicted upon the insurgents by Price, adding largely to the number killed and wounded, and to the demoralization of the enemy. On the 3d of February Price had reached San Fernando de Taos, the scene of Governor Bent's murder. He found the insurgents in possession, strongly fortified, and awaiting an attack. Price assaulted the position on the 4th, and succeeded during the night in occupying some abandoned houses commanding the rebel position. The enemy sued for terms next day. Price demanded and received the persons of the chief insurgents, and hung them a few days subsequently. This brief campaign, which would to-day be considered so insignificant as to hardly deserve recital, made Price a brigadier-general of volunteers, his commission dating July 20, 1847. His second battle in Mexico is known as that of Santa Cruz de Rosales, and was properly a siege. The principal battle of the siege was fought March 16, 1848, against a very superior force of Mexicans under Don Angel Freas, Governor of Chihuahua, and resulted in the capture of the place and the entire garrison. Price was wounded in the engagement at Canada, Jan. 24, 1847.

At the next general election after his return from Mexico, Price was elected Governor of Missouri, with a majority over his opponent of fifteen thousand votes. He was the compromise candidate, the one man on whom the factions in the party originating in Benton's course on the slavery question were capable of uniting. He filled the executive chair during four years, from 1853 to 1857, with great credit to himself and to the State. He was afterwards bank commissioner. During the excitement in the early part of the year 1861, Gen. Price was a staunch, earnest, and devoted Union man, using the whole of his powerful influence in opposition to the secession of this State from the Union. He was elected a delegate from the Chariton district (where he lived) to the Constitutional Convention, and such was the pronounced character of his Unionism that he was elected president of that body by a vote of seventy-five to fifteen. This convention, after refusing by a most decided and almost unanimous vote to adopt resolutions setting forth that there was adequate cause for the secession of Missouri from the Union, adjourned on the 21st day of March, 1861, to the third Monday of the following December.

A military bill had been pending in the Legislature of Missouri since the beginning of the session. In the whirlwind of excitement which followed the capture of Camp Jackson and the bloodshed attendant upon that movement this bill became a law. It conferred upon Governor Jackson very large and, indeed, almost sweeping powers, and he proceeded at once to exercise them by appointing Sterling Price major-general commanding the State Guards of Missouri. Price was well fitted for a military career, though he never had the West Point education which was by many deemed essential. He had the warrior presence and the warrior tact, the soldier's pleasure in campaigning, and the born commander's careful and tender solicitude for the health and comfort of his men, besides which he was as brave a man as ever walked. He had strong native powers, remarkable coolness and presence of mind, and he had learned much while in Mexico, where he was often thrown entirely upon his

own resources. In the language of the late E. A. Pollard, "He had a commanding presence; his plain, hearty manner endeared him to the populace, and the strength and virtue of his personal character, the Cato-like purity of his life, gave him influence over all classes of men. He was over six feet in height, with a frame to match, full, but not portly, and as straight as a son of the forest. His carriage was marked with dignity, grace, and gentleness, and every motion bespoke the attitude and presence of the well-bred gentleman. He had a large head, covered with a growth of thick white hair, a high, broad, intellectual forehead, florid face, no beard, and a mouth in whose latent smiles lurked the good humor of the man, while its straight and clear-cut line bespoke the precise mind and the exacting will."

Price was very anxious to preserve the peace, though his mind was filled with forebodings after the Camp Jackson affair, and after the failure of his armistice with Gen. Harney, in consequence of the removal of that officer and the commissioning of Capt. Lyon as brigadier-general. But he sought to make an accommodation of some sort with Lyon also. On the 11th of June, 1861, a conference was held at the Planters' House, in St. Louis, between Governor Jackson and Gen. Price on the one hand, and Gen. Lyon and others on the other, with the ostensible view to the preservation of the peace. Its result was unsatisfactory to the State authorities, who at once returned to Jefferson City and made preparations to resist what were called the encroachments of the national power. Gathering many of the archives of the government and collecting as many men, horses, equipments, etc., as possible, Governor Jackson, accompanied by Gen. Price, fled the capital, the latter issuing a proclamation calling upon the men of Missouri to fly to the standard of the State. Gen. Lyon quickly pursued with his troops, and overtook the State militia at Boonville, where (June 18th) the first battle of the war occurred. Gen. Price was not present in person, he having proceeded to the neighborhood of Fayette, and only joining his forces after the defeat. He was pursued by Col. Franz Sigel, whom he encountered at Carthage, July 5th, and after an engagement of two hours succeeded in opening his obstructed route, and continuing his flight towards the southern counties of the State. Here he collected a large force, which was soon after so strengthened by Gen. Ben McCullough's forces that Gen. Price was enabled to offer Lyon battle at Springfield, and succeeded in defeating him. He advanced farther north into Missouri, gaining strength daily, and on September 16th began the siege of Lexington by a brisk bombardment of that city. This place and its garrison of three thousand five hundred men were, after three days' fighting, captured on September 20th. This was the last triumph of Gen. Price's Missouri campaign of 1861, as soon after he was forced to retreat by Gen. Fremont, and was subsequently driven out of the State by Curtis and Halleck.

During this time Price was not regularly in the Confederate service. On his expulsion from Missouri he was entered on the list as major-general and placed in command of a division of troops. This division, with that of Van Dorn, was transferred in April, 1862, from Arkansas to Corinth, Miss., and participated, May 9, 1862, in the battle of Farmington. He retreated with the rest of Beauregard's forces from Corinth, and remained at Tupello, Miss., until the following September, when his division and that of Van Dorn were moved to Iuka. Here a portion of Gen. Grant's forces, under Rosecrans, attacked and defeated them after a hard fight, the Southern loss left on the field being one thousand four hundred and thirty-three men. Oct. 4, 1862, Price and Van Dorn attacked Rosecrans in Corinth and met with a signal repulse. Price labored under this trouble for many months, being idle for the greater part of 1863. Feb. 6, 1864, he again assumed command of the Department of Arkansas, relieving Gen. Holmes. In the following month (April 19th) he attacked and captured a foraging train of two hundred wagons belonging to Gen. Steele's command near Camden, Ark.

In August, Price was relieved by Gen. Magruder of the command of the District of Arkansas, and began his last and most memorable invasion of Missouri. Of this campaign, which was the last attempt made by the Confederate forces west of the Alleghanies to carry the war into the Border States, Price himself said, in his official report:

"In conclusion, permit me to say that in my opinion the results flowing from my operations in Missouri are of the most gratifying character. I marched fourteen hundred and thirty-four miles, fought forty-three battles and skirmishes, captured and paroled over three thousand officers and men, captured eighteen pieces of artillery, three thousand stand of small-arms, sixteen stand of colors (brought out by me, besides others destroyed by our troops who took them), at least three thousand overcoats, large quantities of blankets, shoes, and clothing, many wagons and teams, numbers of horses, and great quantities of subsistence and ordnance stores. I destroyed miles upon miles of railroad, burning depots and bridges. Taking this into the calculation, I do not think I go beyond the truth in saying that I destroyed in the late expedition

to Missouri ten million dollars worth of property. On the other hand, I lost ten pieces of artillery, two stand of colors, one thousand stand of small-arms, whilst I don't think I lost over one thousand prisoners, including the wounded left in their hands."

The invasion was ended by a single blow dealt Price at Newtonia by Gens. Blunt and Sanborn, and Price was glad to retreat. Gens. Marmaduke and Cabell were captured, and the Confederate army badly dispersed. Price retired to Arkansas, where he collected the remnants of his corps together, but there was nothing afterwards at all brilliant in his career, and the above, we believe, includes the main features of his military history. That he was a general of great ability no one can doubt, yet it does not appear that he was properly appreciated at Richmond.

Price was an especial and prime favorite with his soldiers, who loved him devotedly and had the most unlimited confidence in his ability and generalship. They used to say they would rather die under his command than fight under any other, and they nicknamed him with all sorts of whimsical but endearing epithets, such as "Old Dad Price," "Old Pap," the "Old Tycoon," etc. He was always accessible, always just, and he was kind-hearted to all.

After the war, feeling like a man whose heart was broken and his home lost, Gen. Price retreated into Mexico and entered the service of the Emperor Maximilian, attempting, but unsuccessfully, to organize a wholesale scheme of colonization. His people invited him back to Missouri, and finally he returned, but with broken and debilitated health. He dwelt, after coming back to his old State, in St. Louis, where he died on Sunday morning, Sept. 29, 1867, at two o'clock A.M.

Not many men in public life have had fewer enemies than Sterling Price. Few have had so many warm and devoted friends. His generous, benevolent, impulsive nature had a magnetism about it which attracted every one, and none were repelled by anything discordant between his noble, dignified presence and his character and abilities.

The arrangements entered into between Generals Harney and Price on May 21, 1861, gave great offense to the Union people of St. Louis, especially to the more exiguous class who preferred the "thorough" policy of Gen. Lyon and Col. Frank Blair. Lyon had now been duly commissioned as brigadier-general of the Missouri Volunteers, and an active intrigue had begun in Washington between the men who wished Harney retained in command in Missouri and those who sought to have him superseded by Gen. Lyon. In the Federal city, indeed, this contest assumed the character of a struggle for influence between Attorney-General Bates and Postmaster-General Blair. Bates had Scott on his side and much conservative influence from St. Louis; but the Blairs were active and indefatigable, and they were supported by every radical influence in and out of the army, as well as by the Secretary of War himself. They stood to win, of course. The same envelope which covered Lyon's commission as brigadier-general of volunteers contained a special order of the War Department, dated May 16th, and signed by the adjutant-general, to the effect that "Brig.-Gen. W. S. Harney is relieved from command of the Department of the West, and is granted leave of absence until further orders." This order in effect relieved Harney from the prospect of further service upon the field of action. It was, however, not delivered forthwith, for it was accompanied by a letter to Frank Blair, as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1861.

"HON. F. P. BLAIR:

"MY DEAR SIR,—We have a good deal of anxiety here about St. Louis. I understand an order has gone from the War Department to you, to be delivered or withheld in your discretion, relieving Gen. Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order when it was made, though on the whole I thought it best to make it; but since then I have become more doubtful of its propriety. I do not write now to countermand it, but to say I wish you would withhold it, unless in your judgment the necessity to the contrary is very urgent. There are several reasons for this. We better have him a *friend* than an *enemy*. It will dissatisfy a good many who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieve him, then restore him; and now if we relieve him again the public will ask, 'Why all this vacillation?'

"Still, if in your judgment it is *indispensable*, let it be so.

"Yours very truly,

"A. LINCOLN.

"(Private.)"

But this letter only caused a delay of a few days. Disquieting rumors came to St. Louis of invasion of Missouri from Arkansas, and on May 30th Blair sent the special order to Harney. The next day, having to appear in court in connection with the McDonald *habeas corpus* case (according to the report of a St. Louis newspaper at the time), "Gen Harney's amended answer to the writ in the case of Capt. McDonald was read, in which he stated that on the previous evening he had been relieved from the command of this department by an order dated at headquarters on the 16th of May, but which was not made known to him until the time stated. Where it has been, or how delayed, are matters about which the public can know nothing, and we have not inquired. Gen. Harney assumed command of his department on the 12th of May, immediately following the occurrences on the 10th and 11th at Camp Jackson and on Walnut Street.

On Sunday he issued a proclamation tending to quiet the excitement which pervaded the public mind, lest other excesses should be committed in St. Louis. Each day thereafter witnessed some action which served to restore confidence, and on the 21st he and Gen. Price had the interview which resulted in the arrangement that gave peace to the State. Since that time a better and more secure feeling has prevailed, and no one doubted the ability of the two generals, by the understanding and confidence reposed in each other, to maintain perfect quiet. The reason for this order for relieving him of the command here, without assigning him to duty elsewhere, at a time, too, when the government is sadly in want of experienced officers, is now known, and, of course, comment is precluded; but this we will say for Gen. Harney, that his eighteen days' service was of infinite benefit to St. Louis in reinstating the peace of the city, and that he has the thanks of the people for his judicious and unwearied efforts to secure that end."

It is not compatible with the scope of this work to give more than a rapid sketch of the long, adventurous, and highly honorable career of Gen. William Selby Harney. He was born in Davidson County, Tenn., Aug. 22, 1800, and was the youngest of eight children. His father was a man of great resolution, as was shown in a controversy with Andrew Jackson, then a judge, in which he won Jackson's respect, and which, no doubt, was the cause of the friendliness which Jackson showed for Gen. Harney throughout his whole career.

Young Harney's elder brother was a surgeon in the army, and the boy was early thrown into the companionship of men of arms, and made the acquaintance of such courtly members of the profession as Scott, Macomb, Wool, Gaines, and Brady, then fresh from the war of 1812. His youthful imagination became fired by an ardent longing for a career such as theirs, and in 1818 his wish was gratified, he having been appointed by President Monroe a lieutenant in the First Regiment of infantry. His command was then stationed in Louisiana, and Harney's first military experience was gained on an expedition against the notorious pirate Lafitte.

Several years of rather uneventful service followed, extending from the lakes to the Gulf, and from Maine to Florida. In 1823 he visited St. Louis, on his way to Council Bluffs, where an Indian outbreak was anticipated; but the war not taking place, he wintered at Bellefontaine, near St. Louis, and the next year accompanied a peace commission, composed of Gen. Atkinson and Maj. O'Fallon, to the upper Missouri, where treaties were made. Upon this expedition he met Gen. Ashley, the great fur-trader of St. Louis, and Ashley, who was greatly pleased with the young soldier, proposed to Harney to fit out a trading expedition to the Yellowstone, Harney to have charge of it and to receive half the profits. The young lieutenant, who possessed no fortune except his pay, no doubt found it hard to decline the tempting offer, but ultimately did so, preferring to remain in the profession of his choice, which he was destined so conspicuously to adorn.

From this expedition Harney returned to Council Bluffs, where (in 1824) he was made a captain. In 1827 he was ordered to Jefferson Barracks, and in 1828 participated in an excursion against the Winnebagoes in Wisconsin. In the fall of that year he was ordered to Fort Winnebago, Wis., where he spent two monotonous years.

At this time Capt. Harney was one of the handsomest men in the army, six feet three inches tall, of a slim and graceful figure, with dark red hair, expressive eyes, and a clear, ruddy complexion. Jefferson Davis, who was stationed at Fort Winnebago in 1829, wrote of him in 1878 as follows:

"MISSISSIPPI CITY, MISS., January, 1878.

"*L. U. Reavis, Esq., St. Louis, Mo.:*

"SIR,—It gives me pleasure to comply with your request of the 30th ult. for some reminiscence in connection with my old friend, Gen. W. S. Harney. In the spring of 1829 I reported as brevet second lieutenant to the commanding officer at Fort Winnebago. Gen. Harney was then stationed at that post, and captain of Company K, First United States Infantry. At that period of his life he was, physically, the finest man I ever saw. Tall, straight, muscular, broad-chested and gaunt-waisted, he was one of the class which Trelawney describes as 'nature's noblemen,' against whom the plague in the East 'never made an attack.' Had he lived in the time of Homer he would have robbed Achilles of his sobriquet of the 'swift-footed,' for he would run faster than a white man, farther than an Indian, and in both showed that man was organized to be master of the beast. To elucidate the last clause of the preceding paragraph requires the recital of an anecdote. Capt. Harney carefully attended to his company's garden, which, on the frontier, was necessary for the comfort as well as the health of the men. The beds had been carefully spaded and roped, when one of his numerous dogs, a half-grown mongrel hound, came walking across the carefully-prepared ground, and the captain, storming at him in tones and language not suited to the pupil, frightened the dog so that, instead of going out by the walk, he ran across the bed towards the gap in the fence. The captain started in full run after the dog, which had to jump on the fence and then off it, fatal disparity to the dog! for the captain cleared the fence at a bound, which brought him a jump nearer to the dog, and then began an even run up the long slope which led to the fort, before reaching which Harney mastered the dog, and 'Rover' suffered in proportion to the length of the chase. Capt. Harney was also a bold horseman, fond of the chase, a good boatman, and skillful in the use of the spear as a fisherman. Neither drinking nor gaming, he was clear of those rocks and shoals of life in a frontier garrison, and is no doubt indebted to this abstinence for much of the vigor he has possessed to his

present advanced age. By long service on the Indian frontier, together with the practice since which tests all theory by actual observation, he has acquired that knowledge of Indian character which is often conspicuously exhibited in his military career.

"Of the incidents thus generally referred to you have so many other sources of information that it would be needless for me to enter into detail, but I should do injustice to the subject of this letter if I did not call your attention to the project of the Indian treaty he made with the Sioux in 1855 or 1856. I think it constituted the best basis for an arrangement between the United States government and an Indian tribe that has ever been devised, and if carried out would impress the Indians with their responsibility, and bind them to more faithful observance of it than ever did any of those verbose, miscalled treaties which are to be found spread over the records of the United States.

"Very respectfully,

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."[1]

Capt. Harney's next conspicuous service was in the Black Hawk war, in which he conducted himself with great distinction. This being over, he obtained leave of absence, which he spent at St. Louis. The handsome young captain always greatly enjoyed the elegant and polite society of St. Louis, and his gallantry and graces of person and manner made him an especial favorite with the ladies. During one of his visits to the town he made the acquaintance of Mary Mullanphy, daughter of Hon. John Mullanphy, the distinguished citizen and philanthropist, and in January, 1833, he married her.

From this union resulted John M. Harney, still a citizen of St. Louis; Eliza Harney, Countess de Noüe, whose husband is a general in the French army; and Anna B., married to the Viscount de Thury, an officer in the French navy, who served under Maximilian in the invasion of Mexico in 1864. Mrs. Harney died in Paris in 1864.

In 1832, Capt. Harney was appointed a paymaster with the rank of major, and soon after President Jackson promoted him to a lieutenant-colonelcy. When the Seminole war in Florida broke out, Harney was dispatched thither, and served in several campaigns with conspicuous energy and courage. On more than one occasion movements of great responsibility were entrusted to him, and he always acquitted himself with prudence and credit. His previous service on the Northwestern frontier had given him a knowledge of the Indian character that was utilized to great advantage in this emergency. The Seminole war was one of the least satisfactory and least glorious wars ever waged by United States troops. The ablest generals of the country, who had successfully fought Wellington's veterans, and who later covered themselves with glory in Mexico, were baffled and humiliated by the adroit and able leaders of the savages; but there seems to be no doubt that Col. Harney's services were more efficient than those of almost any other officer in the field. In April, 1841, he was breveted colonel for "gallant and meritorious conduct in several successive engagements with hostile Indians in Florida."

Years of peace followed until the Mexican war gave the soldiery something more to do. In this struggle Col. Harney's exploits were of the most brilliant character. At the outbreak of hostilities he was promoted to the colonelcy of the Second Dragoons. Gen. Taylor at first placed him in command of the troops protecting the Texan frontier, but his position was unendurable, as he was separated from his regiment, and had no share in the engagements which marked the advance of the United States forces into Mexico. He demanded permission to rejoin his regiment, and having received instructions to do so reported to Gen. Scott, by whom he was ordered to return to Taylor. For refusing to obey this order he was court-martialed and sentenced to six months' suspension and a reprimand, but the sentence was never executed, and Gen. Scott finally directed him to join his regiment. He subsequently participated in all the leading engagements on the memorable march to the City of Mexico. His dragoons were ever in front and on the flank of the main army, constantly making reconnoissances and feeling for the enemy and pricking him up. At Madeline, contrary to Gen. Scott's commands not to engage the enemy, he turned a reconnoissance in force into a fight, routed the enemy, and gained an important advantage. Gen. Scott forgave this brilliant act of disobedience in consideration of the results achieved. Gen. Frost, of St. Louis, who was much with Harney in that campaign, asserts that the world never saw such fighting as occurred in that war. Col. Harney's participation throughout was characteristically impetuous and dashing. His storming Cerro Gordo was one of the most desperate of his many deeds of daring, and stands out in bold relief as one of the conspicuous events of the war. For his conduct in this engagement he was breveted brigadier-general in July, 1848.

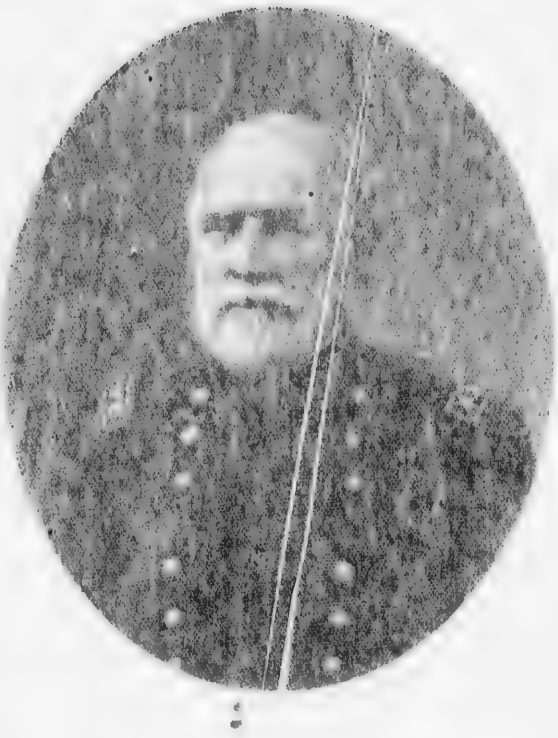
The capture of the City of Mexico terminated the war, and from 1848 to 1852 Gen. Harney was stationed at Austin, Texas, where he organized several expeditions against hostile Indians. He was then granted leave of absence to spend some time with his family abroad; but soon after a general Indian war was threatened, and he, being regarded as the man of

[1] From the Life and Military Services of Gen. William S. Harney, by L. U. Reavis, St. Louis, 1878.

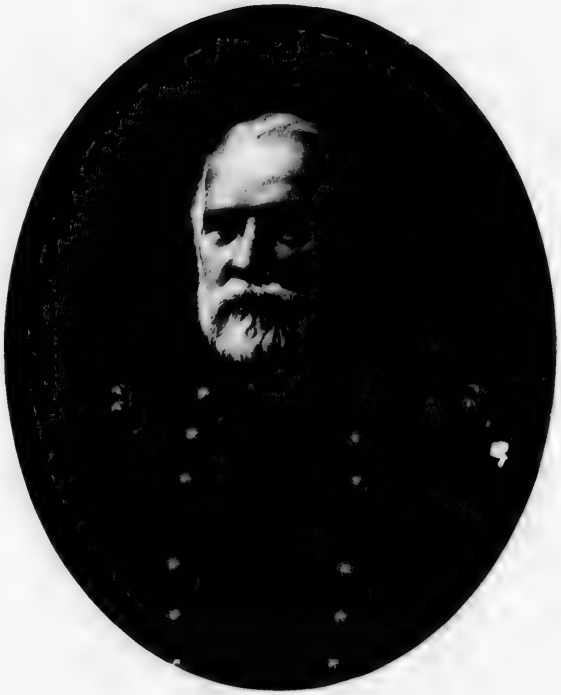
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all others to bring it to a successful conclusion, was recalled. On his arrival in Washington President Pierce said to him, "Gen. Harney, you have done so much that I will not order you to the frontier, but I do wish you would assume the command and whip the Indians for us." In two campaigns he brought the Indians to terms, and although he had no authority to treat with them, he ventured to make a treaty, which was ratified by the United States Senate, and was warmly approved in all quarters. It was based on the fact that the character of the Indian was being greatly modified by the increasing scarcity of his game supply of food, and that, therefore, he would ultimately have to betake himself to labor, but that in order to make a beginning it was necessary that he should have help. This Gen. Harney agreed, on behalf of the government, to supply by furnishing the Indians with tools, seed, etc., and instructing them in the art of agriculture. The Sioux, on their part, granted Harney's demands for past grievances, and promised to keep the peace in future. Jefferson Davis, the Secretary of War, subsequently described it as the "model treaty;" but unfortunately for its permanence, the government was lax in fulfilling the obligations which it had voluntarily imposed upon itself.

Gen. Harney's next important service was in Kansas, then seething with excitement over the slavery question. He acted with such sagacity and prudence that he succeeded in preserving peace between the two factions, and the danger of a bloody outbreak was averted.

During President Buchanan's administration he was ordered to proceed to Oregon to put down Indian troubles there, and with Father de Smet, a noted missionary, started thither, but on arriving at San Francisco he learned that the dread of his name had induced the Indians to make peace as soon as they heard that he was coming. He, however, proceeded northward to Fort Vancouver, where trouble had for some time been brewing with the British over the ownership of San Juan. Being appealed to by the American residents for protection, he took possession of the island, just in season, no doubt, to prevent like action on the part of the British commander, who had a large fleet in the harbor. This bold *coup* threatened for a time to cause a war between the United States and England, but peace was maintained, and years later, when, under the treaty of Washington, the question as to the ownership of the island was submitted to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany, the claim of the United States was sustained, and Gen. Harney's judgment was thus conspicuously vindicated.

During the period preceding the outbreak of the civil war Gen. Harney was at Washington, and conferred with President Buchanan daily on the situation. Buchanan's vacillation dismayed him, and it becoming apparent that the President was giving ear to other counselors, Gen. Harney lost patience, and remarked to Mr. Buchanan one day, "Some one has your ear who is neither a friend of the Union nor of yours."

When the war began Gen. Harney was stationed at St. Louis, and was a keenly interested and anxious observer of affairs. His own loyalty to the Union was not disguised, but his Southern birth and associations caused some who little knew his patriotism to affect to distrust him. On his way to Washington, in April, 1861, he was arrested by the Confederates at Harper's Ferry, but was soon released, and it was represented in the press that he was a willing prisoner of the State of Virginia, and intended to throw up his commission in the United States army and follow Lee and Beauregard into the Confederate service. In order to disprove these assertions Gen. Harney addressed a letter to Col. John O'Fallon, in which he eloquently proclaimed his devotion to the flag under which he had fought for forty years, and warmly implored his fellow-citizens "not to be seduced by designing men to become the instruments of their mad ambition by plunging the State into the vortex of secession." Many Southern officers had left the United States service for that of the Confederacy on the plea that their first allegiance was due to their States, but in his letter to Col. O'Fallon, Gen. Harney combated this doctrine, and declared that "the soldier's and citizen's primary duty is due to the United States government, and not to the government of his State."

On the 10th of May, 1861, he was appointed to the command of the Department of the West, and on the following day arrived in St. Louis. He found the city, as we have before stated, in an indescribable state of excitement over the capture of Camp Jackson and the scenes which followed. Gen. Harney's arrival inspired confidence, and he received the cordial support of the intelligent and prudent. The situation was critical in the extreme, but Gen. Harney was thoroughly convinced that there was no need of firing a gun in Missouri, and that a policy of firmness tempered with prudence and moderation would suffice to allay the agitation. Governor Jackson was undeniably in favor of secession, and was reported to be preparing to use the State militia to force Missouri out of the Union; but the improbability of his having a strong following was shown in the fact that the State by eighty thousand majority had declared against secession. In view of such an overwhelming sentiment in favor of

the Union, and in the absence of any overt act on the part of Governor Jackson, it seemed to Gen. Harney sufficient for the present simply to keep the peace; therefore on the 14th of May he issued his famous proclamation. This document denounced the "military bill" just passed by the Legislature as in effect a secession ordinance in disguise, and unworthy, therefore, of obedience by the people. The capture of Camp Jackson was approved, because in Gen. Harney's opinion the treasonable nature of the encampment could not be doubted. He urged the people, however, to use prudence, in order to avert the danger which threatened the State, and showed them how their interests were indissolubly bound to the Union. In addition, he resolutely affirmed it to be his purpose to maintain the authority of the supreme law of the land, and to suppress all unlawful and treasonable combinations of men.

Gen. Harney then addressed himself to the work of pacification, but a party which he then thought and now charges was led by Col. Francis P. Blair was dissatisfied with his policy, and sought to secure his removal. His course, however, was approved by many of the leading citizens, who sent two of their number, Messrs. Gamble and Yeatman, to Washington to impress on the President the probability that Harney's policy would effect a peaceful solution of the difficulty.

The next stage in this controversy was the celebrated agreement of Gen. Harney with Gen. Price, commanding the Missouri State Guard, which is to be found in full elsewhere. This compact began by reciting that the two had met and agreed that they had only a common object, namely, to restore peace and order under the laws of the national and State governments. To effect this Gen. Price undertook, with the sanction of the Governor, to direct the whole power of the State officers to maintaining order within the State, and this being assured Gen. Harney declared that he had neither occasion nor wish to make military movements that might create excitement and jealousy, which he most earnestly desired to avoid.

This agreement was hailed with general approval, and the *Missouri Democrat*, the organ of the administration, said the terms of the negotiation would give satisfaction to all but traitors. It congratulated Harney on having concluded a peace which would keep Missouri in the Union and guaranteed ample protection to every Union citizen, and invoked a curse on the hand that should first be raised to violate the compact.

On the 31st of May, Gen. Harney received a special order relieving him from the command of the Department of the West. "Johnson's Encyclopedia" says he was relieved for making an unauthorized truce with Gen. Price, but this is an error, for the agreement with Price was published May 21st, while the order of removal was dated May 16th. It is asserted that the removal was the work of the Blairs, and that Montgomery Blair prepared the memorandum on which the order was issued. President Lincoln signed the order, but evidence goes to show that he did so with great reluctance. It arrived in St. Louis May 20th, among dispatches for Francis P. Blair, who withheld it until the 31st. Among the literature on the subject is a letter from Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Blair, expressing the hope that events would not render it necessary to serve the order upon Gen. Harney, and presenting reasons why his removal would be unwise. Reading this remarkable letter "between the lines," it is apparent how averse he must have been to the action urged upon him by Montgomery Blair, and how conscious he was of the character of the indignity to which he had been persuaded into subjecting the trusty soldier and patriot, Harney. When Gen. Scott heard of Harney's removal he said it would cost the government immense treasure and thousands of lives. President Lincoln is reported to have admitted that it was one of the greatest blunders of his administration.

Why, then, was he removed? This reason is assigned: His policy was yielding golden fruit; confidence and tranquillity were rapidly resuming sway, and those who were anxious for war in Missouri saw the opportunity fast slipping away. They are said to have filled the President's ear with doubts of Harney's loyalty, and to have carried to him curdling tales of the outrages to Union people which his policy was bringing forth. Among the desperate means resorted to by his enemies, as Gen. Harney charged, were manufactured reports of indignities heaped upon Unionists by secessionists, the manifest intent being to prove that Missouri was a disloyal State, and should be treated as such, and that Harney's policy of conciliation was simply strengthening the secession designs of Governor Jackson. On the other hand, there seems to be no doubt whatever that Gen. Harney was fully prepared to fight the secessionists if a conflict became unavoidable, but he strove to postpone bloodshed as long as possible. In fact, he was "between two fires." Governor Jackson was endeavoring to take Missouri out of the Union, and seemed to be anxiously waiting for some act of Federal aggression (like that of the capture of Camp Jackson) as an excuse for a hostile movement, while the radical Unionists were equally anxious to precipitate a conflict, suspecting Governor Jackson of an intention to proceed to extremities. A

collision probably could not have been prevented but for the prudent and patriotic course of Gen. Harney. In the interval, under the beneficent operation of his policy, the sentiment of loyalty to the Union continued to grow and strengthen, and every day served to render more and more apparent the hopelessness of the designs of the secession leaders. But the extremists among the pronounced anti-Southern men could not wait, and Mr. Lincoln deputed Col. Frank Blair to remove Harney, if necessary, with the result already stated. Under the circumstances Gen. Harney was justified in feeling that he had been made the foot-ball of designing politicians, but he gave no sign of impatience, having learned the soldier's duty of silent obedience. He might have erred in the trying period under consideration, but his motives were unquestioned, and he never doubted that his fellow-citizens of Missouri would one day do him justice.

This episode ended Gen. Harney's military career, and soon after the war he was retired on half-pay. After laying down the command of the department to which Missouri belonged he retired to a farm which he had purchased in Jefferson County, Mo., and engaged actively in agricultural life. During the years which followed he simply waited for orders from his military superiors that never came, although the President was strongly importuned to place him in command of the Department of the Pacific. The general remained in Jefferson County for two or three years, and then established himself on a large farm which he had bought near Mount Olive, Mo., and the "hero of a hundred fights" might have been seen cutting his way through the brush and building new roads, etc. He next purchased a farm of eighteen hundred acres in Crawford and Franklin Counties, where he built a large castle-like house with twenty rooms and costing many thousand dollars. He lived there until about 1879–80, when his great age and the state of his health impelled him to seek a more southern climate, and he settled at Pass Christian, La., on the Gulf of Mexico, where he has one of the handsomest villas in the South, which he makes his winter home, spending the summer in visits to St. Louis and the North and East.

Gen. Harney's closing public service was rendered in 1865, when he served as a member of the Indian Peace Commission which established the Sioux reservation. He brought to this task the rich stores of forty years of intimate acquaintance with the savages, and such was the confidence of the government in his honesty and judgment that warrants were drawn for one million dollars of supplies for the Indians on his bare requisition without examination.

Gen. Harney inherited from his wife large estates, located chiefly in St. Louis, and he himself has purchased property at various times in Texas, Florida, and Mississippi. The appreciation of most of this property has added largely to his wealth, the care and management of which form the chief occupation of his declining years. The storms and toils of eighty-two years have dealt lightly with him. His tall form is but slightly bent with age, and his bearing is still as gallant as ever. Only failing eyesight and a treacherous memory warn him that he is growing old. The nation has never sheltered a nobler or more unselfish heart than that of William S. Harney. A born leader, he is one of nature's captains, whose tall plume was always in the forefront of battle, and of him it has been eloquently written that he possessed all those elements of manhood which in earlier times produced the patriarch who combined the functions of the warrior, the legislator, and the judge. He has made laws for savage tribes, and has governed them with justice and moderation. Vexed questions of diplomacy have come before him for settlement, and he has found for them a ready solution. He has been the valued companion and associate of chieftains, explorers, travelers, scholars, statesmen, and divines, and was the friend and adviser of every President from Monroe down to Gen. Grant. In his green old age there is no man in the whole country who enjoys a larger measure of well earned and thoroughly merited popular respect.

In a few days after the removal of Gen. Harney from the command of the Department of the West, followed Governor Jackson's proclamation calling out the militia and plunging Missouri into the civil war:

"To the People of Missouri:

"A series of unprovoked and unparalleled outrages have been inflicted upon the peace and dignity of this Commonwealth, and upon the rights and liberties of its people, by wicked and unprincipled men professing to act under the authority of the United States government. The solemn enactments of your Legislature have been nullified; your volunteer soldiers have been taken prisoners; your commerce with your sister States has been suspended; your trade with your own fellow-citizens has been, and is, subjected to the harassing control of an armed soldiery; peaceful citizens have been imprisoned without warrant of law; unoffending and defenseless men, women, and children have been ruthlessly shot down and murdered; and other unbearable indignities have been heaped upon your State and yourselves.

"To all these outrages and indignities you have submitted with a patriotic forbearance which has only encouraged the perpetrators of these grievous wrongs to attempt still bolder and more daring usurpations.

"It has been my earnest endeavor under all these embarrassing circumstances to maintain the peace of the State, and to avert, if possible, from our borders the desolating effects of a civil war. With that object in view I authorized Maj.-Gen.

Price several weeks ago to arrange with Gen. Harney, commanding the Federal forces in this State, the terms of an agreement by which the peace of the State might be preserved. They came, on the 21st of May, to an understanding which was made public. The State authorities have faithfully labored to carry out the terms of that agreement. The Federal government, on the other hand, not only manifested its strong disapprobation of it by the instant dismissal of the distinguished officer who, on its part, entered into it, but it at once began, and has unintermittingly carried out, a system of hostile operations in utter contempt of that agreement and in reckless disregard of its own plighted faith. These acts have latterly portended revolution and civil war so unmistakably that I resolved to make one further effort to avert these dangers from you. I therefore solicited an interview with Brig.-Gen. Lyon, commanding the Federal army in Missouri. It was granted, and on the 10th inst., waiving all questions of personal and official dignity, I went to St. Louis, accompanied by Maj.-Gen. Price.

"We had an interview on the 11th inst. with Gen. Lyon and Col. F. P. Blair, Jr., at which I submitted to them this proposition: that I would disband the State Guard and break up its organization; that I would disarm all the companies which had been armed by the State; that I would pledge myself not to attempt to organize the militia under the military bill; that no arms or munitions of war should be brought into the State; that I would protect all citizens equally in all their rights regardless of their political opinions; that I would repress all insurrectionary movements within the State; that I would repel all attempts to invade it from whatever quarter, and by whomsoever made; and that I would thus maintain a strict neutrality in the present unhappy contest, and preserve the peace of the State. And I further proposed that I would, if necessary, invoke the assistance of the United States troops to carry out these pledges. All this I proposed to do upon condition that the Federal government would undertake to disarm the Home Guards, which it has illegally organized and armed throughout the State, and pledge itself not to occupy with its troops any localities in the State not occupied by them at this time.

"Nothing but the most earnest desire to avert the horrors of civil war from our beloved State could have tempted me to propose these humiliating terms. They were rejected by the Federal officers.

"They demanded not only the disorganization and disarming of the State militia and the nullification of the military bill, but they refused to disarm their own Home Guards, and insisted that the Federal government should enjoy an unrestricted right to move and *station* its troops throughout the State whenever and wherever they might, *in the opinion of its officers*, be necessary, either for the protection of the 'loyal subjects' of the Federal government or for the repelling of invasion; and they plainly announced that it was the intention of the administration to take military occupation, under these protexts, of the whole State, and to reduce it, as avowed by Gen. Lyon himself, to the 'exact condition of Maryland.'

"The acceptance by me of these degrading terms would not only have sullied the honor of Missouri, but would have aroused the indignation of every brave citizen, and precipitated the very conflict which it has been my aim to prevent. We refused to accede to them, and the conference was broken up.

"Fellow-citizens, all our efforts towards conciliation have failed. We can hope nothing from the justice or moderation of the agents of the Federal government in this State. They are energetically hastening the execution of their bloody and revolutionary schemes for the inauguration of a civil war in your midst, for the military occupation of your State by the armed bands of lawless invaders, for the overthrow of your State government, and for the subversion of those liberties which that government has always sought to protect: and they intend to exert their whole power to subjugate you, if possible, to the military despotism which has usurped the powers of the Federal government.

"Now, therefore, I, C. F. Jackson, Governor of the State of Missouri, do, in view of the foregoing facts, and by virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution and law of this Commonwealth, issue this my proclamation, calling the militia of the State, to the number of *fifty thousand*, into the active service of the State, for the purpose of repelling said invasion, and for the protection of the lives, liberty, and property of the citizens of this State. And I earnestly exhort all good citizens of Missouri to rally under the flag of their State for the protection of their endangered homes and firesides, and for the defense of their most sacred rights and dearest liberties.

"In issuing this proclamation, I hold it to be my solemn duty to remind you that Missouri is still one of the United States; that the Executive Department of the State government does not arrogate to itself the power to disturb that relation: that that power has been wisely vested in a convention, which will, at the proper time, express your sovereign will; and that meanwhile it is your duty to obey all the *constitutional* requirements of the Federal government. But it is equally my duty to advise you that your first allegiance is one to your own State: and that you are under no obligation whatever to obey the *unconstitutional* edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington, nor to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its wicked minions in this State. No brave and true-hearted Missourian will obey the one or submit to the other. Rise, then, and drive out ignominiously the invaders who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes!

"Given under my hand as Governor, and under the great seal of the State of Missouri, at Jefferson City, this 12th day of June, 1861.

"By the Governor,

"CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON.

"B. F. MASSEY,

"*Secretary of State.*"

June 17th was another day of excitement and bloodshed in St. Louis, caused by the undisciplined "Home Guards." As the *Missouri Republican* said in its comments on this affair, "The vital principle of all military bodies is discipline. What kind of soldiers are those who pay no regard to the orders of their superiors, but who are seized with a panic the moment an explosion of fire-arms takes place, like so many timid women? If a battalion of four or five companies can be thrown into such utter confusion and anarchy as were witnessed on Monday by the accidental discharge of a gun, or even say a premeditated pistol-shot from a window, what would be their conduct on the field of battle, amidst the continuous rattling of bullets and the thunders of hoarse cannon? If our troops cannot learn to behave themselves like soldiers, let them doff the garb of soldiers. At all events they should see to it as Home Guards, organized to protect the hearths and family circles of our

citizens, they do not, on every pretext, send grief and poignant affliction into the hearts of parents and wives and children by taking away precious and innocent lives."

The occurrence happened in this wise, to follow once more a contemporary narration: "An unprovoked and wanton outrage, involving the lives of several peaceful citizens, was yesterday committed on our streets by a battalion of Col. Kallmann's 'Home Guards.' We shall not attempt to find any excuse or palliation for it in the character of the cause in devotion whereto these men became possessed of the means to commit it. We can never sanction such brutal and murderous acts, nor shelter them under any apology whatever. Their conduct was ill advised, rash, and culpable to the last degree, and we feel that in so denouncing it we are but performing a duty which would be almost criminal to be left undone. When we shall have stated the facts without bias or prejudice, every fair reader will, we think, agree with us in this.

"About ten o'clock yesterday morning, a detachment of Col. Kallmann's regiment, returning from a trip up the North Missouri Railroad, whither they had been under orders to guard the bridges, passed down Seventh Street to their rendezvous in the lower part of the city. As usual in cases of military movements in the city, curiosity prompted large numbers of people to assemble on the sidewalks and at the doors and windows of residences to survey the manœuvres of the troops. Their passage was in no way interrupted, and, as far as we can learn, there were no exhibitions of any kind calculated to arouse the least feeling of hostility. There was no hooting or abusive language on the part of the spectators. On the contrary, while many cheered the men as they marched along, those who did not feel disposed to join in these demonstrations remained silent and passive observers.

"On reaching a point midway between Olive and Pine Streets, the centre of the column showed signs of extraordinary commotion, consequent upon an explosion of fire-arms. Immediately afterwards the troops in advance wheeled, and almost simultaneously a volley of bullets was showered upon the houses on the east side of Seventh Street, extending the whole length of the block, from Pine to Olive. The greater part of the fire seems to have been directed towards the balcony of the recorder's court, situated in the second story of the building known as the Missouri Engine House, where a number of persons, officers of the court, policemen, and others, were standing. The marks of seventy-two bullets were counted upon the walls, doors, shutters, and windows in the neighborhood, but it is supposed, from the indiscriminate and awkward character of the firing, that a much larger number of guns were discharged, the balls passing above the houses. The disaster from this volley was, under the circumstances, comparatively small, and almost miraculous. Four persons were instantly killed, two mortally wounded, and a few others slightly hurt. The crowd was of course seized with a panic, and fled in every direction. Preparations, we believe, were made for a second fire, but this was withheld, as by that time there was no enemy in sight.

"Meantime, Capt. J. W. Bissell, who had assumed command of the battalion, made himself busy by warning persons in the neighborhood to remove their valuables, etc. He told a young man in attendance at Armfield's drug-store, corner of Seventh and Olive, to take out all the books, money, and papers, for they would blow up the engine-house adjoining in less than five minutes. The same warning, we are informed, was extended to the proprietors of a grocery and provision store next door. For some reason, however, the threat was not carried into effect.

"It was reported that the first shot previous to the wheeling of the head of the column was fired upon the troops from the balcony of the recorder's court, and this would seem to explain the attentions of the Home Guards in that direction. But we have the most positive and convincing statements of trustworthy witnesses that such was not the case.

"The scene in the recorder's court was frightful. Dead men lay on the floor, and pieces of the iron balcony in front of the windows and splinters of wood covered their bodies, and were stained in the blood that had flowed from their wounds. Pools of gore were collected around the recorder's desk and near the witness-stand, and the whole interior of the room looked as if a mob had been wreaking their fury upon it. Those who were in the court at the time state the scene as frightful when the terrible Minié missiles came whizzing through the windows, striking down people on every side.

"The number of those killed are four, and wounded two. The names of the former are N. M. Pratt, a policeman, whose home was on Eleventh Street, between Cass Avenue and O'Fallon. Mr. Pratt had been on the police force since 1850, and was one of the most skillful officers in the city. Keren Tracy, an Irishman by birth, was also killed; residence on Gay Street, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth. Charles Cella, an Italian fruit dealer on the corner of Seventh and Pine, and a man named Burns completed the

victims. Officer Pratt was killed by a ball entering his side and passing through his heart as he stood at the window. Keren Tracy received a ball in his left side, from thence it passed over to his right, and lodged in his shoulder. Cella was killed by a ball in his breast, and Burns received one in his head, which passed completely through it, tearing the skull to pieces. Deputy Marshal Frenzel was mortally wounded, receiving three balls in his left and one in his right leg. There were one or two others slightly wounded."[1]

Jefferson Barracks.[2]—Under the Spanish *régime* the troops stationed at St. Louis occupied the barracks erected for their accommodation in the inclosure known as the "Fort on the Hill," which was bounded by what are now Fourth, Fifth, Elm, and Market Streets. The barracks were located near the line of Fifth Street, and parallel with it. After the transfer of the country to the United States, in 1804, the barracks were occupied for about two years, when the

[1] "E. G. Brooke, deputy city marshal," says the *Republican*, "states that he was standing on the balcony in front of the recorder's court, leaning against the south window, looking at the troops. When the first shot was discharged, he was looking towards the southwest corner of Olive and Seventh Streets. The head of the column was then near Pine Street. Marshal Brooke observed the troops 'obliquing' around a wagon that was backed up against the curbstone. While they were going through this manœuvre, he saw a gun discharged from the ranks, saw the blaze from the muzzle and the smoke, and then turning towards Pine Street, he saw the front ranks turn in considerable disorder and level their muskets at the balcony. Then stepping inside the court-room, Marshal Brooke gave the alarm to the persons in the room, who immediately hastened out of the range of the volley that in a moment after thundered along the street.

"Officer Pratt was standing on the balcony in front of the north window; he was shot below the heart, the ball passing through his body, and never spoke afterwards. Marshal Brooke states most positively that the first and only firing was done by the Home Guards. He pronounces the report that some one fired a pistol from the recorder's court balcony a lie. There were two or three other persons on the balcony besides Brooke and Pratt.

"When the commotion took place in the recorder's court, the prisoners in the dock inquired what they should do. Marshal Brooke told those who had been arrested on trifling charges to leave, but required those arrested on State charges to remain. There were two or three of the latter, among whom was St. Clair, held for murder. They rushed for the windows to escape, when Deputy Marshal Frenzel followed as far as the balcony, but was mortally wounded in the legs, receiving four balls.

"Dr. Newman, who lives in the first house north of Olive Street, and saw the whole affair, says he was sitting on the steps, and had been counting the soldiers as they passed his house. Whilst doing so, they commenced capping their guns, when the loud clicking of the locks alarmed his wife, and she got up and asked him what it meant. He told her not to be alarmed, all was quiet, and there was no danger. Immediately after, and just as the rear-guard had passed his house, he observed the discharge of a musket in the ranks. At once the whole body wheeled and fired into the recorder's court and buildings adjoining. There was not a shot previous to the general firing, except that of the soldier in the ranks. If there had been he would have noticed it. No disorder of any kind, not even a word addressed to the soldiers, was indulged in, as far as he could see, by any one in the vicinity. The troops as they passed his house exhibited a good deal of disorder. Mrs. Newman and her daughter also witnessed the affair, and saw the musket discharged by the soldier, and were positive no other shot was fired in the vicinity.

"Mrs. Hough, the wife of the president of the Marine Insurance Company, witnessed the commencement of the firing. She was sitting in the window of her house, gazing at the troops as they passed. While doing so her daughter asked why they were cocking their guns. Immediately after she saw one of the muskets pointed up into the air and discharged, followed by a general firing from the whole ranks. She at once drew back from the window, when a ball struck close to the sill, tearing away a brick. She knew no shot preceded the general firing, except the discharge of the musket by the soldier, as her residence is situated close to where the occurrence took place, and she would have noticed it. She was positive no pistol or other weapon was discharged from any place in the vicinity.

"Mr. Wm. H. Langdale, whose store is directly opposite the place where the firing occurred, says he was standing in the door when the troops passed; he saw several putting caps on their guns. The man who fired the shot he saw get a cap from a soldier on his right, and after placing it on his musket, was doing something with the lock when the piece went off. The sergeant, who was only a few feet from him, turned and reprimanded him sharply for it. He then looked up the street, and saw the head of the column turn around in disorder and shoot. The officers did not give any command, but seemed to do all in their power to prevent the firing. He was positive there had been no other shots fired whatever. He was standing in his door at the time, and the shot fired took place directly in front of him, and only distant a few feet, so that he could not be mistaken.

"The reporter of the *Evening News*, who was in the recorder's court at the time of the firing, gives the following statements, obtained immediately after the occurrence:

"Henry Siebert, a German, who was standing on the sidewalk near the drug-store, southeast corner of Seventh and Olive, states positively to us that as the rear rank of the detachment passed the point where he stood, one of the soldiers took his rifle from his shoulder and seemed to be placing a cap on the tube, or doing something else to it. While holding his gun in this position it was discharged, apparently by accident. Immediately thereafter, Mr. Siebert says, he heard something like an order given, but is not certain whether it was a command to fire or not. At any rate the detachment commenced firing, chiefly at the engine-house in which the recorder's court was sitting, and at the houses near by.

"Mr. John G. Dill, clerk of the recorder's court, was standing on the balcony at the second story of the engine-house, overhanging the street, as the soldiers passed by. His statement coincides with that of Mr. Siebert. He says he saw the gun discharged, apparently by accident, in the ranks, when a volley was discharged at the engine-house."

[2] The author of this work is greatly indebted to Col. Albert G. Brackett, of the Third Cavalry, U.S.A., in charge of Jefferson Barracks, for much valuable material and important assistance furnished in the preparation of the accompanying sketch of the barracks.

troops were removed to the cantonment at Bellefontaine established by Gen. Wilkinson. Subsequently the commandant's house and the stone tower situated in the inclosure were used by the courts. The barracks at Bellefontaine were the buildings which had belonged to the old Spanish fort of "St. Charles the Prince," and, as elsewhere stated, from six hundred to a thousand American troops were usually quartered there. These barracks continued to be used until the completion of Jefferson Barracks. The latter, famous in the traditions of the United States army, and cherished in the affections of the older army officers, are situated on the west bank of the Mississippi River, on the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad, about three miles south of the limits of the city of St. Louis, on a tract of land containing seventeen hundred and two acres, belonging to the United States government. The buildings were erected in 1826 and 1827, and are of limestone, which is readily obtained here, the whole barracks resting on extensive ledges that extend nearly to the river-bank, several of these ledges having been worked down so as to admit the building or construction of roadways and laying of railroad tracks. The grounds are most eligibly situated, being high, airy, and well drained on all sides, and commanding a fine view of the river. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, who was stationed at the barracks for a number of years, once wrote in a letter to a friend, "The position is a good one, and particularly excellent in a military point of view because of the facility of transporting troops to any other position in the West. The celerity of the recent (1827) movement of the First and Sixth Regiments up the Mississippi and Wisconsin sufficiently attests that. . . . The site of the barracks rises gradually from the river and swells to a beautiful bluff covered with oak- and hickory-trees, almost far enough apart to permit military manœuvres, and with no undergrowth to interrupt a ride on horseback in any direction."

The War Department having determined to establish an extensive cantonment in the West for a *corps de reserve*, from which detachments could be sent to reinforce or relieve the garrisons stationed on the lakes, the Missouri, Mississippi, Arkansas, Red, and Sabine Rivers, and at New Orleans, Maj.-Gen. Jacob Brown, the commander-in-chief of the American army, selected the site of Jefferson Barracks for that purpose.

The ground being a portion of the extensive commons belonging to the unincorporated village of Vide-Poche, now known as Carondelet, application was made to the authorities of the town for the lease to the government of the tract now occupied by Jefferson Barracks. Accordingly, in 1824, the village of Vide-Poche leased to the United States that portion of its commons known as Jefferson Barracks, embracing over seventeen hundred acres. The object of the Vide-Pochers in effecting the lease was to secure the market for their products which would result from the location of a military post at this point.[1]

The buildings were planned and their erection was commenced in 1826, under the superintendence of

[1] Afterward, when Vide-Poche was incorporated as Carondelet, the corporation desired to sell a portion of its commons, and in order to be able to give a clear title, it was deemed essential that a patent for the grounds should be procured from the government. Application for such patent was accordingly made to the Department of the Interior, but Jefferson Davis, who was then Secretary of War, advised the Secretary of the Interior to withhold the patent for that portion of the Carondelet commons occupied by the government as a barracks, on the ground that the government should maintain control of it as an important military position. The patent was granted for the balance of the commons on condition that the town of Carondelet should give to the United States a quit-claim for the portion occupied by Jefferson Barracks. The corporation claimed that it was entitled to the whole, but eventually accepted the partial patent, giving the required quit-claim under protest. This protest was served on the President of the United States (Franklin Pierce), the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Interior.

In 1852 suit was commenced by the town of Carondelet in the Court of Claims at Washington against the United States for the recovery of the barracks tract, but there was a division of opinion in the court as to whether a suit could be brought against the United States, and as there was not the requisite majority on the affirmative of the proposition, the case was thrown out of court.

The following bill was then drawn up and presented to Congress for the purpose of authorizing the Court of Claims to try the case, but no definite action could be obtained then, and the bill dragged along until March, 1873, when Hon. Erastus Wells succeeded in bringing it to a vote, and it was carried without opposition:

"AN ACT *to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear and determine the suit of Carondelet vs. the United States.*

"*Whereas* doubts exist touching the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims over the suit now pending in said court against the United States for the recovery of a tract of land claimed to be a part of the commons of Carondelet, instituted by the city of Carondelet; therefore be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that jurisdiction be, and hereby is, granted to the Court of Claims to hear and determine said case, and the matters in controversy therein, subject to the right of appeal by either party to the Supreme Court of the United States; and that the depositions heretofore taken in said case may be read at the trial thereof, with the same effect as if taken after the passage of this act."

Approved March 3, 1873.

The case is now properly before the Court of Claims, and a decision will be reached in time. It is said that no able lawyer entertains any doubt as to the suit terminating in favor of the plaintiff. Carondelet having, since the commencement of the suit, been incorporated into St. Louis, of course the property, if recovered, will belong to the latter city.

Brevet Brig.-Gen. Henry Atkinson, and they were so far completed in the following year as to admit of their occupation by the soldiers.

The first regular troops sent here were those belonging to the First Regiment of infantry, who were followed by the Sixth Regiment of infantry in the summer of 1827, under Col. and Brevet Brig.-Gen. Henry Atkinson, Sixth Infantry, who had been stationed far to the westward at Council Bluffs (now Fort Calhoun), Nebraska. It must be understood that the original Council Bluffs, named by Lewis and Clark, belongs in Nebraska, and not in Iowa. Gen. Atkinson immediately commenced work with the men of his regiment, and did a great deal towards beautifying the grounds and rendering the barracks comfortable dwellings for the men. Most of the older officers with Gen. Atkinson had served in the war of 1812, and had been retained in the army on account of their superior military qualities and attainments. The main buildings of the barracks were constructed chiefly of limestone, and a considerable portion of the masonry was erected by the soldiers. The parade-ground at that time was six hundred and eighty-four feet long and two hundred and eighty feet wide. The quarters of the officers and soldiers were built on the north, south, and west sides of the parade-ground, the east side or front being left open to the river. There were four blocks of officers' quarters, one of which was situated on each eastern extremity of the range of buildings, and the other two formed the western boundary of the parade-ground, with a sally-port between them. They were all two stories high, with garrets and basements, and with porticos in front. The first two were each one hundred and ten feet by thirty-six, with sixteen rooms in each; the others were each one hundred and twenty feet by thirty-six, with twenty rooms in each. The quarters of the soldiers extended east and west between the quarters of the officers, and were one story high with basements in the rear. The barracks were originally intended to accommodate twenty-two companies, but during the civil war several thousand men were quartered in them very comfortably. About five or six hundred yards from the barracks to the north, on a ridge parallel with the one on which the barracks were built, was situated the hospital, a fine building of brick, one hundred and twenty feet by twenty-four, surrounded with porticos. It stood in a large yard, inclosed and shaded by trees, and was divided into four large wards and two smaller ones, a dispensary, store-rooms, mess-rooms, etc. It was capable of accommodating eighty or ninety patients. On the same ridge with the hospital were two large houses occupied by the chaplain and sutler. The commanding officer's quarters were near the river and north of the barracks, in a handsome house built in cottage style. A little to the south of the barracks, on the river-bank, was a substantial building ninety by thirty feet and two stories high, affording ample room for the storage of subsistence and quartermaster's stores. There was also at the post stabling for a large number of horses. There had been expended on the buildings prior to 1840 about seventy thousand dollars.

On the 1st of January, 1827, a ball was given at the barracks, to which many of the prominent families of St. Louis were invited, and in return a ball was given to the officers by the citizens at the residence of Governor Clark, which is described as having been a very brilliant affair.

Before the Mexican war Jefferson Barracks was a grand rendezvous for the troops in the West, and soldiers and munitions of war were generally distributed from this point to the frontier garrisons. Many of the most important military and exploring expeditions made the post their starting-point, and when unemployed the reserve of the Western army was usually quartered at this salubrious and attractive place, where, in the midst of a country abundantly supplied with provisions, the troops were supported at very little expense.

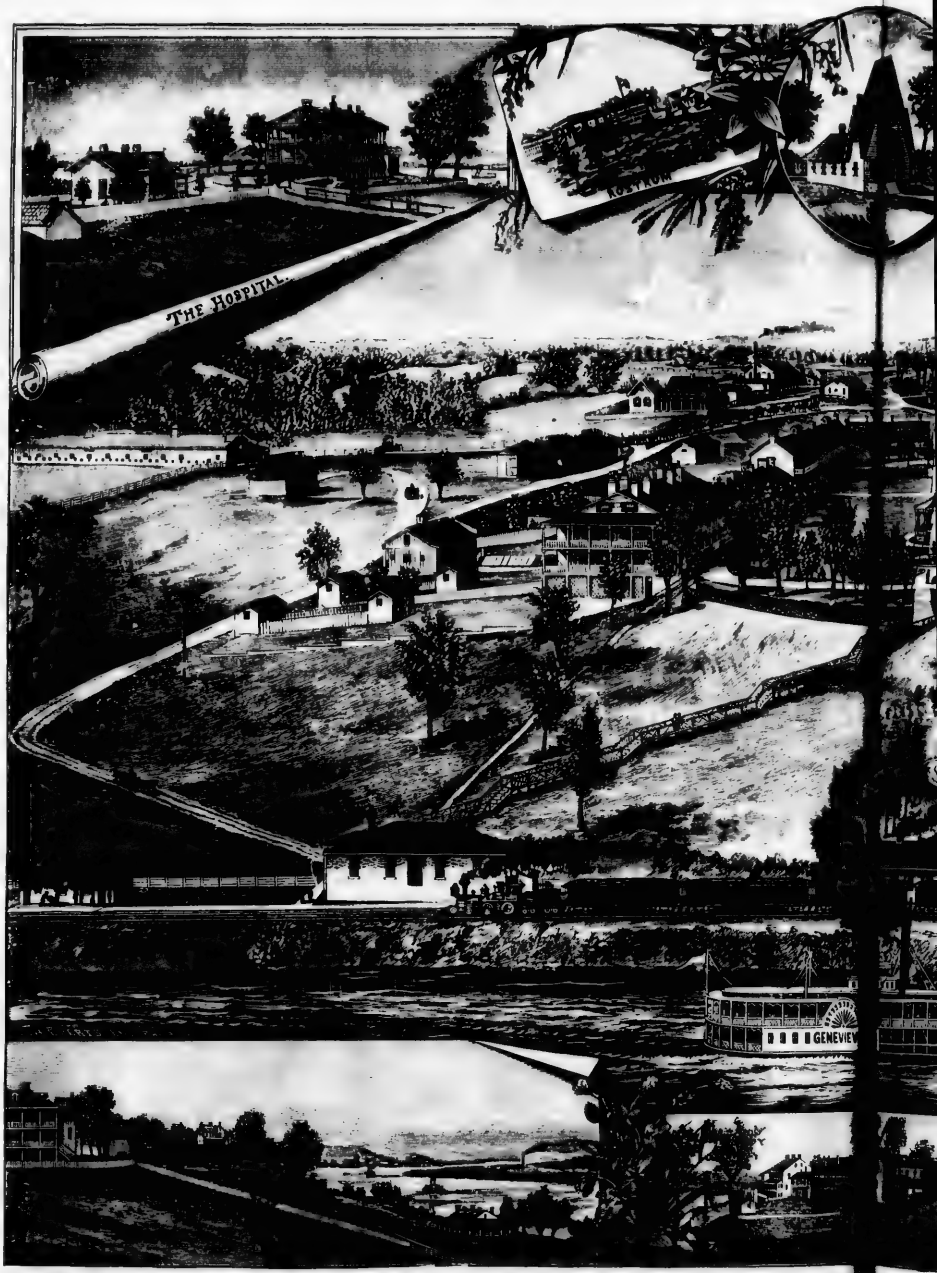
The wife of Gen. Atkinson, the commander of the post for many years, was a daughter of Alexander Bullitt, one of the original settlers of Louisville, Ky., and the eldest of a family celebrated for beauty, wit, and charm of manner. Mrs. Atkinson, aided, after the lapse of some years, by her brilliant and beautiful sisters, made Jefferson Barracks something more than a mere military post, and transformed it into a delightful and elegant home for the gay and gallant young soldiers serving here their apprenticeship in arms. The barracks were near enough to St. Louis to allow the officers to mingle freely in its gay and hospitable society, in which the influence of the old French element was still predominant. The descendants of the first settlers had preserved in their colonial isolation some of the best features of the old *régime*, lost even in France itself through the Revolution. To innocent sprightliness was joined decorum, and the inherent grace and polish of the French race were united with the cordiality and generous freedom of intercourse which mark a young and prosperous community. The Chouteaus, Cabannés, Prattes, Soulards, Menards, Gratiots, Sarpys, Vallés, Cerrés, and many other French families among the descendants of the early settlers were erudite, accomplished people, who would have felt at ease and whose society would have

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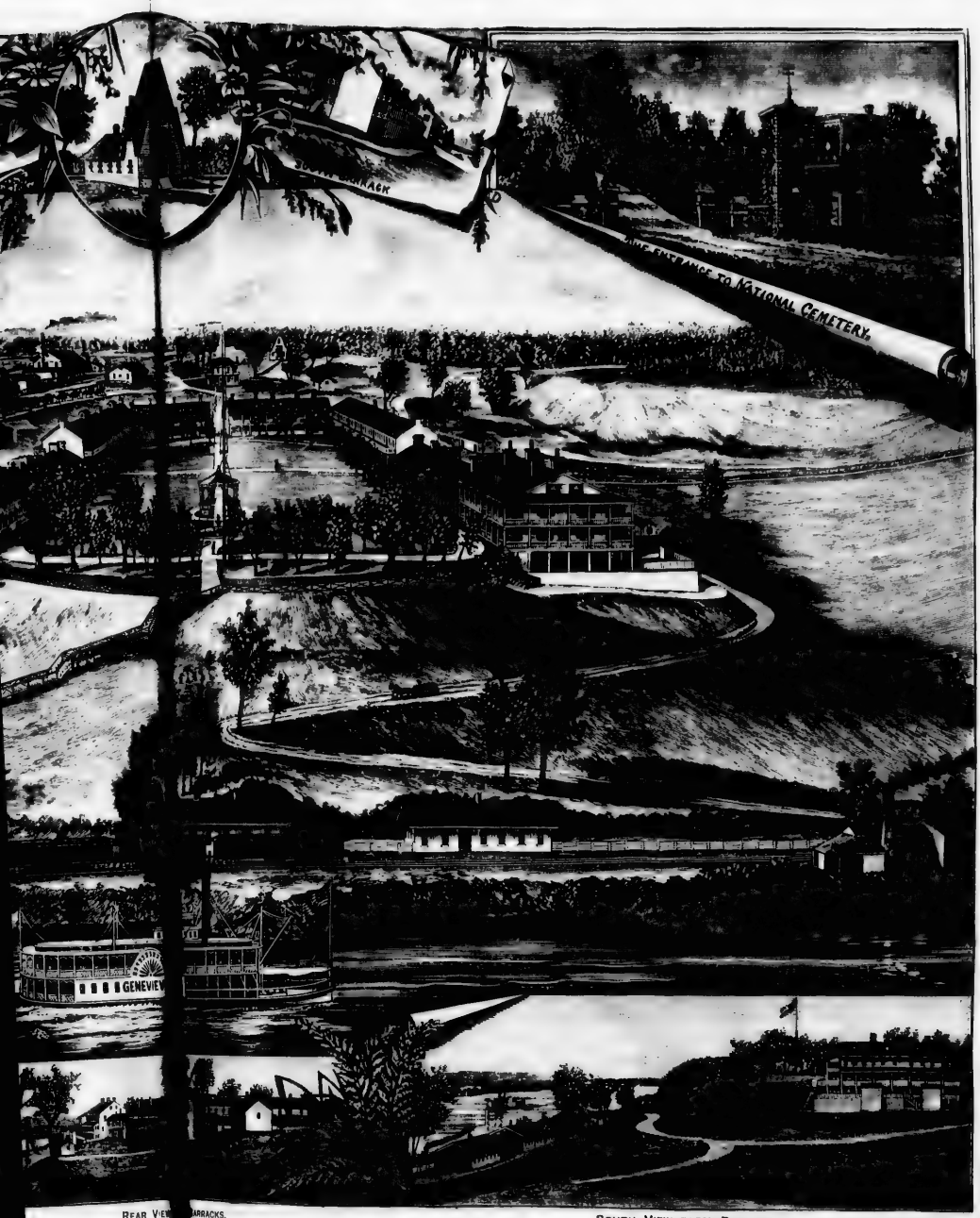


NORTH VIEW FROM BARRACKS.

REAR VIEW [illegible] BARRACKS.

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REAR VIEW BARRACKS.

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been coveted in the gay saloons of Paris. The benefits and enjoyment of such a society were thoroughly appreciated and keenly relished by the officers, whose commissions in that happy day of the republic accredited them to the best society everywhere. Many of the young officers, without allowing themselves to fall into fashionable dissipation, indulged freely in the pleasures and amusements of the city, and found in St. Louis attachments which lasted during life. The O'Fallons, the Clarks, the Bentons, the Chouteaus, the Gratiots, the Mullanphys, the Lucases, and other noted and estimable families were among the chosen and remembered friends of the accomplished and dashing officers stationed at Jefferson Barracks from 1826 to 1860.

At a ball at Mr. Chouteau's, Lieut. Albert Sidney Johnston met for the first time Miss Henrietta Preston, who afterwards became his wife. She was the eldest child of Maj. William Preston, a member of the Virginia family of that name, and an officer of Wayne's army, who had resigned and settled at Louisville, Ky. Maj. Preston's wife, Mrs. Caroline Hancock Preston, was the daughter of Col. George Hancock, of Fincastle, Va. (an aide to Pulaski, a colonel in the Revolutionary war, and a member of the Fourth Congress), and belonged to a family distinguished for beauty and talents. Mrs. Preston's youngest sister had married Governor William Clark, of Missouri, and her husband's niece was the wife of Hon. Thomas H. Benton. Governor Clark was one of the foremost men of the West. A younger brother of the great George Rogers Clark, he possessed the latter's boldness and sagacity without his infirmities, and reaped the legitimate rewards of energy and intellect from which unthrift debarred the hero. He had early in life obtained great celebrity by his explorations, in conjunction with Lewis, of the sources of the Columbia River and in the far West. He was Governor of Missouri for many years, and, as Indian agent, justly enjoyed the confidence both of his government and of the Indian tribes. With wealth, intelligence, an elevated character, and popular manners, he was well fitted for his place as a leader in a young republic. His first wife, Miss Julia Hancock, was a woman of eminent graces and singular beauty. After her death he married her cousin, Mrs. Radford. Governor Clark's descendants and collateral relations are prominent citizens of St. Louis and Louisville. Thomas H. Benton's wife was a daughter of Col. James McDowell, of Rockbridge County, Va., and sister of the eloquent Governor of Virginia. She was the niece and favorite kinswoman of Maj. Preston, and spent four or five years in his house, devoting herself for the most part, as a matter of choice, to the education of his daughter Henrietta, then a little girl. Miss Preston was visiting these relations in St. Louis when she met Lieut. Johnston, and the interest which she at once inspired was reciprocated. Their mutual attachment continued unbroken; and Lieut. Johnston, having been sent on recruiting service to Louisville, Ky., where Miss Preston resided, and where he remained for a great portion of the year 1828, became engaged to her. They were married Jan. 20, 1829.

On the 1st of April, 1832, Brig.-Gen. Atkinson, then commanding the right wing of the Western Department, received an order, dated March 17th, from the headquarters of the army, announcing that the Sacs and Foxes, in violation of the treaty of Prairie du Chien of 1830, had attacked the Menomonees, near Fort Crawford, and killed twenty-five of that tribe, and that the Menomonees meditated a retaliation. To preserve the pledged faith of the government unbroken, and keep peace and amity among those tribes, he was instructed to prevent any movement on the part of the Menomonees against the Sacs and Foxes, and to demand of the Sac and Fox nation eight or ten of the party engaged in the murder of the Menomonees, including some of the principal men. For these purposes he was empowered to employ the regular force on the Mississippi, or so much as could be dispensed with after providing for the security of the several posts. The remote position of Fort Snelling, at the Falls of St. Anthony, surrounded as it was by powerful bands of Indians, precluded the possibility of withdrawing any portion of the garrison at that point. The expeditionary force therefore would have to be made up of such of the troops as could be spared from the slender garrison at Prairie du Chien, the troops at Fort Winnebago, at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, and at Fort Armstrong, at Rock Island, and the companies of the Sixth Regiment at Jefferson Barracks, amounting in all to about four hundred and twenty men. In compliance with his orders, Gen. Atkinson set off for the upper Mississippi with six companies of the Sixth Infantry (two hundred and twenty men), which were embarked at the barracks on April 8, 1832, in the steamboats "Enterprise" and "Chieftain."[1] The troops arrived at their destination in due time, and in

[1] It is a noteworthy and somewhat remarkable coincidence that thus early in life, and while of inferior rank in the army, there should have met as co-workers in this remote field four men who, thirty years later, measured swords in a contest which shook the world,—Lieuts. Albert Sidney Johnston, N. J. Eaton, Robert Anderson, and Jefferson Davis.—*Life of Albert Sidney Johnston*, by his son, William Preston Johnston, p. 36.

an engagement with the Indians under Black Hawk, near Bad Axe River, on Aug. 2, 1832, the savages were subdued, and their principal chiefs, including Black Hawk, were captured and detained as prisoners of war in Jefferson Barracks to await the orders of the government.

Upon the cessation of hostilities the Sixth Infantry returned to the barracks. While stationed here some of the younger officers were somewhat hot-blooded, and Second Lieut. Charles O. May was killed in a duel on the 19th of January, 1830.

After the close of the Black Hawk war Congress deemed it necessary to add a regiment of dragoons to the military establishment for service against the Indians on the plains and in the Rocky Mountains, and in the spring of 1833 the First Regiment of dragoons, now First Cavalry, was organized at this point under Col. Henry Dodge, Lieut.-Col. Stephen Watts Kearney, and Maj. Richard B. Mason. Among the captains were David Hunter and Edwin V. Sumner, afterwards colonels of cavalry, and Nathan Boone, a son of the famous Daniel Boone, of Kentucky. Jefferson Davis, afterwards President of the Southern Confederacy, was a first lieutenant, as was Philip St. George Cooke, subsequently colonel of cavalry and brigadier-general. A portion of the Second Dragoons, now Second Cavalry, under Col. David E. Twiggs, was organized here in 1836, and in the following summer marched hence to participate in the Florida war, where it rendered excellent service. William S. Harney, well known in St. Louis, was lieutenant-colonel of this regiment.

In the autumn of 1842 the headquarters and all of the companies of the Fourth Infantry were at Jefferson Barracks, where the regiment remained until May, 1844, when it went to Louisiana. The regiment had been serving in Florida against the Seminole Indians, and was sent to the barracks for a brief rest.

Gen. Atkinson, who was from North Carolina, died at Jefferson Barracks on June 14, 1842. He entered the army as captain of the Third Infantry, July 1, 1809, and was appointed assistant inspector-general with the rank of major, and inspector-general with the rank of colonel, April 25, 1813. On April 15, 1814, he was appointed colonel of the Forty-fifth Regiment of infantry, and in the same month was transferred to the Thirty-seventh Infantry. Upon the reorganization of the army he was retained as colonel of the Sixth Infantry. On May 13, 1820, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, and declined June 1, 1821, the position of adjutant-general with the rank of colonel. In August, 1821, he was retained as colonel of the Sixth Infantry, with the brevet of brigadier-general commanding the Western army.

Another distinguished officer died at Jefferson Barracks,—Brevet Brig.-Gen. Richard B. Mason, colonel of the First Regiment of United States dragoons, who expired at his headquarters at the barracks on July 25, 1850, of cholera, leaving a wife and two daughters. Gen. Mason was a native of Stafford County, Va., and was descended from a family eminent for their services in the war of the Revolution. On the 2d of September, 1817, he was appointed from civil life to a second lieutenancy in the old Eighth Regiment of infantry, and in the same month was made first lieutenant. In July, 1819, he was made captain, and in May, 1821, upon the breaking up of the Eighth Regiment, he was transferred to the First. In 1825 and 1826 he was with the forces that ascended the Missouri to the mouth of the Yellowstone. In fact, his whole service in the army was spent on the Northern and Western frontiers. Upon his return from the expedition he was engaged in the erection of Jefferson Barracks. In May, 1832, during the Black Hawk war, he was appointed captain of ordnance, which position he declined. On the organization of the dragoons he was appointed, March 4, 1833, major of the First Regiment. He served through the Black Hawk war, and subsequently was for several years stationed at Fort Gibson. On the 4th of July, 1836, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the First Dragoons, and colonel June 30, 1846. For two years previous to the Mexican war he was stationed in the East on recruiting service. When that war broke out he joined Gen. Kearney in California, where he was made, in 1847–48, military commander and civil Governor of the Tenth (California) Department. He was breveted brigadier-general "for meritorious conduct" in March, 1849, to date from May 30, 1848. He was relieved from his command in 1849, and enjoyed but a short respite from duty with his family before he died.

During the Mexican war many troops were fitted out at Jefferson Barracks and departed for the scene of hostilities. The regiment of mounted riflemen, now Third Cavalry, originally intended for the protection of emigrants on the way to Oregon, was organized here in the summer of 1846, and after being carefully trained by Maj. Sumner, started for the battle-fields of Mexico. Maj. Sumner did not belong to the regiment, but had been specially detailed to give it the preliminary training, as the colonel and lieutenant-colonel were both absent in the field. The companies were recruited in different portions of the Union, and

the men were sent here to be embodied and properly drilled. At the same time the place was used as a depot for recruits, and was kept well filled. The regiment of mounted riflemen became famous in the Mexican war, and participated in several hard-fought battles. Several of the infantry regiments, or portions of them at least, were here from time to time, and many of the older officers remained here for longer or shorter periods. After the close of the Mexican war the Seventh was at the barracks, succeeded for a few years after by the Sixth. The Fifth and Eighth were here also, for a brief season, as also was the Third, all of which had done excellent service in Mexico.

Shortly after the war Brevet Col. Braxton Bragg, who afterwards became a distinguished general in the Confederate army, was ordered to Jefferson Barracks, where he organized his famous flying artillery company, which practiced firing at a target on the other side of the river. His lieutenants were Looser and Ayres, the latter of whom is now a distinguished general in the United States army.

The gun sheds used by the battery are now standing, though not in good condition, time having worked considerable change in their appearance. There was not a very good drill-ground near by, the surface being broken by ravines and covered with a thick growth of bushes and trees. Underneath there was a tangled mass of vines and weeds, forming in some places an impenetrable jungle.

In 1853, Brevet Brig.-Gen. Newman S. Clarke, colonel Sixth Infantry, commanding the Sixth Military Department, had his headquarters at Jefferson Barracks, and with him was his adjutant, Winfield S. Hancock, who has since become so famous throughout the republic. This military department then comprised a considerable portion of the West.

On the 22d of August, 1853, occurred the death at Jefferson Barracks of Brevet Capt. Hachaliah Brown, first lieutenant of the Third Regiment of artillery, in the thirty-first year of his age. Capt. Brown graduated at the Military Academy in 1842, and entered the service as a brevet second lieutenant in the Fourth Regiment of artillery, in which he continued to serve until March, 1845, when he was transferred by promotion to the Third Artillery. He remained on duty on the Atlantic sea-board for some time after the commencement of hostilities between the United States and Mexico, and received orders for the field shortly after the administration had determined upon a new line of operations, beginning with Vera Cruz. He joined at Tampico the battalion of light infantry under the command of Col. Steptoe, and served with it until the evacuation of the country by the army. During the siege of Vera Cruz he was detached with a body of troops under Gen. Harney, and participated in the affair of Medellin, "for gallant and meritorious" conduct in which he received the brevet of captain. He was also distinguished in the battle of Cerro Gordo; and in the valley of Mexico, while attached with his company to Gen. Quitman's division, served in the battle of Chapultepec and the attack upon the Belen Gate. Soon after he returned from Mexico he was appointed adjutant of his regiment, in which capacity he served until 1851, when, after a brief sojourn in Boston Harbor, he was ordered to duty with Col. Bragg's battery, and died near the close of his period of service with it.

In 1853 and 1856, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, the eminent soldier and statesman, commanded the post. He was then lieutenant-colonel of the First Cavalry, which was stationed at Fort Leavenworth, commanded by Col. Edwin V. Sumner. It is said that a little bad feeling sprang up between Sumner and Johnston at Fort Leavenworth, which was the cause of Johnston being put in command at Jefferson Barracks. This ill feeling is thought to have existed to the day of Sumner's death, and was especially vented in the battles of Fair Oaks and Malvern Hill.

While Gen. Johnston was enjoying the emoluments of shoulder-straps at the barracks in 1857, there was an humble farmer who sometimes visited the post with a wagon-load of "garden sass," or perhaps now and then a cord of wood, who has somewhat outfigured the military individuals noted above. That farmer was no less a personage than Ulysses S. Grant, who actually sold wood by the load at the barracks during the command of Col. Joseph E. Johnston. Jefferson Davis, the late President of the Confederate States, has also been an inmate of the barracks. Before the Mexican war, while Davis was a lieutenant in the regular army, his company remained for a considerable time at these barracks; and visitors are now shown where the chief of the great Rebellion knelt in prayer in the chapel. In the same chapel the Johnstons and Lee attended divine worship. There are those still remaining at the barracks who well recollect the appearance and manner of Gen. Lee, and he is remembered as a mild, affable, and elegant gentleman of the old school.

Visitors are also shown a large locust-tree, which is much stooped and bent, though still growing, and are told that when quite a sapling it was prostrated by Gen. Mansfield Lovell (of New Orleans surrender memory), who, attempting a display in artillery prac-

tice before some ladies who were present, drove a caisson over it.

Col. Francis Lee was another of the distinguished officers who were stationed at Jefferson Barracks. At the time of his death in St. Louis, on the 19th of January, 1859, he was colonel of the Second Regiment of United States Infantry. His funeral services were held at the Second Presbyterian Church, corner of Walnut and Fifth Streets, and the remains were escorted by his regiment to the barracks, accompanied by the general, regimental, and battalion staffs and a large number of citizens.

Col. Lee was born in Pennsylvania, April 13, 1802. At the age of sixteen he entered the Military Academy at West Point as a cadet, and four years afterwards, July 1, 1822, received his commission as second lieutenant of the Seventh Infantry. Two years later, in September, 1824, he was promoted to a first lieutenancy, and from May, 1826, to May, 1834, was assistant quartermaster. Upon the reorganization of the army in September, 1836, he was made first lieutenant, and captain in July, 1838. Upon the breaking out of the war with Mexico, in 1846, he was appointed chief engineer of the army commanded by Brig.-Gen. Wool, and on April 18, 1847, while in command of the Fourth Regiment, was breveted major "for gallant and meritorious conduct" in the battle of Cerro Gordo. On August 27th he was breveted lieutenant-colonel "for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco," and colonel on September 13th of the same year for similar conduct in the battle of Chapultepec, in which he was wounded. He had previously distinguished himself at the siege of Fort Brown, and his conduct on the occasion of the taking of the City of Mexico was also highly meritorious. He was made superintendent of the West Point Military Academy Sept. 1, 1852, and succeeded to the colonelcy of the Second Regiment of infantry, Oct. 18, 1855, which rank he held at the time of his death. He was commander of the Department of the West, stationed in St. Louis, until the fall of 1858, when he was relieved by Col. E. V. Sumner. His services in the war with Mexico, wherein he earned such deserved renown, were not without their sacrifices. Like many others, he contracted a disease which undermined his constitution and eventually brought him to his death-bed.

Col. Lee, besides being a gallant officer, was in all respects an upright and honorable man. His many amiable traits, his sociable disposition, and his frank, punctilious integrity won the regard of all with whom he was brought in contact.

One of the most interesting events connected with Jefferson Barracks was the organization there of the famous Second Regiment of cavalry, which was intended for immediate service in Texas. It was formed in 1855 by Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, and was known as "Davis' pet regiment." It is doubtful whether any other regiment furnished an equal number of distinguished officers to the two contending armies during the great civil war. Albert Sidney Johnston, a brave and skillful soldier, was appointed colonel of the regiment, with rank from March 3, 1855. Johnston was a native of Kentucky, and after graduating at West Point, and serving some time in the Sixth Infantry Regiment, resigned and offered his services to the republic of Texas. They were accepted, and he passed through the various grades of brigadier-general, general, commander-in-chief, and secretary of war of the republic. On account of some misunderstanding in relation to the command of the army, he fought a duel with Gen. Felix Houston, was wounded, and always afterward walked a little lame. He became a planter in Texas, but upon the breaking out of the Mexican war he was chosen colonel of a Texas infantry regiment, and served some time. This regiment was disbanded, and he continued in service on Maj.-Gen. William O. Butler's staff as acting inspector-general. While thus serving he participated in the battle of Monterey, and shortly after was appointed a paymaster in the regular army, with the rank of major. In 1855, as we have stated, he was appointed colonel of the Second Regiment Cavalry, and although afterward breveted brigadier-general for his services in Utah, was in fact the head of that regiment when the civil war broke out, and when he resigned. He was killed while in command of the Confederate army at Shiloh. Gen. Johnston was a very gentlemanly man, and a chaste and fluent writer. He had a fine military presence and carriage, with the most gentle and winning manners.

Brevet Col. Robert E. Lee was the lieutenant-colonel of this regiment, and afterwards became the commander-in-chief of the Confederate army. He was a Virginian by birth, and a graduate of the West Point Military Academy. He was first in the engineers, and for some time was engaged in deepening the channel in the harbor of St. Louis. He gained a fine reputation during the Mexican war, at the close of which, although but a captain, he had the brevet rank of colonel. For some years he was superintendent at West Point, and in 1855 was promoted lieutenant-colonel of the Second Cavalry. He served some time in Texas with the regiment, and for a time had command of that department. This great soldier died Oct. 12, 1870.

Lee was a refined American gentleman, courteous and affable in his deportment, and kindly in his feelings. His personal appearance was striking, and impressed one with the idea that he was a great soldier, as he proved himself to be. He was wounded at Chapultepec, in Mexico.

Maj. and Brevet Lieut.-Col. William J. Hardee, of this regiment, became afterwards a lieutenant-general in the Confederate army. He was a Georgian by birth, and a graduate of West Point. "Hardee's Tactics," so called, is a translation from the French.

George H. Thomas, the major of the regiment, was afterwards a distinguished general in the Union army. He was born in Southampton County, Va., July 31, 1816, and died in San Francisco, Cal., March 28, 1870. He graduated at West Point, and won great distinction in the army during the war with Mexico, and during the civil war of 1861–65. At the close of the latter war he was made major-general of the United States army from Dec. 15, 1864. On March 3, 1865, he received the thanks of Congress for his eminent services during the war, and from the Legislature of Tennessee, Nov. 2, 1865, a vote of thanks and a gold medal. In February, 1868, President Johnson having offered him the brevet of lieutenant-general, he declined the compliment, saying he had done nothing since the war to merit such promotion. Gen. Thomas was remarkable for simplicity of character, modesty, stability, and discretion.

The next in rank in the Second Regiment of cavalry was Capt. and Brevet Maj. Earl Van Dorn. He was born in Mississippi in 1821, graduated at West Point, and was killed by Dr. Peters at Spring Hill, Tenn., May 8, 1863. He served with distinguished gallantry in the Mexican war, and in the Confederate army as a major-general.

Edmund Kirby Smith, another captain in the regiment, was born in Florida about 1825, graduated at West Point, and served with distinction in the war with Mexico. He resigned his commission April 6, 1861, and joined the Confederacy. He received various promotions in the Confederate army until in October, 1862, he was appointed lieutenant-general. Early in 1863 he took command of the Trans-Mississippi army, which he surrendered to Gen. Canby May 26, 1865.

The other captains in the regiment were the following distinguished officers: George Stoneman, born in New York, Aug. 8, 1822, graduated at West Point in 1846, and served throughout the civil war in the Union army. He was chief of cavalry of Gen. Hooker's army, and at the close of the war was made brevet major-general United States army, and retired in 1871. He is now (1883) Governor of California.

James Oakes, a thorough Union man during the war, was from Pennsylvania. He served with distinction in Mexico, and was wounded in an Indian fight in Texas. On account of this wound, which disabled him, he was obliged to decline a brigadier-generalship tendered him by the President.

Innis N. Palmer, of New York, was a brigadier-general of volunteers in the Union army. He served in Mexico as lieutenant of rifles, and was severely wounded at Chapultepec.

Theodore O'Hara and Charles E. Travis were originally appointed in the regiment, but served with it only a short time. The former was from Kentucky and the latter from Texas. Travis was the son of Col. Travis, the hero of the Alamo, and died in 1860. O'Hara served in the Cuban expedition under Lopez, and was severely wounded. He was aide-de-camp to Gen. A. Sidney Johnston at the battle of Shiloh. William R. Bradfute, of Tennessee, left the Federal service and joined the Confederates. He served in Mexico, and was considered a very brave man.

Albert G. Brackett, of Indiana, is a colonel in the regular army. He served in the Mexican war, and was wounded by the Confederates in Arkansas. Charles J. Whiting, of California, served faithfully during the war on the Union side, and was major in the Second Cavalry, formerly the Second Dragoons. Richard W. Johnson, of Kentucky, was a distinguished Union officer during the late civil war, and retired with full rank on Oct. 12, 1867, as brevet major-general of the United States army. Nathan G. Evans, of South Carolina, was a major-general in the Confederate service, and fought at Bull's Run, Ball's Bluff, and Hatcher's Run. He died Nov. 30, 1868.

Among the first lieutenants were McArthur, Charles W. Field, Garrard, Jenifer, William B. Royall (who became a colonel in the regular army), Chambliss, Eagle, Swert, Shaaf, Cosby, W. W. Lowe, and John B. Hood; and second lieutenants, Witherell, Minter, Gibbs, Major, Phifer, Harrison, Porter, Owens, Fitzhugh Lee, Kimmel, and Cunningham.

Kenner Garrard, who was born in Kentucky, subsequently distinguished himself in the Union army, being at its close a brevet major-general, United States army. He resigned Nov. 9, 1866. W. W. Lowe graduated at West Point July 1, 1853, and was assigned to duty in the Second Dragoons. He was afterwards transferred to the Second Cavalry, and took an active part in recruiting and organizing the regiment. During the civil war he commanded the Fifth Iowa Cavalry, and the posts of Forts Henry,

Hindman, and Donelson. He was a brevet brigadier-general. McArthur, Harrison, Owens, Arnold, and Swert remained true to the Union. Lieut. John J. Swert was killed at the battle of Gaines' Mill, Va., June 27, 1862. Lieuts. Chambliss and Phifer were generals in the Confederate army, and Cosby, Jenifer, Shaaf, Field, Gibbs, Major, Minter, and Kimmel served in the same army. John B. Hood was born in Bath County, Ky., about 1830, and graduated at West Point in 1853. He resigned his commission April 16, 1861, and entered the Confederate service, in which he soon rose to the rank of lieutenant-general. He died in New Orleans after the war. Fitzhugh Lee was born in Virginia, and graduated at West Point. On the breaking out of the civil war he resigned his commission and entered the Confederate service, where he acquired the rank of major-general of cavalry.

The Second Regiment of cavalry was rapidly recruited, and was composed of farmers' sons and other daring young men. Its complement (eight hundred and fifty men) was made up about the middle of August, 1855, and the recruits were rendezvoused at Jefferson Barracks, under the command of Maj. Hardee, with orders to march to the frontiers of Texas in October. Cols. Johnston and Lee had been directed to proceed to Fort Leavenworth to sit on a general court-martial, to be held September 24th. They were relieved early in October, and joined their regiment, which started for Texas on the 27th. Its route of march from Jefferson Barracks lay through the Ozark Mountains, in Southwestern Missouri, and passed by way of Springfield and Neosho into the Indian Territory. It reached Tahlequah November 28th, and, proceeding by way of Fort Gibson and Fort Washita, entered Texas at Preston on the 15th of December. From Preston the column moved to Belknap, and thence to Fort Mason, its destination, where it arrived Jan. 14, 1856. Four companies were left on the Clear Fork of the Brazos, under Maj. Hardee.

The regiment fought the Comanche, Lipan, Apache, and Kiowa Indians over forty times between the years 1856 and 1860, and in nearly every fight was successful.

While the regiment was at Green Lake, Texas, after the ordinance of secession had passed, and prior to starting for the North, Van Dorn, then a colonel in the Confederate service, visited it and tried to induce some of the officers and men to join the Confederates. It is said that not a man left the regiment.

During the civil war the regiment did excellent service for the Union cause, and shed its blood on many a well-fought field. When the Union army crossed the Potomac, in May, 1861, the only cavalry force with it was three companies of this regiment, and at the battle of Bull Run four out of the seven cavalry companies on the field belonged to it. It is a noteworthy fact that in that terrible battle the Union cavalry force did not number much over three hundred men.

Lieut.-Col. Edwin V. Sumner, who was superintendent of the mounted recruiting service, was stationed at the barracks in 1855, and upon being promoted to the colonelcy of the First (now Fourth) Cavalry, in that year, went to Fort Leavenworth, where he formed his regiment. He was succeeded as superintendent by Brevet Col. Charles A. May.

The barracks continued to be used as a cavalry depot for several years, during which time many recruits were sent from it for service in the far West. It remained an important military post until the great civil war broke out in 1861, when it was transformed into a general military hospital. The site was thought to be particularly adapted for the treatment of diseases as well as wounds, and some remarkable recoveries certainly were made. The quiet no doubt added to its sanitary condition, and steamboat after steamboat loaded with men who had been broken down in the South were landed here, and received medical treatment. In those days many steamboats were regularly fitted up as hospital boats.

In the fall of 1862, by order of the government, the work of erecting additional buildings for hospital wards was commenced, and by the following spring they were completed, and many other buildings and quarters arranged and adapted to the purposes of a hospital. The most elaborate improvements were made. The new buildings comprised nine one-story houses, six hundred and ten feet in length, in their position forming nearly a half-circle of about half a mile in diameter. These buildings comprised wards, surgeons' quarters, nurses' rooms, secondary dispensaries, cook-houses, etc., and were kept in a state of most perfect neatness and order.

About the centre of the grounds was the water-works building, containing four iron tanks, which held one thousand gallons of water each, which was pumped from the river by a steam-engine. This reservoir distributed water to every building on the grounds, and was an admirable convenience. The works cost twenty-seven thousand dollars.

The capacity of the entire institution was for three thousand patients; but in February, 1864, there were but few patients there, though quite a number of convalescents. Among the most noteworthy conveniences at the barracks at this time was a printing-office,

which was kept going by the convalescent soldiers, where all the printing of the hospital was done. This, which was formerly no mean item of expense, was in 1864 an entire saving, with the exception of the cost of paper and ink. The printers also commenced the issue of a small weekly paper called the *Convalescent*, a very neat little sheet, the first number of which was published Feb. 14, 1864.

There was on the grounds a hotel for the accommodation of persons visiting sick friends, with a ten-pin alley and billiard-room attached. Near this was the post-office, which sent off twenty-three thousand letters during the month of January, 1864.

Near the centre of the grounds was a neat and commodious chapel, where religious services were held. Attached to this, and occupying the vestibule, were a library and reading-room, the latter containing all the principal newspapers and periodicals of the country. There was also a branch library in each ward.

The Rev. Mr. Fish was at this time (February, 1864) the post chaplain, and had served in this capacity for more than ten years.

Surgeon John F. Randolph, United States army, took charge of the hospital in February, 1863, and commanded the post. He was a native of Virginia, and was one of the few army officers from that State who remained true to the Union. He had been attached to the army for more than ten years, and in 1861 returned from a long period of service in Oregon and California. The following assistant surgeons and officers of the post were all men of the highest qualifications, and manifested the deepest interest in the operations of the hospital:

Asst. Surg. H. R. Tilton, U.S.A., executive officer.
Capt. A. R. Smith, U.S.V., commissary of subsistence.
Capt. J. H. Corns, U.S.V., commanding Company K, Eighth Regiment Invalid Corps, and assistant provost-marshal.
Second Lieut. S. C. Wildman, Second Illinois Cavalry, commanding Sixty-second Company, Second Battalion Invalid Corps.
Rev. J. W. Fish, U.S.A., post chaplain.
Rev. Samuel Pettigrew, U.S.A., hospital chaplain.
Acting assistant surgeons, H. Latham, U.S.A.; W. H. Martin, U.S.A.; A. L. Allen, U.S.A.; T. F. Humbold, U.S.A.; T. W. McArthur, U.S.A.; S. Leslie, U.S.A.; J. A. Rolls, U.S.A.; W. M. Welch, U.S.A.; J. J. Marston, U.S.A.; P. C. McLane, U.S.A.; P. C. H. Rooney, U.S.A.
Hospital stewards, S. Ravenburg, U.S.A.; H. J. Thompson, U.S.A.; E. W. Klipstein, U.S.A.; R. H. Dawson, U.S.A.

For a short time after the close of the war the barracks were again used as a garrison for troops, were soon thereafter abandoned, and finally, in the autumn of 1867, were transferred to the engineer corps of the army, to be used as an engineer depot, and garrisoned by one company of the engineer battalion, commanded by Brevet Lieut.-Col. P. C. Hains. The instruction of the engineer soldiers was similar to that of the infantry, and in addition they were taught something in regard to siege operations. Earthworks were thrown up, and the siege of a place imitated on a small scale, and drill taught on pontoon-boats.

In the mean time a great deal of ground had been set aside for the Ordnance Department, and a large depot for storing gunpowder formed, which was for a time under command of Col. Franklin D. Callender, brevet brigadier-general.

A large national cemetery is also located on a portion of the ground close to the barracks, and the cemetery itself, carefully kept, is a beautiful place in summer. The remains of more than ten thousand soldiers who have fallen in our wars here find a resting-place on a gentle elevation overlooking the Mississippi River. There are several handsome monuments that have been erected by relatives of deceased individuals, and regulation headstones have been provided by the government for others.

The engineers retained possession for a limited period of time, when the whole place and reservation with the exception of the national cemetery passed into the hands of the ordnance corps, and so remained until July, 1878. For a time Capt. James H. Rollins had command, who was succeeded by Capt. Lawrence S. Babbitt, who was followed by Maj. John W. Todd.

Maj. Todd was thrown from his buggy on May 7, 1879, and received fatal injuries, from which he died on the 10th. He was born in 1830, at Bowling Green, Ky., and graduated at the West Point Military Academy in 1852. As second lieutenant in the Ordnance Department, he was first assigned to duty at the St. Louis arsenal, whither he repaired in company with a class-mate, S. V. Benét, afterwards Gen. Benét, chief ordnance officer of the United States army at Washington. He had been on duty at Augusta arsenal, at Columbus, Ohio, Watervliet arsenal, near Troy, N. Y., Detroit, Mich., Baton Rouge, and other points.

In 1859–60 he went on leave of absence to Europe, and visited the principal establishments, acquiring information of service to the profession. He was in command of Baton Rouge arsenal at the time it was surrendered to the Louisiana State troops, sent from New Orleans. His mother was with him at the time, and was taken prisoner. The conditions of the surrender allowed the major to march out with his colors and his men, and he reported at the St. Louis arsenal. During the civil war he was also on duty at the Dry Tortugas during the bombardment.

He removed to St. Louis from Indianapolis in 1876, relieving Capt. L. S. Babbitt, in command of Jefferson Barracks. Maj. Todd was a man of superb figure, being six feet one inch in stature. He was a man of extensive reading, and well posted by study and a wide experience in his profession. By his suavity and kind-hearted, generous hospitality he became endeared to a host of friends while in St. Louis, both among the military and civilians. The major was a relative of the Underwoods in Kentucky, and of numerous members of the Todd family in that State and Missouri, but he was not a relative of Mrs. Lincoln, who also was a Todd, as has been erroneously stated.

After the death of Maj. Todd, Maj. James R. McGinness took command of that portion of the reservation known as the powder depot, where there is a detachment of ordnance soldiers. There are several large buildings on the ground, in which gunpowder is stored.

From what has already been said it will be seen that the barracks have at different times been garrisoned by men of the ordnance corps, engineer corps, cavalry, artillery, and infantry, and, as has been shown, many of our most famous officers have served at the barracks and have kindly recollections of the place. Gen. Grant was here as a subaltern for some time, besides others who have achieved great fame. In fact, in old times it was considered a most desirable station on account of its proximity to St. Louis and the comfortable quarters provided for officers and men. The fine roads near by render carriage-driving a pleasure, and there are many points of interest within easy access of the place. The stone houses built by Gen. Atkinson over fifty years ago are in as good condition as they ever were, probably better, as the ordnance corps when in possession of the place put in many modern improvements. In summer the eastern portion of the parade-ground is really beautiful, being adorned with trees and rare flowers. Here, too, is a band-stand, and an excellent band performs every afternoon when the weather is good, excepting Saturdays, and there is dress-parade of the troops three times a week. The greatest care is taken to keep the place in good order in summer and winter, and it always presents a handsome appearance.

On the 1st of July, 1878, Brevet Brig.-Gen. John I. Gregg, colonel of the Eighth Cavalry, who was at that time superintendent of the mounted recruiting service, moved the cavalry depot down to Jefferson Barracks from the old St. Louis arsenal. The arsenal was altogether too small, and was almost surrounded by dwellings and shops. In fact, it was totally unfitted for the purposes for which it was used, and a more roomy place became absolutely necessary. The War Department wisely moved the depot to the barracks, where it had been in former years, and where there was ample shelter for the recruits that are found in different places throughout the Union. Brevet Maj.-Gen. Cuvier Grover, colonel of the First Cavalry, succeeded Gen. Gregg in command of the depot on the 1st of October, 1878, and Grover was succeeded by Brevet Brig.-Gen. Thomas H. Neill, colonel of the Eighth Cavalry, on the 1st of October, 1880. Gen. Neill remained here two years, and was relieved by Col. Albert G. Brackett, of the Third Cavalry (who is still in charge), on the 1st of October, 1882.

The ordnance grounds are separate and distinct from those of the barracks, although on the same reservation. The recruits are embodied in a battalion of four companies, and receive such drilling as can be imparted in three or four months before they are sent to the regiments on the frontier. This keeps everybody busy, and as there are usually from six to seven hundred recruits at the place, no one need complain of its being dull, especially in good weather, when the men can be drilled on the parade.

Decoration Day is the great event of the year at the barracks, when people from all portions of the country flock there to decorate the graves of the soldiers in the cemetery. The exercises are of the most touching character, and after it is over the whole ground looks like a garden of rare and exquisite flowers. Thus is kept green the memory of those brave men who sacrificed their lives in the defense of the republic.

The United States Arsenal is situated on the west bank of the Mississippi, in the southern portion of St. Louis, and within sight of Jefferson Barracks. The establishment of the arsenal at St. Louis was determined upon in accordance with the recommendations of the following report, which was rendered to the War Department in the spring of 1826:

"I have the honor to state that an arsenal at St. Louis or its vicinity is considered to be very necessary at this time.

"All the military posts on the Missouri and the Upper Mississippi Rivers must be supplied from the depot in that section of the country. Many of these posts are so remote that the supplies annually sent to them are forwarded from St. Louis early in the spring, commonly in the month of March. For this reason it is necessary that the supplies should be placed in depot at St. Louis the previous autumn.

"It was found necessary immediately after the close of the late war, in 1815, to establish a military depot in that section of the country for the supply of the new posts then about to be established in that quarter. An old cantonment, consisting

entirely of log buildings, at Bellefontaine, on the Missouri, five miles from its junction with the Mississippi, was made use of for that purpose. This position was soon found to be be very unsuitable and inconvenient. The town of St. Louis, which is twenty-three miles distant, had of necessity to be resorted to whenever boats were required to transport supplies to any of the upper posts; and the approach to Bellefontaine by water is very difficult, if not dangerous.

"It was proposed as early as 1816 to erect a permanent establishment nearer to St. Louis, but as the stores were already deposited at Bellefontaine, and as that place could be made to answer for a time, nothing further appears to have been done than to explore the country with a view to select a suitable site.

"The inconvenience of Bellefontaine has proved so manifest that store-houses have been rented in the town of St. Louis, for several years past, for the storage of all such military supplies as were destined for an early shipment to the upper posts.

"The reason, however, why a new establishment is called for by the exigencies of the service at the present time is that the log buildings at Bellefontaine have become so much decayed that a part of them have recently fallen down, and the remainder are so rotten that they can be kept up but a little longer. There is a considerable quantity of arms and other military stores now at Bellefontaine, which are so insecurely sheltered in these log buildings that it is feared they will suffer material injury if not soon better provided for.

"A position in the immediate vicinity of St. Louis is preferred, because it is the only principal place of business between the Ohio and Missouri Rivers. It is the place of deposit and of departure of all supplies destined for the remote regions of the Upper Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, whether military stores or articles of merchandise and trade. It is the place, therefore, which possesses the most abundant means of transporting supplies, and would be resorted to for that purpose even if the arsenal should be established at a distance from it.

"An extensive establishment is not considered necessary at St. Louis. One suitable for the exigencies of the service in that section of country, it is conceived, would consist of the following, viz.:

"One building for an arsenal, to be about thirty by eighty feet, to contain small-arms, accoutrements, and artillery equipments; a magazine for gunpowder and ammunition; a dwelling-house for an officer and a military store-keeper; two small workshops for repairing arms, fixing ammunition, etc.; a small building for a few artificers and laborers; a shed for artillery-carriages; and a store-house about twenty-six by sixty feet, with a wharf adjoining. The latter will be required more particularly for the subsistence and the quartermaster's departments, and will be used for the reception and storage of packages in bulk received from the interior, and designed for transmission in the same state to the frontier posts. An establishment upon this scale, it is believed, would be found sufficient for the present exigencies of the service. It would, however, be advisable to secure a site of sufficient extent, and to arrange the buildings in such manner as to admit of any future extension of the works which the exigencies of the service may hereafter render necessary."

On the 2d of August, 1827, it was announced that "the commissioners appointed to select a site whereon to locate an arsenal have purchased the beautiful place of Mr. A. Rutgers, situated on the river-bank, about three miles below the city. The proximity of this situation to the new military position, Jefferson Barracks, gives it a decided superiority over any that could have been obtained above the city."

The erection of the buildings was commenced in the autumn of 1827, and was continued from time to time until about 1840, when they were finished and ready for use.[1]

They are constructed in the most substantial manner, and, except the laboratories and sheds, are of stone with slate roofs. The arsenal proper is one hundred and twenty feet in length, and forty feet in width, and is three stories high, besides a cellar and attic. In addition to the arsenal there is an armory or work-shop for repairing small-arms, including smiths' forges, etc., a smith's shop, shop for preparing the iron and wood of artillery-carriages, and a large steam-engine for the heavier work. There are also a store-house for quartermaster's stores, three laboratories for manufacturing fixed ammunition and pyrotechnic preparations, a magazine of the same, barracks for the workmen and officers' quarters, office, etc., a gun-carriage house, timber sheds or houses, and a large powder magazine about half a mile from the arsenal. The arsenal commands a beautiful view, and is kept in the very best order. It was in its day by long odds the largest and finest arsenal in the United States. The walls of massive limestone inclosing the grounds are ten feet high and three feet thick, and surround some thirty-eight or forty acres of beautiful sloping land, extending from Carondelet Avenue to the Mississippi. The trees, lawns, paths, and walks are neatly kept, and equal those of any gentleman's park. The foundries and store-houses, soldiers' barracks, hospital and prison-house, powder magazine, dragoon stables and officers' dwellings, with their handsome yards and gardens, make up a perfect village in size. These buildings are of elegant architectural designs and proportions, and even the sentry-boxes are constructed in a tasteful and ornamental manner. The grounds are drained by sewers running to the river, and abound in wells of clear, pure water. The whole arsenal property is worth to the government a large sum of money.

During the late civil war all the arms, etc., were removed for greater safety to Jefferson Barracks. The work of removing the muskets, cannon, and cartridges

[1] On the 30th of October, 1841, the *Republican* announced that "the gentlemen appointed by the President to constitute a board for the selection of the site of the western armory are now in the city. Brig.-Gen. Armistead arrived day before yesterday from the upper Mississippi; Lieut.-Col. H. S. Long arrived in this city from the South some days ago; Surg.-Gen. Dr. T. Lawson has arrived."

was done wholly by the officers in garrison, aided by the volunteer regiments which encamped in April, 1861, within the arsenal walls. During the exciting times in St. Louis in April and May, 1861, earthworks were thrown up at nearly all available points, and mounted with columbiads and mortars. A huge new building, erected just outside of the main gate on Carondelet Avenue, was occupied by two companies of regulars, who constructed a strong earthwork, topped with sand-bags, and mounted with formidable pieces of ordnance. Other elevated positions, some of them a quarter of a mile from the arsenal, were occupied by volunteers as outposts, and afterwards were intrenched and mounted with cannon.

In 1860, Hon. J. R. Barret, member of Congress from St. Louis, succeeded in procuring the passage by the House of Representatives of a bill authorizing the location of the arsenal at Jefferson Barracks, and providing for the sale of the arsenal grounds, some thirty-five or forty acres. In announcing the fact the *Republican* said, "There is not, we apprehend, a man in St. Louis who will not rejoice at the success of this measure. At the time of the location of these public buildings, no one supposed, we imagine, that for many years yet to come the arsenal would be within the precincts of the city, and therefore not so agreeable to the citizens. But it has so turned out, and it is not surprising that many thousands of persons signed petitions to Congress, praying for the removal of the establishment to Jefferson Barracks." The measure failed to become a law, but in the summer of 1868 an act authorizing the sale of the arsenal grounds was passed by Congress and became a law. This law, however, was never carried into effect.

The arsenal is now used as a military recruiting rendezvous and clothing depot, and is occupied by a small garrison of soldiers under the command of Capt. W. P. Martin, U.S.A.

Naval Operations at St. Louis in the War of 1861-65.—Among the successful operations of the civil war, none were more gallant or more skillfully conducted, and none contributed more substantial results for the restoration of the Union, than those executed by the gunboats of the Mississippi squadron. Immediately upon the breaking out of the war the government became convinced of the military importance of the Western rivers and waters, and in April, 1861, Attorney-General Bates wrote to the distinguished civil engineer, James B. Eads, of St. Louis, who had been engaged in removing obstructions from the Mississippi and its great tributaries, respecting the use of steam gunboats upon those rivers. Mr. Eads immediately responded, and his plan was referred to Commodore Paulding, who reported favorably upon it, and Capt. John Rodgers, a distinguished officer of the United States navy, was detailed to go to St. Louis and consult with Mr. Eads. The result of this conference was that in the latter part of May and in June the steamers "Conestoga," "Taylor," and "Lexington" were secured, and altered at Cincinnati, Ohio, and fitted out as gunboats. These steamboats were not plated, but were protected by oak bulwarks against musket-balls.[1]

[1] At the time of the launch of the gunboat "Winnebago," on July 5, 1863, Hon. Edward Bates made a speech, in which he referred in very complimentary terms to the services rendered by James B. Eads in constructing the naval vessels which had rendered such good service on the Western waters in defeating the Confederates. Mr. Eads, in reply to Mr. Bates, said,—

"GENTLEMEN OF THE UNION IRON-WORKS,—You do not know, as I do, how appropriately your gift comes to the Union Iron-Works through Missouri's honored statesman, nor do you know how much more dearly I value the gift; but it is right that you should know that to no one man is the nation more indebted this day than to Attorney-General Bates for the glorious inland navy that has won such imperishable fame upon the Mississippi. This is a fact, and I utter it in no fulsome praise, but as a truth that will be vindicated by history when the whole record of this war is written. Scarcely had the guns of Charleston startled this once happy land with the first terrors of fratricidal war than I received from the attorney-general a letter upon the subject of putting armed vessels upon the Mississippi River. Very soon afterward I was summoned to Washington by telegraph, at the time traitors had prevented loyal men from passing through Baltimore, and I was forced round by Annapolis, going and coming. When I reached Washington I learned that the cabinet had, at the earnest solicitation of Attorney-General Bates, called me to that city to give my views as to the practicability of altering some of our Western steamboats into gunboats, and on other matters connected with the placing of armed vessels on the Mississippi River. The Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, told me, somewhat sneeringly, that the putting of gunboats on the Mississippi and the military occupation of Cairo was Mr. Bates' hobby. The matter was referred to the present able Secretary of the Navy, to whom, with other members of the cabinet, I was introduced by Mr. Bates, with praises far beyond my merit; and after consultation with Mr. Welles and Commodore Paulding, who was then assisting him, and both of whom entered most heartily into the matter, the preliminary steps were soon arranged for placing armed vessels upon this river. Mr. Cameron, who at first thought so lightly of the conception of Mr. Bates, then claimed that the execution of the scheme properly belonged to his department, and Mr. Welles courteously yielded the point, and in a polite letter referred me to the War Department. This delayed the matter for some time, but the attorney-general rode his hobby so energetically that the Secretary of War had no peace until he had undertaken to put armed vessels upon this river. He pressed the matter so persistently and with such determination, that the Secretary of War told him to write his own order for the purpose; and that order, which is on file in the War Department at Washington to-day, sent Capt. John Rodgers to the West, and authorizing the construction of the first three wooden gunboats, the 'Conestoga,' 'Lexington,' and 'Taylor,' was blocked out in the handwriting of the attorney-general. I know this, for my own name was in the order, and it was shown

In July following, Quartermaster-General M. C. Meigs advertised for proposals to construct a number of entirely new ironclad gunboats for service on the Mississippi River. The contract was awarded on August 7th to Mr. Eads, who agreed to construct the seven vessels decided upon by the department according to the plans and specifications furnished by Capt. Rodgers, who was to superintend the building of the flotilla. The contract specified that the boats were to be completed and delivered at Cairo by the 5th of October, 1861, under a forfeiture of two hundred dollars per day on each boat until the contract was fulfilled.[1]

The utmost dispatch was required on the part of Mr. Eads to finish the gunboats within the time specified in his contract, and to insure success three of the boats were built for him by Messrs. Hambleton & Collier, at Mound City, and the remaining four were constructed at his marine railways at Carondelet, South St. Louis. The energy and perseverance of Eads, Rogers, Foote, and others at this trying period (like that of Chauncey, Perry, and McDonough on the lakes in the war of 1812) can only be estimated by those whose experience has enabled them to form some idea of the magnitude of the undertaking which these men had to execute. With the exception of a few naval officers, all those to whom was intrusted the construction of the flotilla were ignorant of naval affairs, and they encountered also the additional disadvantage of having to contend against sectional disaffection on the one hand and vacillation on the part of the army and navy authorities on the other. Thus the difficulty of procuring outfits, armaments, and ammunition at a point so remote from the navy-yards and arsenals was very greatly increased. Notwithstanding all this, however, the building of the seven gunboats was begun and carried forward by Mr. Eads with immense energy, and the vessels were finished and ready for armament within one hundred days after the signing of the contract. The gunboats thus constructed were about one hundred and seventy-five feet long, fifty-one feet beam, six feet depth of hold in the clear, and when ready for service drew about five feet of water, and made nine miles per hour. They had five five-flued boilers twenty-four feet long and thirty-six inches in diameter, and two cylinders, each twenty-two inches in diameter, with seven feet stroke. The shaft was made of wrought iron, worked by both engines. A casemate inclosed the wheel, which was placed in a recess near the stern of the vessel. The hulls were made of wood, the bottoms of five-inch plank, and the sides of four-inch, and the vessel was sealed all over with two-inch plank. The sides projected from the bottom of the boat to the water-line at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and from the water-line the sides fell back at about the same angle to form a casemate about twelve feet high. This slanting casemate extended across the hull near the bow and stern, forming a quadrilateral gun-deck. The casemates were made of three-inch plank, and well fastened. The knuckles of the main deck, at the base of the casemates, were made of solid timber, about four feet in thickness. The boats were calked all over, both inside and outside, and sheathed on the outside with two-and-a-half-inch iron, thirteen inches wide, and rabbited on the edges to make a more perfect joint. The plating covered the casemates above and below the water-line. The boats were bulkheaded into compartments to prevent their sinking in case of damage to any particular part. The gun-deck was about one foot above water, and the vessels were pierced to carry thirteen heavy guns. Three 9- or 10-inch guns were placed in the bow, four smaller ones on each side, and two smaller ones astern.

The first of these gunboats, and, indeed, the first United States ironclad, with her boilers and engines on board, was launched from Mr. Eads' ship-yard at Carondelet on the 12th of October, 1861. She was named the "St. Louis" by Admiral Foote, but when the fleet was transferred from the control of the War Department to that of the Navy Department, this

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to me by him, to know if it was complete in every detail. This was, I believe, in April or May, 1861.

"You see, therefore, gentlemen of the Union Iron-Works, how appropriate it is that your gift to this establishment, built for the purpose of constructing war vessels, should reach it through the honored hand of the attorney-general, that it should come through him whose sagacious mind gave the first impulse which resulted in the creation of a navy that has done so much to save Missouri and the Northwest from harm, to uphold the integrity of the Constitution, to adorn history with gallant deeds and noble names, and to strike terror to the hearts of the enemies of the republic."

[1] In the mean time Gen. Fremont, the commander of the Western Department, was not idle in organizing an army at Cairo, and on July 29th considerable excitement was created on the Levee at St. Louis by the extensive preparations made by the government for transporting troops by steamboat. The following boats were chartered by the government for this purpose: "G. W. Graham," Capt. John A. Scudder; "New War Eagle," Capt. H. L. White; and "Empress," Capt. James Abrams. The "City of Alton," Capt. Barnes, also came from Alton with troops on board. The "City of Louisiana" left for Cairo with troops on the 28th, and the "D. A. January," Capt. Beebe, from Quincy, bristled with bayonets bound for the same point. On August 1st the steamers mentioned above, together with the "Jennie Deans," Capt. E. A. Sheble, and the "Warsaw," Capt. J. W. Malin, left St. Louis with soldiers for Cairo.

name was changed to the "De Kalb," there being another commissioned vessel at that time named the "St. Louis." Then followed the "Carondelet," "Cincinnati," "Louisville," "Mound City," "Cairo," and "Pittsburgh."

Shortly after, in December, 1861, the most powerful vessel of them all, and one which played an important part in the war as the flag-ship of Admiral Foote, the "Benton," was altered and plated. The



THE IRONCLAD "BENTON."

"Benton" was at first the United States snag-boat "Tom Benton," and afterwards Messrs. Eads & Nelson's submarine wrecking-boat "No. 7." She was sold by Messes. Eads & Nelson to the government for the sum of twenty-six thousand dollars, and Gen. Fremont then ordered her to be changed into a gunboat by Messrs. Morse & Daggett, of the St. Louis Dry Dock Company, the work to be done under the superintendence of James B. Eads.

The "Benton" was one hundred and eighty-six feet long on deck, and seventy-five feet wide at the beam; her hold was eight and one-half feet in depth, and she drew about five feet of water. She had a double hull, with the wheels working in the recess near the stern. Her hull was of four-inch plank and timbers eight by ten inches, and was divided by five fore-and-aft bulkheads and thirteen cross bulkheads, making forty-five water-tight compartments. The deck-frame beams were ten inches square, and the main deck was planked with four-and-one-half-inch plank. The forward casemate ran down to the two feet water-line, and was of twenty-four-inch timber, all sheathed with two-and-one-third-inch iron plating. The entire boat was sealed with three and four-inch oak plank, calked, and made perfectly tight. Casemates extended around the whole vessel, and was made of twelve-inch timber. At the knuckle on the main deck the timber was from three to four feet in thickness.

The "Benton" was pierced for and carried eighteen heavy guns, from 32-pounders to 42-pounders calibre, some rifled and some smooth-bore. There were also two nine inch Dahlgren guns in the forward part of the boat, and two smaller ones at the stern.

The machinery, boilers, etc., were all under the deck. The cylinders were twenty inches in diameter, with seven feet stroke. There were four boilers twenty-four feet long and forty inches in diameter, double-flued. The wheels were twenty feet in diameter, with nine-and-one-half-feet bucket, the wheel-house being protected by timber from six to eight inches in thickness and sheathed with heavy iron. The pilot-house was protected by twelve-inch oak timber placed at an angle of about thirty degrees with the upper deck, and was conical in shape, and sheathed with heavy iron.

Her crew consisted of about two hundred and fifty men in all, and Capt. John Scott, a well-known pilot, acted as sailing-master.

Capt. Andrew H. Foote, of the United States navy, was appointed on the 30th of August, 1861, to the command of the naval operations in the Western waters, and was ordered to proceed to St. Louis with all practicable dispatch, and place himself in communication with Maj.-Gen. John C. Fremont, U.S.A., who commanded the Army of the West.

Upon his arrival at St. Louis, Capt. Foote, on Sept. 6, 1861, assumed command of his flotilla, which consisted of three wooden vessels in service, purchased, equipped, and armed as gunboats by Commodore Rodgers. There were also nine ironclad gunboats and thirty-eight mortar-boats in process of building. Seven of these gunboats, as we have seen, had been contracted for with James B. Eads by Quartermaster-Gen. Meigs, under authority of the War Department, and the two remaining boats were purchased and converted into gunboats by order of Maj.-Gen. Fremont. The thirty-eight mortar-boats were also built by order of Gen. Fremont. They were constructed of solid timber, without motive-power, and were each designed to carry a single mortar. Capt. Foote at once infused new vigor into the work of organizing his squadron. Material improvements were made in the plating and armament of the vessels, the casting of the guns at Pittsburgh was hastened, mortars and shells were contracted for to a large extent, and many other things were done to expedite the work of preparation. Finally the flotilla was completed, under the successive commands of Rodgers and Foote, especially the latter, who brought the original idea to perfection and carried it into operation. The fleet consisted of twelve gunboats, seven of them ironclad, and able to resist all except the heaviest solid shot, and costing, on an average, eighty-nine thousand dollars. The

vessels were built very wide in proportion to their length, so that on the smooth river waters they might have almost the steadiness of stationary land batteries when discharging their heavy guns. This flotilla, carrying one hundred and forty-three guns, was as follows:

"Benton," 16 guns; "St. Louis," 13 guns; "Essex" (built at Carondelet), 9 guns; "Mound City," 13 guns; "Cincinnati," 13 guns; "Louisville," 13 guns; "Carondelet," 13 guns; "Cairo," 13 guns; "Pittsburgh" (built at Carondelet), 13 guns; "Lexington," 9 guns; "Conestoga," 9 guns; and "Taylor," 9 guns. Some of these guns were 64-pounders, some 7-inch rifled guns carrying a shell weighing eighty pounds, and none were less than 32-pounders. Each boat also carried a Dahlgren 10-inch shell-gun, the "Benton," Foote's flag-ship, having two of these in her forward battery.

"Foote's flotilla" rendezvoused at Cairo, and the "Benton" and "Essex," formerly called the "New Era," left St. Louis for that port on the 3d of December, 1861. In the fight at Fort Henry a 32-pound shot struck the "Essex" just above one of her bow guns, killing a young officer, Samuel B. Brittain, master's mate, then passing into the flue of the centre boiler, occasioning an escape of the steam and hot water which dreadfully scalded all on the forward gun-deck and the two pilots, who were almost immediately over the front of the boilers. Twenty men and officers were instantly killed or scalded by this explosion. Among the injured was the commander of the vessel, the gallant Capt. W. D. Porter. The "Essex" was completely disabled and was obliged at once to withdraw from the combat.

After the capture of Fort Henry the "Essex" returned to St. Louis, on the 23d of February, for repairs. She was lengthened forty feet, her boilers and machinery were placed below the water-line, and her casemates were raised from six and a half to seven and a half feet in height. She received entirely new boilers and was generally reconstructed. This was the third reconstruction the boat had undergone, and altogether her cost to the government at this time amounted to ninety-one thousand dollars, which was twenty thousand dollars less than that of any other of the gunboats built in the West.

The officers of the "Essex" were Capt. W. D. Porter, commander; Robert K. Riley, first master and executive officer; G. W. Walker, second master; D. P. Rosenmiller, third master; Spencer Kellogg, fourth master; Joseph H. Lewis, paymaster; Thomas Rice, surgeon; Joseph Heep, chief engineer; —— Sterns, first assistant engineer; J. Wetzell, second assistant engineer; Thomas Fletcher, third assistant engineer; Matthew Snyder, gunner; J. H. Mammon, boatswain; E. H. Eagle, boatswain's mate; Thomas Steele, carpenter. Officers and crew numbered one hundred and fifty men.

Her armament was as follows: three 9-inch Dahlgren shell-guns, one 10 inch Dahlgren shell-gun, two 50-pound rifled Dahlgren guns, one long 32-pounder, and one 24-pound boat howi[illegible]

The defenses were specified as follows: "Her forward casement, of wood thirty inches thick, is plated with India-rubber one inch thick and one and three-fourths inch iron; side casemates, of wood sixteen inches thick, plated with one inch India-rubber and three-fourths inch iron. The roof is bomb-proof. The pilot-house is of wood, eighteen inches thick, plated with one inch India-rubber and one and three-fourths inch iron. She has false sides, which render it impossible for anything like a steam ram to attack her effectively. Her hull cannot be reached by any such contrivance, and even if it could, the water-tight compartments into which the hold is divided by bulk-heads, being forty in number, would render the sinking or otherwise disabling of the boat by collision an impossibility. If one or more of the compartments should be broken into, the disadvantage to the craft from taking water would be comparatively slight.

"The 'Essex' is two hundred and five feet in length and sixty feet in width. Her hold is five and a half feet in depth. She is provided with two engines, with cylinders twenty-three inches in diameter and six feet stroke. She has three boilers twenty-six feet long and forty two inches in diameter, working two wheels twenty-six feet in diameter and eight feet bucket. She has much more power than any of the other Western gunboats, will be proportionately faster than any of them, and having two wheels adds greatly to the precision of her movements."

The gunboat and ram "Fort Henry" was launched from the Marine Railway Company's yard at Carondelet on Sept. 22, 1862. The "Fort Henry" was two hundred and eighty feet in length and about forty feet in width. She was designed by Capt. Porter, formerly of the "Essex," and carried six or eight guns. She was constructed more especially to be used as a ram. The "Choctaw," another gunboat, was designed by Capt. Porter and launched a few days before the "Fort Henry." The "Choctaw" was two hundred and twenty-five feet in length, and was originally designed for a turret and two heavy guns. She was afterwards altered so that she could be used either as a ram or gunboat. The rams on both vessels were two feet in length, made of bell metal.

The proprietors of the Union Marine Works at Carondelet, Messrs. James B. Eads & Co., having a contract with the government to build five new gunboats for the Western rivers, launched another gunboat on the 13th of January, 1863. This vessel was named the "Osage," and was the smallest of her class. She was one hundred and eighty feet long by forty-five feet wide, with four feet depth of hold, and had an iron hull divided into six compartments. When fully completed and armed she had a draft of only three and a half feet of water. She was of the monitor pattern, and carried two long-range eleven-inch guns placed in a turret on the forward deck. Her hull was strengthened on the outside and two feet below the water-line by a plating of four-inch iron. Her deck, the outer edges of which extended but twelve inches above the water, was slightly oval, instead of being flat, as was the case with the other gunboats built on the Mississippi.

The other four boats then building at the Union Works, Carondelet, were named the "Neosho," "Milwaukee," "Chickasaw," and "Winnebago." The three last named were propellers. The "Winnebago" was launched July 5, 1863, and the "Chickasaw" Feb. 10, 1864. The launching of the "Chickasaw" was attended with a distressing calamity, which is thus described by an eye-witness:

"At half-past ten o'clock the stays were let loose and the immense iron structure slid from the ways and plunged into the river, rising again and floating like a cork. Nearly all eyes were turned toward the river to see the effect of the awful plunge, and only those forming the immediate party around Miss Stewart witnessed the ceremony of breaking the wine-bottle and naming the boat, which was nevertheless done, and the 'Chickasaw' was baptized, being named with a beautiful name by a beautiful lady. But the launch was no sooner fairly afloat than a cry of alarm was heard from the bow, and a confused movement noticeable among those stationed there. The excitement created by the launch was now increased. The anchor was jerked overboard, and the immense rope was being paid out with fearful rapidity. The huge coils swept everything before them. Miss Jenny Eads, daughter of J. B. Eads; Miss Mary Maguire, daughter of Mr. John Maguire; Mr. O. B. Filley, son of Mr. O. D. Filley, and Mr. and Mrs. Wm. P. Bradley were carried overboard almost instantly; others were knocked down and saved by the merest chance. The chair on which Miss Stewart sat was pulled into the river, and she herself thrown on the coil of ropes, where she was grasped by two gentlemen and literally dragged away from the rope. The unfortunate persons supported themselves in the water by getting hold of pieces of timber, until two skiffs pushed out into the river and picked them up, all save Mrs. Bradley, who was supposed to have been stunned by striking one of the timbers, and drowned."

In 1863 the government decided to build at St. Louis two light-draft ironclad monitors of the Ericsson pattern. The contract was awarded to Messrs. McCord & Steel, of the "National Iron-Works," and the construction of the monitors "Etlah" and "Shiloh" was immediately begun, under the supervision of D. G. Wells, government engineer. These vessels were of the class then known as "light-draft monitors," for twenty of which the Navy Department contracted in 1863. The keel of the "Etlah" was laid in August of that year, but owing to alterations found necessary, from actual experiments with monitors of this class, the completion of the vessel was delayed beyond the original contract time. The "Etlah" was the largest vessel ever built on the Mississippi up to that time, and when [illegible] launched, on July 2, 1865, a vast concourse [illegible]ed to witness the trial.

The "Etlah's" weight was about eighteen hundred tons. The two vessels carried two guns, one 11-inch Dahlgren and one 150-pounder rifled Parrott. Their extreme length was two hundred and twenty-five feet; breadth of beam, forty-five feet; depth of hold, eleven feet; thickness of side armor, three inches; thickness of deck armor, one inch; internal diameter of turret, twenty feet; thickness of turret, eight inches; internal diameter of pilot-house, six feet; thickness of pilot-house, ten inches; number of motive-engines, two; diameter of cylinders, twenty-two inches; length of stroke, thirty inches; propellers, two; diameter of propellers, nine feet.

Messrs. McCord & Steel had considerable difficulty in launching the "Shiloh," but she was finally gotten into the w[illegible] This vessel was built in three separate divisions [illegible]rtments. Her turret was composed of one hundred and sixty plates of iron one inch in thickness by forty inches in width and nine feet high, each plate weighing about twelve hundred pounds. The plates were riveted together by bolts of one and a half inches in thickness, which, with the arrangement of the planed joints of the plates, rendered it one solid mass of iron weighing over one hundred tons. The turret, when occasion required it, was revolved by two turret engines, and moved upon a stationary ring.

The services performed by the gunboats built at St. Louis in the military and naval operations against Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Island No. 10, Lucas' Bend, Fort Pillow, Pittsburgh, Tenn., Vicksburg, New Orleans, and Mobile, and the expeditions and reconnoissances on the Ohio, Cumberland, and Tennessee Rivers, belong more properly to the history of the country, but we cannot refrain from alluding to the gallant and meritorious services performed by many of the Mississippi pilots from St. Louis during the civil war.

Immediately upon the breaking out of the war the services of the Mississippi pilots were brought into

requisition, and the very efficient aid rendered by these men—often under circumstances of the greatest difficulty and hardship, and always with a high degree of patriotic disinterestedness—entitles the pilots of the Western flotilla to honorable mention in every work professing to relate the gallant deeds and self-denying bravery of that eventful era in the civil war. Barton Able, in the capacity of master of transportation under Gen. John C. Fremont, was engaged in the preparatory organization of an auxiliary force of armed steamers designed for the work of keeping open the navigation of Western waters, and rendered effective assistance to the government.

A writer upon this subject says,—

"It has been alleged that the pilots of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers were disloyal to the government in the time of the late Rebellion. In the dark hours of 1861, when a call was made for pilots to go in the wooden gunboats 'Tyler,' 'Lexington,' and 'Conestoga' (these vessels were mere wooden shells, hastily gotten up, and were pronounced by even 'loyal' editors to be nothing more than slaughter-pens), everything that could be brought to bear to prevent or deter pilots or engineers from risking their lives in them was brought forward by the opposing element in our midst. Yet more than double the number required to pilot those vessels came forward, offered their services, and went in these gunboats, well knowing that they would be a special mark for the enemy's sharpest practice, for to kill the pilot would be equivalent to disabling the vessel. The pilot-house, being a target for the enemy, was truly named the slaughter-pen of these gunboats. In the fall of 1861 a call was made for fifteen pilots to go in the (so-called) ironclads, and in a few days the flag-officer received over fifty applications for the position. In the battle of Fort Henry two pilots were killed, Marsh Ford and James McBride; in the battle of Fort Donelson two more, Frank Riley and William Hinton, and others were wounded, two of our gunboats dropping out of the action partially on that account. Another pilot was killed just above Fort Donelson. Many distinguished names might be added to those mentioned who were killed or wounded in these pilot-houses. Among the killed were Capt. G. W. Rodgers and Paymaster Woodburry, and the wounded, Commodores Foote and Kilty, of our own navy, and Capts. Buchanan and J. N. Brown, of the Confederate navy, with their pilots in each case. It was, therefore, sufficiently proved that the pilot-house was always the most dangerous part of the vessel, while it was at the same time the only place from whence the pilot or captain could see how to manage the gunboat. Notwithstanding pilots came forward voluntarily to fill the places of the gallant men who had sealed their loyalty with their lives, and numbers were clamorous for appointment as pilots in the Mississippi flotilla."

The Western Sanitary Commission was the outgrowth of the military operations in Missouri during the civil war. In the summer of 1861 the battles of Boonville, Dug Spring, Carthage, and Wilson's Creek were fought in this State. The battle of Wilson's Creek was one of the most desperately contested engagements of the war, and the number of killed and wounded was very large. The wounded, numbering seven hundred and twenty-one, were transported all the way from the battle field (about twelve miles south of Springfield, near the Fayetteville road) to Rolla in ambulances and army-wagons, and thence by cars to St. Louis. The first hundred arrived at night, and were placed in furniture-wagons and carried to the "New House of Refuge Hospital," which had been established and opened by the government on the 1st of August, 1861, under the supervision of Medical Director De Camp, with Dr. Bailey in charge. This hospital, situated about two miles south of St. Louis, was soon filled beyond its capacity with sick and wounded soldiers, and as the arrivals continued it was necessary that other accommodations should be obtained without delay. All the available wards of the St. Louis Hospital, which was under the charge of the Sisters of Charity, and of the City Hospital were immediately taken and filled, but there was still a pressing need of additional facilities.

The sad and neglected condition of the soldiers who had been brought from Springfield and the interior of Missouri excited the benevolent and patriotic sympathies of the Union citizens of St. Louis, and they resolved to form the Western Sanitary Commission, for the purpose of ministering to the physical and spiritual wants of the Union soldiers. At the suggestion of Miss D. L. Dix, the philanthropist, who was then in St. Louis, Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont, and other persons of humane and patriotic motives, Maj.-Gen. Fremont was requested to give his approval of the Sanitary Commission, which was to act in aid of the Medical Department. Gen. Fremont immediately approved the suggestion, and on the 5th of September issued the following order, appointing the Western Sanitary Commission and defining its duties and sphere of action:

"Its general object shall be to carry out, under the properly constituted military authorities, and in compliance with their orders, such sanitary regulations and reforms as the well-being of the soldiers demand.

"This commission shall have authority, *under the directions of the medical director*, to select, fit up, and furnish suitable buildings for army and brigade hospitals, in such places and in such manner as circumstances require. It will attend to the selection and appointment of women nurses, under the authority and by the direction of Miss D. L. Dix, general superintendent of the nurses of military hospitals in the United States. It will co-operate with the surgeons of the several hospitals in providing male nurses, and in whatever manner practicable, and by their consent. It shall have authority to visit the different camps, to consult with the commanding officers and the colonels and other officers of the several regiments with regard to the sanitary and general condition of the troops, and aid them in providing proper means for the preservation of health and prevention of sickness by supply of wholesome and well-cooked food, by good systems of drainage, and other practicable methods. It will obtain from the community at large

such additional means of increasing the comfort and promoting the moral and social welfare of the men in camp and hospital as may be needed and cannot be furnished by government regulations. It will, from time to time, report directly to the commander-in-chief of the department the condition of the camps and hospitals, with such suggestions as can properly be made by a sanitary board.

"This commission is not intended in any way to interfere with the medical staff or other officers of the army, but to co-operate with them and aid them in the discharge of their present arduous and extraordinary duties. It will be treated by all officers of the army, both regular and volunteer, in this department with the respect due to the humane and patriotic motives of the members and to the authority of the commander-in-chief.

"This Sanitary Commission will for the present consist of James E. Yeatman, Esq., C. S. Greeley, Esq., J. B. Johnson, M.D., George Partridge, Esq., and the Rev. William G. Eliot, D.D."

As soon as this order was issued the gentlemen named in it, acting as a Sanitary Commission, commenced their labors in connection with the Medical Department. Their first important work was the fitting up of a new hospital sufficiently large to accommodate at least five hundred patients, and negotiations were opened for renting the large five-story marble-fronted building corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, which was secured at a reasonable rent. Necessary alterations were made, arrangements for bathing introduced, special diet kitchens were fitted up, and the whole building furnished with beds and bedding. On the 10th of September it was opened for the reception of patients, under the charge of Surgeon John T. Hodgen, United States volunteers, with a competent corps of assistant surgeons, apothecary, steward, ward-masters, nurses, etc., under the title of the "City General Hospital."

It was rapidly filled with patients, and continued as a military hospital until the autumn of 1863, under the charge of Dr. Hodgen, whose able and faithful services and great surgical skill were fully recognized and appreciated by the Medical Department and by the Western Sanitary Commission.

Being located in a central part of the city, convenient to the railroad depots and the river, it was the place of reception of nearly all the severely wounded and the hopelessly sick on their arrival.

It was in this building that the Western Sanitary Commission commenced its useful and arduous labors, having its office in a small room at the left of the entrance, in the second story, and a store-room for sanitary goods in the basement, its members meeting every day for consultation and action; its president, James E. Yeatman, giving his whole time to the work, and having only one man to act as store-keeper, porter, and clerk; each member of the commission lending a helping hand, boxes of sanitary stores arriving from New England, and from the various towns and cities of the West, prepared and forwarded by the willing hands of the wives and mothers and daughters of the land, and being distributed as needed to the hospitals and camps and regiments in and around St. Louis, and at more distant posts in the interior of the State.

From September 12th to September 21st occurred the siege, the battle, and surrender of Lexington, Mo which threw some three hundred more wounded men upon the hospitals of St. Louis. During the two months in which these events happened, besides the hospitals already named, several more were added. On the 13th of September the hospital near Camp Benton was opened, and on the 15th the Good Samaritan, located at the corner of O'Fallon Street and Pratte Avenue. On the 24th of October the new hotel building on Fourth Street, between Morgan and Franklin Avenue, was converted into a hospital. The Receiving House, on Spruce Street between Seventh and Eighth, was used by the Sanitary Commission for receiving and giving temporary shelter to the sick and wounded soldiers arriving at night by the respective railroads, but was taken possession of November 4th by the medical director and converted into a hospital, and named the Pacific Hospital. The Western Sanitary Commission also fitted up a number of hospital cars, furnished them with beds, cooking-stoves, and nurses, and supplied all necessary stores, to render the transit of the patients over the railroads as comfortable as possible.

In the same month extensive additions were made to the Small-pox Hospital on Duncan's Island; and the Hickory Street Hospital was opened for the especial use of the Reserve Corps of State troops.

During the months of December and January, 1862, the number of sick and wounded in all the hospitals of St. Louis and vicinity had reached over two thousand, and the labors of the Sanitary Commission were greatly increased. Meetings were held every few days; frequent inspections were made of all the hospitals and camps; reports were prepared and submitted to the commanding general; improvements were introduced, and supplies were forwarded wherever needed.

In the enlargement of its work it became necessary for the Sanitary Commission to procure additional store-room for goods, and to employ a secretary. For a period of three months this position was filled by Rev. J. G. Forman, of Alton, Ill., who resigned it to enter upon his duties as chaplain of the Third Missouri Volunteers, and L. B. Ripley succeeded him for several months, when he also resigned and became the quartermaster of the Thirty-third Missouri Volun-

teers. In May, 1863, Rev. Mr. Forman again became permanently secretary of the commission. In February, 1862, the small room in the Fifth Street Hospital was vacated for the larger rooms, No. 10 North Fifth Street.

In December, the Medical Director, Surgeon De Camp, with whom the commission had labored in establishing and fitting up the new military hospitals, was superseded by Dr. J. J. B. Wright, U.S.A. The commission undertook the laborious task of hiring suitable nurses for the hospitals, and was especially instrumental in introducing female nurses in them, a system not recognized in the army and hospital regulations of the United States, but which, through the advocacy and influence of Miss Dix, found favor with the then Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, and was approved by the President.

On the 13th of March, 1862, a Soldiers' Home for discharged and furloughed soldiers passing through the city was established by the Western Commission at 29 South Fourth Street, St. Louis, capable of accommodating from fifty to one hundred soldiers daily. It was placed in charge of Rev. Charles Peabody as superintendent, with Miss A. L. Ostram as matron. During the first two years of its existence the Soldiers' Home at St. Louis furnished meals and lodgings to twenty thousand eight hundred and forty-six soldiers, most of them invalids partially restored to health, passing on furlough to their homes or returning to their regiments.

The number of meals furnished to soldiers for the two years ending March 12, 1864, was eighty-five thousand nine hundred and ninety-two, and the number of lodgings for the same period was twenty-four thousand two hundred and ninety. In no case was any charge made to any of the guests. Besides these, many near relatives, fathers, mothers, and wives, of sick or furloughed soldiers, accompanying them, received the hospitality of the home, of which no account was made.

The expense incurred by the commission in maintaining this institution was about three thousand dollars a year, and the value of the rations and fuel furnished by the government was about two thousand dollars more.

During the year 1862 three military hospitals were added to those already established in St. Louis,—the Marine, the Jefferson Barracks, and the Lawson Hospitals. The necessity for this arose from the large number of sick brought by the hospital steamers from the armies of the frontier, the Southwest, the Tennessee, and the Mississippi.

The Marine Hospital was a government institution originally intended for persons engaged in the navigation of the Mississippi River. It was a four-story stone and brick edifice, surrounded by extensive and well-shaded grounds, and a garden in which the convalescent patients performed a part of the labor, and had every convenience of a model hospital.

It was opened as a military hospital May 4, 1862, and then had accommodations for one hundred and fifty patients. From that date till May 1, 1864, it had received fifteen hundred and seventy-four patients, and its percentage of deaths was nine. During the summer of 1863 its accommodations were enlarged for one hundred more patients by the addition of wooden barracks.

The officers at the hospital were Assistant Surgeon James H. Peabody, U.S.V., in charge, L. H. Calloway, M.D., acting assistant surgeon, and Rev. James A. Page, chaplain.

In April, 1862, Jefferson Barracks was converted into a hospital. Besides the old buildings, the government, during the summer of 1862, erected others on the ample grounds belonging to it on the west side, so as to afford accommodations for two thousand five hundred patients. These new buildings were one story high, in triple rows six hundred feet long, divided into wards of three hundred feet each. There were three groups or sets of these new hospitals, some distance apart, the entire grounds in every direction being beautifully shaded by large oak-trees. They were so arranged that each group had the central row appropriated to a dining-room and surgeons', nurses', and stewards' quarters, the outside rows being for sick wards. Besides these improvements, a system of water-works was introduced, with reservoir and pipes, by which the water of the Mississippi was carried through all the buildings.

The institution was in charge of Surgeon J. F. Randolph, U.S.A., assisted by Dr. H. R. Tilton, U.S.A., and P. C. McLane, M.D., A. L. Allen, M.D., T. F. Rumbold, M.D., Hiram Latham, M.D., S. Leslie, M.D., and J. J. Marston, M.D. The post chaplain, Rev. J. F. Fish, had been stationed here many years, and continued his services, in connection with Rev. S. Pettigrew, hospital chaplain.

The number of patients received and treated in this hospital in two years, ending April 30, 1864, was eleven thousand four hundred and thirty-four.

The Lawson Hospital was situated on the corner of Broadway and Carr Streets, and was fitted up during the latter part of the fall of 1862. The edifice was originally intended for a hotel, was seven stories high, and was divided into eight wards, besides office-rooms, nurses' quarters, linen-room, kitchen, dining-hall, and

store-rooms. It was opened Jan. 17, 1863, and was in charge of Surgeon C. T. Alexander, U. S. Army, assisted by W. H. Bradley, M.D., L. H. Bottomley, M.D., and William Fritz, M.D. Rev. Philip McKim was hospital chaplain.

About the latter part of December, 1862, the large amphitheatre building in the old Fair Grounds at Benton Barracks, a few miles northwest from St. Louis, and north of the St. Charles road, was taken possession of by the government for hospital purposes. It was inclosed, provided with windows, floored, partitioned, divided into wards, thoroughly whitewashed, furnished with iron bedsteads and good beds, and converted into one of the largest, most thoroughly ventilated, and best hospitals in the United States, capable of accommodating two thousand five hundred patients. Numerous other buildings near the main edifice, on the same grounds, formerly used by the Agricultural Society for its exhibitions, were used for officers' quarters, medical dispensary, commissary rooms, special diet kitchens, etc., and the fine walks and splendid shade added much to the beauty and attractiveness of the place.

The institution was at first placed in charge of Surgeon Ira Russell, U.S.V., under whose administration it was conducted with entire success. It was opened March 1, 1863, and during the following three months received two thousand and forty-two patients. From June 1, 1863, to May 1, 1864, there were four thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight patients received.

For a few months of the autumn of 1863, Surgeon Russell was relieved by Surgeon J. H. Grove, U.S.V. In the winter of 1863–64, Benton Barracks became a recruiting station for colored troops, and hospital accommodations being needed for the sick of the colored regiments, several of the wards were appropriated for their use. Dr. Grove having been assigned to another position, Dr. Russell was again placed in charge.

Besides the general hospital, there was also a post hospital at Benton Barracks, likewise in charge of Surgeon Russell. During the fall of 1863 and winter of 1864 many of the sick of the new colored regiments were treated there. The whole number of patients received was six thousand one hundred and forty. Female nurses were provided for this hospital by the Western Sanitary Commission, the government only allowing them to the general hospitals.

Notwithstanding these extensive arrangements, the accommodations for sick and wounded soldiers proved insufficient, and several new hospitals were established, —one on Hickory Street and one at Benton Barracks, the Gratiot Prison Hospital and the Smallpox Hospital on Duncan's Island. The first of these was originally a general hospital, and there was formerly a post hospital at Schofield Barracks, in the immediate vicinity, on Chouteau Avenue, which was consolidated with it Nov. 1, 1863. The whole number of patients received at Hickory Street to that date was one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, and at Schofield Barracks the number of patients received was two hundred and six. At the Military Prison Hospital in McDowell's College, Gratiot Street, the number of patients received up to May 1, 1864, was three thousand five hundred and fourteen, and the percentage of deaths eleven and four-tenths. The surgeon in charge was B. B. Breed, U.S.V. The number of patients received at the Smallpox Hospital to June 1, 1863, was eight hundred and seventy-one, and the percentage of deaths twenty-two and nine-tenths. The number of prisoners received at the same institution for the same period was one hundred and sixty-two, and the percentage of deaths thirty-four and one-half.

The number of patients treated at the post hospital on Hickory Street from Nov. 1, 1863, to May 1, 1864, was one thousand four hundred and twelve. The institution was in charge of Frank W. White, M.D., A. A. Surgeon, U. S. A.

The Good Samaritan, the Fifth Street, the Eliot, and the New House of Refuge Hospitals were discontinued.

The whole number of patients treated in the hospitals of St. Louis, including those at Jefferson and Benton Barracks, up to May 1, 1864, was 61,744; the number that died was 5684, and the percentage of deaths 9.1.

The military prisons of St. Louis from the beginning of the war received the constant attention of the Western Sanitary Commission, and sanitary stores were issued to them in all cases of urgent need upon the requisitions of the surgeon in charge.

The following general, post, and regimental hospitals were among the number that were supplied by this commission: New House of Refuge, St. Louis and City Hospitals, General Hospital (corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets), Good Samaritan, Eliot (Fourth Street), Pacific, Hickory Street, Jefferson Barracks, Marine, Benton Barracks, Lawson, and Smallpox Hospitals, hospitals in Arnot's and Thornton & Pierce's buildings, Schofield Barracks and Military Prison; hospitals in Cairo and Mound City, Ill.; at Paducah and Columbus, Ky.; Pittsburgh Landing, Union City, Jackson, Lagrange, Memphis, Nashville, and Murfreesboro', Tenn.; Corinth and Vicksburg, Miss.; Huntsville, Ala.; Helena, Clarendon, Brownsville, Duval's Bluff, Fayetteville, Salem, and Little Rock, Ark.; Fort Blunt, Cherokee Nation; Young's Point, Milliken's Bend, Goodrich's Landing, and Duckport, La.; hospitals of the Sixth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Army Corps: and of Quimby's, Hovey's, Stoole's, Logan's, McPherson's,

Herron's, Kimball's, McArthur's, and Blair's divisions; and of Thayer's, Irving's, Wilder's, and the marine brigade; hospitals at Otterville, Pacific City, Rolla, St. Joseph, Sulphur Springs, Sedalia, Tipton, Commerce, St. Charles, Ironton, Pilot Knob, Cape Girardeau, Lebanon, Patterson, Jefferson City, Kansas City, Springfield, Mo.; Fort Scott, Fort Leavenworth, Kan.; Fort Halleck, Idaho; Evansville, Ind.; Quincy, Ill.; and Keokuk, Iowa.

Many stores were also issued to convalescent camps, and personally to large numbers of convalescent soldiers.

The hospital steamers supplied by the Western Sanitary Commission were

the "City of Louisiana," fitted out March 20, 1862, but afterwards refitted and named the "R. C. Wood," the "D. A. January," the "Empress," the "Imperial," the "Crescent City," the "Red Rover," the "City of Alton," the "City of Memphis," the "Nashville," and of the transports conveying the sick and wounded, the "Ruth," the "Glasgow," the "Diana," the "Nebraska," the "Champion," and the "Baltic."

Of the gunboats of the Mississippi naval squadron, supplies were sent to nearly all, among which the following may be named:

The "Louisville," "Mound City," "Carondelet," "Chillicothe," "Judge Torrence," "Lafayette," "Naumkeag," "Ratler," "Autocrat," "Black Hawk," "Petrel," "General Price," "Romeo," "Choctaw," "Benton," "Avenger," "Tyler," "Monarch," "Switzerland," "Pawpaw," "Tawha," "Key West," and "No. 11."

In this connection it may be appropriate to mention the names of those female nurses who, by long and faithful service and special devotion to the care of the sick and wounded soldiers in the St. Louis hospitals, earned the gratitude of those who were the objects of their kind solicitude and self-sacrificing labors. The list is as follows:

Mrs. M. I. Ballard, Mrs. E. O. Gibson, Mrs. L. D. Aldrich, Mrs. Houghton, Mrs. S. A. Plummer, Miss Carrie C. McNair, Mrs. Harriet Colfax, Mrs. Sarah A. Barton, Miss Ida Johnson, Miss Clark, Mrs. A. L. Ostram, Mrs. Lucy E. Starr, Mrs. Olive Freeman, Mrs. Anne M. Shattuck, Mrs. E. C. Brendell, Mrs. E. J. Morris, Mrs. Dorothea Ogden, Mrs. E. C. Witherell, Miss N. A. Shepherd, the Sisters of Charity at the New House of Refuge Hospital, Miss Emma L. Ingalls, Miss Emily E. Parsons, Miss Fanny Marshall, Miss Louisa Maertz, Miss Harriet N. Phillips, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Nichols, Miss Rebecca Craighead, Mrs. H. A. Haines, Mrs. H. A. Reid, Miss Hattie Wiswall, Mrs. Reese, Mrs. Maria Brooks, Mrs. Mary Allen, Mrs. Bickerdike, Miss Cornelia M. Tompkins, Mrs. M. A. Steller, Mrs. Carrie Gray, Mrs. M. J. Dykman, Misses Marian and Clara McClintock, Mrs. Otis, Mrs. Sager, Mrs. Peabody, Mrs. Rebecca S. Smith, Miss Melcenia Elliott, Mrs. C. C. Hagar, Mrs. J. E. Hickox, Mrs. Lucy L. Campbell, Miss C. A. Harwood, Miss Deborah Daugherty, Miss Phebe Allen, Mrs. Wells, Mrs. Ferris, and Miss Lucy J. Bissell.

The Union refugees also received a share in the labors of the Western Sanitary Commission. During the fall and winter of 1861–62 many refugees were driven by the Confederates from the interior and southwest parts of Missouri to St. Louis, and were in a condition of want and suffering. A home on Elm Street was opened for the most helpless and destitute, and others were assisted according to their necessities. John Cavender, an old and respectable citizen, eminent for his integrity and Christian character, devoted his whole time to their care. A fund was raised at first by a call of the Western Sanitary Commission, amounting to about three thousand eight hundred dollars, besides a large amount of clothing. A further sum of fifteen thousand dollars was raised by an order of Maj.-Gen. Halleck, by assessing the wealthy class of Southern sympathizers in St. Louis for this object, and from this resource Mr. Cavender was able to render very important aid to these destitute people. For two years he took almost the entire charge of this work, in which he had the counsel of the members of the commission, and was sometimes aided with funds for the purpose when other sources failed. During the winter of 1863, Mr. Cavender, whose health had been failing, was taken sick and died.

In August, 1863, there began to be further arrivals of destitute refugees from Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. Many of them were women with small children, poorly clad, often barefooted, brought up the river on government steamers, and landed in St. Louis without the means of procuring a place of shelter for a single night. There was no alternative but to open another refugee home. The president of the commission rented the house 39 Walnut Street for the purpose on the 1st of September, and from that date to May, 1864, not less than fifteen hundred refugees were sheltered, provided for, or sent on their way to friends or places of employment in the free States. By an arrangement with Gens. Schofield and Rosecrans, rations and fuel were allowed from the government, and the rent was paid by the quartermaster, but the incidental expenses of the home and the charities in clothing, money, etc., were provided by the commission. The home was under the superintendence of Rev. Mr. Forman, the secretary of the commission, and its domestic arrangements were conducted by Miss M. Elliott as matron, who, in a spirit of true self-sacrifice, devoted her time and strength to the service of the poor outcasts. The expenses and charities of the home and for destitute refugee families in the city, and to those going beyond St. Louis, were about one thousand dollars in six months, beyond the aid received from the government in rations, fuel, rent, and transportation.

The resources of the Western Sanitary Commission were made up of voluntary contributions from

the people of the loyal States. Men and women in the leading towns and cities of New England, in the Northwest, and in the cities of Boston, Providence, New York, and Philadelphia gave liberally of their means to support the commission in its noble work. Besides all this, the city and county of St. Louis and the Legislature of Missouri acted with great generosity. In addition to the liberal contributions of the citizens, the Convention of Missouri appropriated fifty thousand dollars, and in the winter of 1864 the Legislature of Missouri made another appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars to the commission to be used in the same way, and the county court of the county of St. Louis made a donation of two thousand dollars. Besides these gifts there was raised at the Merchants' Exchange, St. Louis, a liberal subscription of money and goods to the commission for the army of Gen. Grant during the siege of Vicksburg, amounting in value to about five thousand dollars, and Dec. 25, 1863, a committee of merchants, of which Joseph C. Cabot was chairman, raised another subscription of twenty-five thousand dollars additional for the general purposes of the commission.

Besides a constant flow of contributions from Boston and neighboring towns and cities of Massachusetts, that city at one time, through a committee, of which R. C. Greenleaf was treasurer, in response to an appeal from Rev. Dr. Eliot, on behalf of the commission, contributed fifty thousand dollars; and the distant State of California, stimulated by the eloquence and patriotism of the lamented Thomas Starr King, subscribed fifty thousand dollars, being part of a donation of two hundred thousand dollars, the balance of which went to the United States Sanitary Commission. These contributions of money, with the gifts of friends in New York City, through James A. Roosevelt, and from other towns and cities of the loyal States, amounted in the aggregate to two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, while the stores contributed from the same sources, and from the Ladies' Union Aid Societies of almost every village and city from Maine to Minnesota, and from Boston to St. Louis, consisting of blankets, comforts, sheets, pillows, pillow-slips, socks, slippers, mittens, bandages, lint, salves, cotton and woolen shirts and drawers, hospital garments, dressing gowns, dried and canned fruits, tomatoes, jellies, domestic wines, blackberry cordial, butter, vegetables, etc. amounted in value up to May 9, 1864, to more than a million and a quarter of dollars.

The great success which had attended the fairs held in the large cities of the East and in Chicago and Cincinnati in aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, as we have seen elsewhere, suggested the idea of a Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair at St. Louis, for the benefit of the Western Sanitary Commission. The net proceeds of this fair amounted to over five hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which was used in the sanitary work of the army, and in furnishing supplementary supplies to the hospitals and to the troops.

A generous contribution was made to the fair by the St. Louis County court of the Smizer farm, the proceeds of which, as a part of the combination sales, amounted to forty thousand dollars. Considering the source of this gift, and the large amounts received from St. Louis in other ways, it was thought proper by the Western Sanitary Commission to establish a soldiers' orphans' home near the city. Accordingly, the building and grounds previously known as Webster College, near the Webster Station, on the Pacific Railroad, in St. Louis County, ten miles west of the city, were secured at a cost of twelve thousand and sixty-one dollars. The property consisted of a large stone edifice and twenty acres of land, admirably suited to this purpose. The sum of five thousand dollars was also appropriated towards the expenses of furnishing the institution and providing its first supplies, and the property and the management of the home were placed in the hands of a committee of the Ladies' "National League" of St. Louis, and an advisory committee of gentlemen associated with them, with the offer from the commission that the whole should be conveyed to a board of trustees of their own selection, on condition of their raising an endowment of fifty thousand dollars and assuming the responsibilities of the trust. A public meeting was held soon after; an organization was effected, and the undertaking commenced. A portion of the money was soon raised, and the State Legislature appropriated five thousand dollars a year for ten years towards the support of the institution. Subsequently the commission expended an additional sum of twenty thousand dollars in new buildings, so as to enlarge the accommodations of the home for one hundred and fifty orphans, and offered an appropriation of ten thousand dollars additional funds, provided the trustees would complete the fifty thousand dollars endowment fund by the 22d of February, 1866, making a sum more than equal to the amount received from the gift of St. Louis County in the Smizer farm.

On the 7th of January, 1865, the Legislature of Missouri passed an act incorporating the institution, by the title of "The Soldiers' Orphans' Home of St. Louis," and on the 31st of the same month made the yearly appropriation already mentioned. The follow-

ing incorporators were named in the act as the board of trustees, and the following members of the Ladies' "National League" as a board of lady managers:

"*Board of Trustees.*—E. W. Fox, N. C. Chapman, A. S. W. Goodwin, D. B. Gale, Dwight Durkee, T. B. Edgar, John H. Fisse, Henry Kennedy, M. L. Linton, John H. Lightner, S. H. Laflin, James Richardson, Henry S. Reed, Henry A. Homeyer, and their successors.

"*Lady Managers.*—Mrs. Mary A. Ranlett, Mrs. Rebecca Webb, Mrs. Evelina C. Dickinson, Mrs. Mary E. Allen, Mrs. Clara C. Partridge, Mrs. Anna E. Filley, Mrs. Susanna Ware, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Clarke, Mrs. Mary L. Woodruff, Mrs. Sophia C. Goodwin, Mrs. Catharine R. Springer, Mrs. Melinda J. How, Mrs. Henrietta E. Cunningham, Mrs. Sophronia Barth, Mrs. J. O. Pierce, Mrs. Mary Gempp, Mrs. Charity Barnard, and Mrs. Sarah R. Avery."

The Soldiers' Orphans' Home thus provided for and organized was opened in the winter of 1865 with sixty orphans, under the care of Mrs. S. A. Plummer as matron, and Miss S. F. McCracken as teacher. In the following spring it was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, consisting of prayer and addresses, by Rev. W. G. Eliot, D.D., and Rev. H. A. Nelson, D.D., of St. Louis, on which occasion a large company of friends of the institution were present.

In consequence of the invasion of Missouri by the Confederate forces under Gen. Price, there was a great increase in the number of destitute Union refugees in the fall of 1864, who came from all parts of the State to St. Louis. For a while it was necessary to transport them in wagons (on one day fifteen government wagons were thus employed) from St. Louis to Benton Barracks for shelter, but in the winter of 1865 the Lawson Hospital building in the city was procured as a temporary home for them, and retained for their use until the following July.

In the summer of 1864 the Soldiers' Home of St. Louis was removed from No. 29 South Fourth Street to the building formerly known as the Pacific Hotel, on Spruce Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets.

The whole number of soldiers entertained at this home from its establishment, March 13, 1862, to Dec. 31, 1865, was seventy-one thousand and seventy-seven. The whole number of meals furnished was three hundred thousand nine hundred and seventy-two, and the whole number of lodgings, eighty-five thousand and fifteen.

On the 4th of October, 1864, Rev. Charles Peabody, who had conducted the home from the beginning, having resigned, was succeeded by Rev. William Bradley, whose wife became the matron.

The accommodations at Benton Barracks being unsuited to their purpose, the Western Sanitary Commission addressed a communication to the military authorities on the subject in November, 1864, and the building formerly known as the Lawson Hospital, on Broadway, fitted up for this purpose by the government, being empty, was secured for a refugee and freedmen's home, and made capable of receiving six hundred persons. It was entirely furnished by the commission, and placed under the superintendence of the secretary, Rev. J. G. Forman, who, as a chaplain, was also assigned to the same duties by the department commander.

The Ladies' Union Aid Society and Ladies' Freedmen's Relief Association also gave their co operation in the management of the institution. Mrs. H. M. Weed was appointed matron, and Miss Jones and Miss Catharine Dunning for a time were in charge of the freedmen's department of the home. Miss Richardson was afterwards assistant matron. Miss Samantha Monroe, Miss Peduzzi, and Miss Esther Orton fulfilled the duties of teachers to the white and colored refugee schools in the building; Mrs. Mary A. Whittaker kept the registry of the home, and detached soldiers took charge of the commissary department of the building, and filled the stations of steward, guards, watchmen, etc. The hospital department of the home was in charge of surgeons employed for the purpose by the medical director, and was frequently visited by Surgeon William Carpenter, M.S.V., medical director of the district.

For nearly six months, from Feb. 1, 1865, to July 10, 1865, this institution gave shelter, food, medical care, clothing, and instruction to several thousand refugees, freed people, and their children, commencing with six hundred, continuing so for the greater part of the winter, and gradually diminishing to three hundred by the next July, with hospital treatment to two hundred sick refugees and freedmen at one time. The whole number taken into the home and discharged or furnished with transportation either to the free States or to their homes in the South was not less than three thousand. On the 10th of July, 1865, between two and three hundred remaining, either sick or helpless, were admitted by the city authorities and the county court to the city hospital and the poor farm, and the institution was closed.

In the management of the internal affairs of the home, the furnishing of material for clothing, and the making of it into garments to supply the destitute inmates, most valuable aid was rendered by Mrs. Alfred Clapp, president of the Ladies' Union Aid Society, and a committee of ladies of the same society (of whom Mrs. Joseph Crawshaw specially devoted herself to this work), and by Mrs. Lucien

Eaton, president of the Ladies' Freedmen Association, and Mrs. N. Stevens, and other ladies of this society, who, in conjunction with Mr. Yeatman and Mr. Forman, the superintendent of refugees and freedmen for St. Louis, devised the plan of the institution. A portion of the time the superintendent was assisted in his duties by Lieut. Charles E. Moss, of the Thirty-first Missouri Infantry, and by his clerk, the venerable Henry C. Weatherby, of the Thirtieth Iowa Infantry.

Among the organizations of ladies in St. Louis engaged in ministering to the sick and wounded and to destitute refugees, the Ladies' National League was conspicuous for its energy and zeal. About the time of the battle of Wilson's Creek the Ladies' Union Aid Society was formed, and through efficient management attained an influence for good which was felt not only in St. Louis but in the camps and hospitals throughout the South and West. Its membership, however, did not embrace all the loyal women of St. Louis, and with a view of ascertaining their strength and extending their influence, it was proposed that an organization called the Ladies' National League should be formed. For this purpose a meeting was held in the hall of the Mercantile Library on the 2d of May, 1863. Twelve hundred names were enrolled as friends of the government, pledging their sympathies and labor in behalf of those who were struggling for its defense. At a subsequent meeting officers and managers were chosen, and a star was adopted as a badge of loyalty. Although the league was not originally designed as an active organization, its members were ever ready to aid the cause to which they had pledged themselves. By various means the sum of two thousand and eighty-four dollars and ten cents was raised during the first year, a portion of which was appropriated to the Union Aid, Freedmen's, and Refugees' Societies. When the sanitary fair was inaugurated it was proposed by the Rev. Dr. Eliot that the league should assume its management, but as a society it declined the responsibility, and with the desire that it should be more catholic in its character a new association was formed for the purpose of conducting the work, in which the members of the league labored with untiring zeal.

At the first annual meeting of the Ladies' National League, held on the 1st of July, 1864, the following officers and managers were elected: President, Mrs. T. M. Post; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. George Partridge, Mrs. F. P. Blair, Mrs. R. P. Clark, Mrs. Wyllys King, Mrs. Charles D. Drake, Mrs. Charles W. Stevens; Treasurer, Mrs. R. H. Morton; Secretary, Mrs. A. M. Debenham; Managers, Mrs. A. W. Dean, Mrs. Henry Stagg, Mrs. S. M. Breckenridge, Mrs. F. H. Fletcher, Miss Ellen Filley, Miss Olive Partridge, Mrs. E. Cheever, Mrs. J. Van Norstrand, Mrs. E. M. Weber, Mrs. Adolphus Meier, Miss Belle Holmes, and Miss Ella Drake.

During the winter of 1865, Congress passed the act creating a Refugee and Freedmen's National Bureau. The position of commissioner of this bureau was tendered to Mr. Yeatman by President Lincoln, through the Secretary of War, but declined. Maj.-Gen. O. O. Howard was afterwards appointed, and in answer to his request for information from all associations and individuals who had been in any way engaged in aiding the refugees and freedmen, Mr. Yeatman addressed him a communication, giving many facts of interest to the bureau concerning these people in the valley of the Mississippi.

Among the great labors of the Western Sanitary Commission on behalf of the freedmen was the purchase of suitable property for a Freedmen's Orphans' Home in St. Louis, on Twelfth Street between Cass Avenue and O'Fallon Street, at a cost of seven thousand dollars, and the appropriation of four thousand dollars additional to furnish the home and assist in sustaining it the first year. This purchase was made in June, 1864, and on the breaking up of the Refugee and Freedmen's Home on Broadway the colored orphan children of the institution, numbering twenty-four, were removed to this new institution. In August eighty other colored orphans were brought from Helena by order of Brig.-Gen. Sprague, and received into this home.

The management of the home was placed in the hands of an association of ladies called the Freedmen's Orphans' Home Association, of which Mrs. Alfred Clapp was the first directress. The matron of the home was Mrs. H. M. Weed.

The home had a school in connection with it, in which the teacher, Miss Hess, was sustained by the commission.

Besides this school, the commission during the school year ending in September, 1865, appropriated one hundred dollars per month to aid the colored people of St. Louis to sustain schools for their children. An excellent high school, in the basement of the church on the corner of Locust and Eighth Streets, was taught through the same year by Miss Anna E. Wall and Miss Ida M. Eliot, of New Bedford, the latter a daughter of the Hon. T. D. Eliot, member of Congress from Massachusetts. The school, which was for the advanced scholars among the colored people, numbered from fifty to sixty pupils, and was equal to the same grade of schools in any city of the Union. It was sustained by funds

contributed from friends in Massachusetts, through Rev. Dr. Eliot, of the Western Sanitary Commission.

At the close of the war there were five schools for colored children in the city, taught by colored teachers, and supported by tuition fees. These schools contained about four hundred pupils. Although the colored people were taxed for the support of the public schools of St. Louis, there had been up to that time no provision made for the education of their children.

Soon after the death of President Lincoln, a remarkable and spontaneous movement commenced with a colored woman, named Charlotte Scott, at Marietta, Ohio, and was taken up by the colored soldiers, to erect a monument at Washington to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, to be called "The Freedmen's National Monument." The contributions for this object were placed in the hands of the Western Sanitary Commission at St. Louis.

On the 1st of January, 1873, the whole amount received and in the hands of the treasurer of the commission, C. S. Greeley, was nineteen thousand six hundred and thirty-four dollars and thirty-four cents.

After the war closed the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, at Webster, reverted to the Western Sanitary Commission, owing to the resignation of the first board of trustees and board of lady managers, and in consequence of an act of the Legislature. A new board of trustees was then created, consisting of the members of the commission with the addition of two other gentlemen, and was as follows: James E. Yeatman, C. S. Greeley, J. B. Johnson, M.D., George Partridge, William G. Eliot, D.D., E. W. Fox, and T. B. Edgar. On the organization of this board James E. Yeatman was elected president, and T. B. Edgar secretary and treasurer.

After this organization was effected the commission appropriated $25,000 for the future maintenance of the home, which, added to the $5000 a year for ten years ($50,000) appropriated by the State Legislature, and to the $20,000 subscribed by individuals as an endowment, and placed at interest, secured the future usefulness of the institution for the destitute orphans of deceased soldiers. The new buildings were completed in April, 1865, and were occupied on the 1st of May, 1865, making the entire accommodations of the home sufficient for one hundred and sixty orphans.

The Soldiers' Home of St. Louis was continued during the winter of 1866, but was closed on the 1st of May. Arrangements were made to continue the care beyond that date of some twenty-five disabled indigent, discharged soldiers, for whom the military authorities set apart quarters at Jefferson Barracks, at the request of the commission; leaving it, however, to meet the other expenses of their support until the general government made further provision for such cases.

The commission also employed Mrs. S. A. Plummer and Miss N. A. Shepard as relief visitors to the families of invalid and disabled soldiers, through whom it continued to extend relief to this class of sufferers by the war. The labors of these noble women proved very useful in this work, and they carried not only physical aid, but often spiritual comfort (of an unsectarian kind) to many sad homes.

Such were some of the ways in which this noble, self-sacrificing, and patriotic commission expended the balance of funds left on hand after the close of the war.

The whole amount of cash received by the commission for sanitary purposes during the war was $770,998.55, and the estimated value of sanitary stores received was $3,500,000, making a total of $4,270,998.55 contributed to this commission from private benevolence for sanitary and humane objects, and, except the balance on hand, reserved for the completion of its humane work, distributed by this commission as stated above.

Much of the success with which the labors of the commission were crowned was due to the fidelity and skill with which its finances were managed by the treasurer, Carlos S. Greeley, who also devoted a large share of his time and labor to assisting the general work of the organization. Mr. Greeley, as we have seen, was one of the original members of the Commission, and served as its treasurer from the date of its appointment by Gen. Fremont, in September, 1861, until it disbanded in 1866.

Of the heavy, harassing, and exhausting work which devolved upon this body Mr. Greeley cheerfully performed his share, as a duty from which a loyal citizen with time and means could not shrink; and he feels a just pride at having had the inestimable privilege of laboring with such noble and self-sacrificing men in such a cause, and of having his name associated with theirs on the page of history. As treasurer there passed through his hands seven hundred and seventy-one thousand dollars; and of this amount five hundred and fifty-four thousand five hundred and ninety-one dollars was turned over to him at one time, being the net receipts of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair in May, 1864; and such was the confidence reposed in Carlos S. Greeley that nobody thought of asking a bond of him. In its final report the commission, while averse to speaking of the indi-

vidual labors of its own members, could not forbear remarking that "its funds have been kept, and its finances managed with great care, faithfulness, and good judgment by its treasurer, Carlos S. Greeley, Esq."

After the war Mr. Greeley was one of the trustees of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Webster, and of several similar institutions established by the commission. He is yet prominently interested in several benevolent enterprises founded by funds appropriated by the Sanitary Commission, or assisted by moneys which the commission had on hand when it ceased its labors as a *sanitary* commission. For years, in common with his colleagues on the commission, Mr. Greeley left his business and gave his whole time to the work in hand, serving, as they all did, without compensation other than the consciousness of having faithfully tried to serve his country in a tremendous crisis.

Carlos S. Greeley also enjoys the distinction of being at the present time at the head of one of the largest wholesale grocery houses in the United States, and his long and highly successful career presents many points of interest. He was born at Salisbury, N. H., of a family descended from the English pioneers, and his ancestors on both sides were well-known and influential people of that region. His uncle, Moses Greeley, was prominent as a politician, and was a man of influence, while his mother's family were noted for their enterprising and energetic qualities.

His father, Benjamin Greeley, was a farmer, and the boy's life was that of a farmer's son of that period,—working on the farm in the summer and attending school in the winter. He received, however, an academic education at Salisbury in addition to that afforded by the common country school.

In the spring of 1832, when twenty years old, he started for the West, having become satisfied that no money was to be made at farming in New Hampshire, and that, as the saying went, "New Hampshire was a good State to emigrate from." Besides, his tastes inclined to mercantile life; he had a Yankee boy's passion for "swapping," and when he left home all the money he possessed (less than one hundred dollars) had been made by trading steers and other stock that had come into his possession.

He began his business career at Brockport, N. Y., as clerk in the retail grocery-store of Pettingill & Sanborn. Mr. Pettingill is now a prominent resident of Peoria, Ill.; Mr. Sanborn will appear again later in this sketch. One peculiarity of this establishment was that it would sell no liquor,—an unusual course in those days when the use of liquor was much more common in that section than at present, and when the legitimacy of its sale was questioned by very few. Young Greeley remained in this capacity for two years, and then an opportunity occurring of buying out Pettingill's interest,—a quarter-share in the business,—he borrowed the money from his father and made the purchase.

This connection proved a prosperous one and lasted until 1836, when Sanborn sold out and removed to St. Louis. Greeley remained behind at Brockport for a few years to close up the business, and then in the fall of 1837 he was induced by Sanborn to follow him to St. Louis. During the winter he visited his father, who had removed to Tazewell County, Illinois; and in March, 1838, having returned to St. Louis and spent some time in looking over the situation, he commenced the wholesale grocery business with Mr. Sanborn. Soon after, Mr. Gale, an old acquaintance from Salisbury, N. H., came on and bought Mr. Sanborn's interest, and Greeley & Gale continued the business. Mr. Sanborn engaged in speculation, became a well-known stock dealer, and died some years later, greatly respected.

Greeley & Sanborn began business on the Levee on a very moderate scale, Mr. Greeley's contribution to the business being less than five thousand dollars. They repeated the Brockport experiment of selling no liquor, a conclusion they reached from a firm belief that the use of liquor was destructive of health and morals, and its sale was therefore wrong. Their convictions were laughed at by their rivals, and abundant predictions of their failure were made; nevertheless, although the only house in this city that did not sell liquor, their business prospered beyond precedent, and by close attention, economy, and perseverance they made money every year, and soon occupied a very commanding position.

The partnership of Greeley & Gale lasted until about 1858, when C. B. Burnham (now president of the Bank of Commerce) was given an interest in the firm, and the house continued under the name of C. B. Burnham & Co. until 1876, conducting the same business and on the same temperance principles as before mentioned. In 1876 the title was changed to Greeley, Burnham & Co., and in 1879 the firm was incorporated as the Greeley-Burnham Grocer Company, with C. S. Greeley, president; C. B. Burnham, vice-president; Dwight Tredway, secretary; C. B. Greeley, treasurer; A. H. Gale, assistant secretary; and this is the existing organization.

Although the house has passed through several panics and through a period of social and political agitation unmatched in history, its career has been



was that it would sell no liquor,—an unusual co
in those days when the use of liquor was much more agitation unmatched in history, as



C. S. Greeley

one of uninterrupted and remarkable prosperity. The only incident of an unfortunate character was the destruction of its store by fire in February, 1881, entailing a heavy loss, but not in the slightest degree affecting the soundness of the establishment. Mr. Greeley immediately rebuilt the store at a cost of seventy-five thousand dollars for building and ground, and now boasts of occupying not only the largest wholesale grocery establishment in the United States, but probably the most perfectly equipped and conveniently arranged of any in the world. The building, which is situated at the corner of Christy Avenue and Second Street, is a five-story brick structure seventy-three and a half by one hundred and fifty feet in area, with a deep cellar, and has a floor-room of over six acres. The foundations were laid with proper regard to solidity, stability, and the storage of the heaviest stocks, while the arrangements are designed to allow of the receipt, handling, and shipment of goods in the most economical and the speediest manner. Two large engines supply power to two elevators that are constantly employed in shifting goods where occasion may demand. In the arrangement of wardrobe, lunch-rooms, etc., a proper and philanthropic thoughtfulness for the comfort of the employés has been observed.

An idea of the magnitude of the business of the firm may be obtained from the fact that the house continually carries from two hundred and seventy-five thousand to three hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars in stock. The financial standing of the establishment is not excelled by that of any house in the country, and it is as well known in foreign markets almost as in St. Louis as one of irreproachable honor and unimpeachable strength. This grand result has been accomplished by close attention to business on the part of Mr. Greeley and his able associates and the management of its affairs in the most economical manner. Speculation has been avoided; there has been no gambling in "futures" or anything of that sort; no partner has ever lived beyond his means. In short, there has been only a steady and faithful application of the ordinary and honest principles of business by men who believe that "honesty is the best policy," but who practice honesty for its own sake, and not merely because it is the best policy.

Mr. Greeley is a public-spirited citizen, and has been engaged in many important public enterprises. He was a prominent subscriber to the Kansas Pacific Railway, and in 1878 sold to Jay Gould the controlling interest that made him owner thereof. As is well known, this road extends from Kansas City to Denver. Mr. Greeley's connection with it lasted from 1865 to 1878, and for much of the time he was treasurer of the company and had charge of its financial affairs. In this capacity he was largely instrumental in lifting it out of its pecuniary embarrassments and finishing it and putting it in successful operation. His connection with the line involved the building of several important "feeders" to develop the western country. Mr. Greeley also assisted in building the railroad from Sedalia to Warsaw, and for some years retained a considerable interest therein. He is now a director and largely interested in the St. Louis and Illinois Railroad and Coal Company, and more recently has purchased an interest in the Madison County Ferry Company. He is now president of the Washington Land and Mining Company, and president of the Union Mining and Smelting Company, the two representing thirteen thousand acres of mineral and agricultural lands in Washington County, Mo. He is also largely interested in banks and bank stocks; is the largest stockholder but one in the Bank of Commerce; is president of the Provident Savings Institution, a director in the Boatmen's Savings-Bank, and a trustee in the State Savings Association. He is also a director in the Belcher Sugar Refinery Company, the St. Louis Cotton-Factory, and the Crystal City Plate-Glass Company, and is president of the National Land Company of Kansas, a concern that originally held two hundred thousand acres of land, and which yet has fifty thousand acres unsold. In addition to these he is a director in many other companies, among which may be mentioned the State Mutual Insurance Company, the Mutual Insurance Company, the St. Louis Gold-Mining Company of Colorado, and the Greeley Mining Company of Colorado. These business associations, so varied and embracing so many important interests, indicate that he is a man not only of unusual activity, but one thoroughly awake to whatever has seemed likely to conduce to the prosperity and advancement of St. Louis. For nine years he was a member of the board of education, being president the last year; and for many years he has been a director of Washington University, St. Mary's Institute, etc.

Mr. Greeley has been for many years a member of the Second Presbyterian Church, and is chairman of its board of trustees. He is also a trustee in the Drury College, at Springfield, Mo., and the Lindenwood Seminary, at St. Charles, Mo.

In 1841 he married Miss Robbins, of Hartford, Conn. Two children resulted from this union,—C. B. Greeley, who is a member of the firm, and a daughter, who married Dwight Tredway, the secretary and managing partner of the Greeley-Burnham Grocer Company.

Mr. Greeley is a gentleman of quiet and unassuming manners, and his career is an illustration of the fact that quiet and persistent work, honestly and faithfully applied, is sure of its reward.

In self-sacrificing devotion to duty James E. Yeatman, C. S. Greeley, J. B. Johnson, George Partridge, and William G. Eliot, the members of the Western Sanitary Commission, were not in the least behind the bravest heroes on the battle-field. With hearts full of sympathy for their fellow-man, they answered every call for aid and assistance, and never hesitated to sacrifice themselves when they could alleviate suffering or minister to the comfort of others.

James E. Yeatman, whose distinguished services as president of the Sanitary Commission have been narrated, was born in Bedford County, Tenn., Aug. 27, 1818. His father was a merchant, manufacturer, and banker in Nashville, and the son, who was reared amid the surroundings of affluence, enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education. His studies were shaped with a view to engaging in commercial life, and immediately after leaving school he began his business career in the manufacture of iron at Cumberland, Tenn., and in 1842 removed to St. Louis and opened an iron house as a branch of the Nashville establishment.

From 1850 to 1861 he engaged successfully in the commission business, and in 1850 assisted in organizing the Merchants' Bank (now the Merchants' National Bank), of which he was one of the first directors. In 1861 he devoted himself exclusively to the bank, and for many years has been its president.

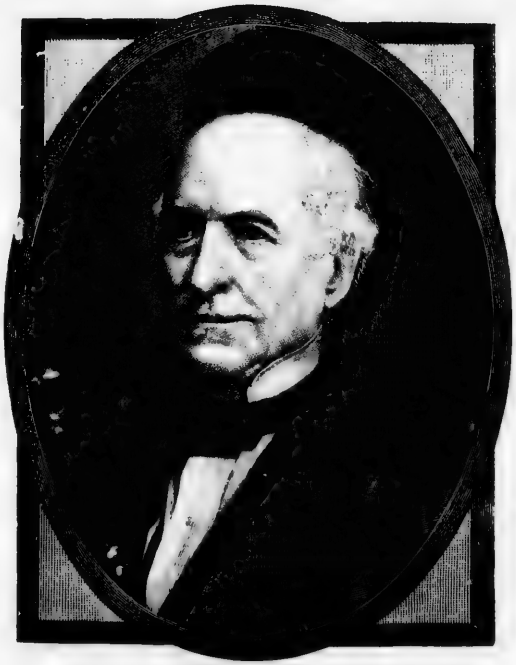
Meanwhile other public enterprises had engaged his attention. He served as member of a commission appointed to obtain from the Legislature the passage of an act authorizing the city to subscribe five hundred thousand dollars to the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, was one of the incorporators of Bellefontaine Cemetery, assisted in the establishment of Washington University, and for many years has been a trustee of that institution, and was the first president of the Mercantile Library. He has also been active and prominent in promoting various public charities, among them the Blind Asylum, much of whose usefulness (if not its very existence) is due to him. He was the first president of that institution, which for nearly thirty years has been the object of his watchful solicitude and care, and to hundreds of its hapless wards he has proved a kind and bountiful protector.

Throughout the trying period preceding and during the civil war, Mr. Yeatman was a strenuous supporter of the Union, but labored earnestly for peace and reconciliation. His mother's second husband was John Bell, of Tennessee, the candidate for President of the United States on the Union ticket in 1860, and Mr Yeatman belonged to the Union school in politics. When war could no longer be avoided he strove to avert its horrors from Missouri, and was deputed by some of the most loyal and honored citizens of St. Louis to accompany Hon. H. R. Gamble to Washington to lay the situation in Missouri before President Lincoln. Gen. Harney was then in command of the Department of the West, and his policy was the subject of much contention before the President. Messrs. Yeatman and Gamble were firmly persuaded that it was the only one that would lead to a peaceful solution of the problem, but they failed to impress Mr. Lincoln with this view, and Gen. Harney was soon removed, and the vigorous counsels of Francis P. Blair's party adopted by the government. Mr. Gamble subsequently, as Provisional Governor, served the State and the country through a period of unexampled difficulty with great ability, while Mr. Yeatman performed the most arduous and self-sacrificing labor in connection with the Western Sanitary Commission, which was called into existence by Gen. Fremont in September, 1861, in order to mitigate the horrors of the war then actually in progress in Missouri, as well as in the more Southern States. As previously stated, Mr Yeatman was president of the commission, and is universally conceded to have been its guiding spirit throughout the war. Indeed, from the very moment of his acceptance of this delicate and sacred trust he put business and home and friends behind him and consecrated himself, in the true sacrificial spirit, entirely to the noble work of relieving distress and misery. His task was dual in its character, for he was called upon to systematize the impulsive, disorderly, and uninformed sympathies and efforts of the loyal people of the West, and then to make effective with the least waste of time, labor, and money the agencies employed for the relief and care of sick and wounded soldiers. In this great emergency Mr. Yeatman exhibited a capacity and aptitude for organization on a large scale scarcely equaled and certainly never excelled in the history of the country. His duties led him all over the war stricken regions of the Southwest, wherever men were suffering or were likely to suffer and to need relief. Like Howard, he must look with his own eyes on the misery he was charged to relieve, and it has been well said that "the hostile armies were filled with a new feeling—that of tenderness—as they beheld his unselfish efforts."

In fact, a reference to the preceding pages will show that the narrative of Mr. Yeatman's labors in

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this connection is identical with the history of the commission itself. In the West the work of the Sanitary Commission assumed an eminently practical character. The commission established hospital steamers, founded soldiers' homes and homes for their children, and took the earliest steps to relieve the freedmen, whom they promptly recognized as the "wards of the nation." They sent them teachers, nurses, and physicians, and the labors of the commission in connection with the freedmen during 1864–65 were quite as arduous to Mr. Yeatman and his associates as were those during some of the periods in which the great battles of the war had been fought. The Freedmen's Bureau was organized on the plan devised by Mr. Yeatman, who, once a holder of slaves, now became a benefactor of the negro race. His report to the Western Sanitary Commission favoring the leasing of abandoned plantations to freedmen was declared by the *North American Review* (April, 1864) to contain in a single page "the final and absolute solution of the cotton and negro questions." Mr. Yeatman's report was so favorably received that he was sent to Washington to lay his views before the government. The President was greatly impressed, and urged him to accompany a government officer to Vicksburg to put them into effect. This Mr. Yeatman did, although he declined an official appointment in that connection. When the Freedmen's Bureau was instituted President Lincoln offered him the commissionership, but he declined, disliking, possibly, the semi-military features of the establishment. Its main features, however, he heartily approved.

The Sanitary Commission disbursed seven hundred and seventy-one thousand dollars, and distributed over three and a half million dollars worth of goods. It was brought into very close relations with the military authorities, yet its affairs were managed so discreetly that all the generals in the field—Grant, Sherman, Fremont, Halleck, Curtis, Schofield, and Rosecrans—were on the most friendly and confidential terms with its agents, and did their utmost, by means of military orders and the exercise of their personal influence, to advance their humane work. When it is considered that the history of war afforded no precedent for sanitary work among the soldiers on so large a scale, the magnitude of the labor of the commission and the splendor of its success are the more conspicuous.

When the war closed, Mr. Yeatman returned to his business and his charities. There is hardly an institution in the city that has not been blessed by his benefactions, which have always been bestowed in a truly catholic spirit, yet guided by a discriminating and business-like judgment that never squanders. Among the more recent objects of his benevolent interest is the "Memorial Home" for aged and infirm people, lately established in St. Louis. But the good which he has performed will never be fully known, as much of it has been done in so quiet and unostentatious a manner as not to be apparent to the outside world. His long and stainless life is illuminated with an active benevolence that is unmatched in the history of St. Louis, and his charities throw a golden lustre on the city of his adoption.

The Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair.—The great success attending the sanitary fairs which had been held in several of the large cities of the country suggested a similar enterprise in the city of St. Louis, with the view of replenishing the funds of the Western Sanitary Commission, and of the kindred and co-operative associations, so that they might prosecute their noble and philanthropic labors during the continuance of the war. The great fairs held in the large Eastern cities and in Chicago in aid of the United States Sanitary Commission had contributed nothing to the funds of the Western Commission. Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, neighboring States, transmitted their great and generous contributions chiefly through that channel and their own agencies, while the reports of the Western Sanitary Commission show that the regiments of those States were the constant care of the Commission, both in the field and in its soldiers' homes at St. Louis, Columbus, Ky., Memphis, Tenn., Helena, Ark., Vicksburg, Miss., and Duvall's Bluff, in Arkansas.[1]

With large and increasing demands upon its treasury and supplies, the resources of the commission had begun to fail, and on the 1st of February, 1864, a large preliminary meeting of "the loyal men and women of St. Louis" was held at Mercantile Library Hall for the purpose of effecting an organization for holding a grand Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair in St. Louis. George Partridge called the meeting to order, and on his motion Chauncey I. Filley, mayor

[1] The extent of the benefit conferred on the Union soldiers by the soldiers' homes sustained and conducted by the Western Sanitary Commission may be appreciated by noting how many soldiers shared their hospitality during the war. Adding the statistics together from their official reports, we find that these homes entertained four hundred and twenty-one thousand six hundred and sixteen soldiers, furnished nine hundred and eighty-two thousand five hundred and ninety-two meals and four hundred and ten thousand two hundred and fifty-two lodgings without charge. The home at St. Louis continued after the war, and entertained an average of two thousand guests per month, being as useful and necessary as at any former period.

of the city, was unanimously chosen to preside. On motion of C. S. Greeley, Samuel Copp, Jr., was appointed secretary. Rev. J. J. Porter opened the proceedings with prayer, and Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot, at the request of the chairman, explained the objects of the meeting. On motion of Edward Wyman, a committee on organization was appointed, which soon after made a report, which was adopted. The purpose in holding the fair was to raise a sufficient fund for the sanitary uses of the armies of the Mississippi valley, and for the relief of the sick and wounded under the general direction of the Western Sanitary Commission, whose headquarters were in St. Louis. Speeches were made by the mayor, and by Rev. William G. Eliot, D.D., Brig.-Gen. C. B. Fisk, Maj.-Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, Maj. McKee Dunn, and Professor Amasa McCoy. A letter was read from Gen. Grant, in which he said,—

"The gratuitous offerings of our loyal citizens at home to our brave soldiers in the field, through the agency of sanitary commissions, have been to them the most encouraging and gratifying evidence that whilst they are risking life and health for the suppression of this most wicked rebellion, friends, who cannot assist with musket and sword, are with them in sympathy and heart.

"The Western Sanitary Commission has distributed tons of stores (amounting to thousands) to the armies under my command. Its voluntary offerings have made glad the hearts of many thousands of wounded and sick soldiers, who otherwise would have been subjected to severe privations. Knowing the benefits already conferred on the army by the Western Sanitary Commission, I hope for a full and enthusiastic meeting to-morrow night, and a 'fair' to follow which will bring together many old friends who have been kept apart for the last three years and unite them again in one common cause,—that of their country and peace."

The following officers and committees were then elected to organize and conduct this great enterprise:

Maj.-Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, president; Governor Willard P. Hall, first vice-president; Mayor Chauncey I. Filley, second vice-president; Brig.-Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, third vice-president (afterwards Mayor James S. Thomas was made fourth vice-president, and Brig.-Gen. J. W. Davidson fifth vice-president); Samuel Copp, Jr., treasurer; Maj. Alfred Mackay, corresponding secretary.

Honorary Members.—His Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States; Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, Vice-President of the United States; the Governors of the several loyal States; Maj.-Gen. U. S. Grant, commanding, etc.

Standing Committee (members of the Western Sanitary Commission).—James E. Yeatman, William G. Eliot, George Partridge, Carlos S. Greeley, John B. Johnson.

Executive Committee of Gentlemen.—James F. Yeatman (chairman), J. H. Lightner, E. W. Fox, Samuel Copp, Jr., George D. Hall, S. R. Filley, Charles B. Hubbell, Jr., James Blackman, William D'Oench, William Patrick, J. O. Pierce, Gustavus W. Dreyer, H. C. Homeyer, B. R. Bonner, Adolphus Meier, Charles Speck, William Mitchell, William Adriance, George E. Leighton, M. L. Linton, William H. Benton, Dwight Durkee, Amadee Valle, Wyllys King, George P. Plant, Morris Collins, J. C. Cabot, N. C. Chapman, John D. Perry, S. H. Laflin, James Ward.

Executive Committee of Ladies.—Mrs. Chauncey I. Filley (president), Mrs. Anna M. Debenham (recording secretary), Mrs. Gen. V. P. Van Antwerp (corresponding secretary), Mrs. Phebe W. Couzins (corresponding secretary), Mrs. Robert Anderson, Mrs. George Partridge, Mrs. J. E. D. Couzins, Mrs. E. M. Weber, Mrs. Truman Woodruff, Mrs. Clinton B. Fisk, Mrs. F. A. Dick, Mrs. Alfred Clapp, Mrs. Dr. E. Hale, Mrs. A. S. W. Goodwin, Mrs. H. T. Blow, Mrs. Amelia Reihl, Mrs. N. C. Chapman, Mrs. Washington King, Mrs. S. A. Ranlett, Mrs. T. B. Edgar, Mrs. C. S. Greeley, Mrs. W. T. Hazard, Mrs. Charles D. Drake, Mrs. Dr. Haeusler, Mrs. Samuel C. Davis, Mrs. McKee Dunn, Mrs. B Gratz Brown, Mrs. William McKee, Mrs. Gen. William S. Rosecrans, Mrs. Dr. O'Reilly, Mrs. S. B. Kellogg, Mrs. S. A. Collier, Mrs. W. A. Doan, Mrs. Isaac Rosenfeld, Mrs. Samuel Copp, Jr., Mrs. F. P. Blair, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Clark, Mrs. H. Dreyer, Mrs. Ulrich Busch, Mrs. John Wolff, Mrs. Waltenburg, Mrs. John J. Hoppe, Mrs. Adolphus Abells, Mrs. C. Piper, Mrs. R. H. Morton, Mrs. William D'Oench, Mrs. J. C. Rust, Mrs. Adolphus Meier, Mrs. Bernard Poepping, Mrs. John C. Vogel, Mrs. R. Barth, Mrs. H. C. Gempp, Mrs. O. D. Filley, Mrs. Henry Stagg, Mrs. E. W. Fox, Mrs. Charles Eggers, Mrs. A. S. Dean, Mrs. Rombauer.

Various subordinate committees were afterwards appointed, representing all the trades and branches of business in St. Louis, and a committee was appointed to conduct a department in the fair for the benefit of freedmen and Union refugees, so that contributions might be made for this charity by itself, and kept separate from the general sanitary work of the army.

Appeals were immediately sent out to the people of the Mississippi valley and to the whole country; the newspaper press of St. Louis lent its columns with great generosity to the promotion of the enterprise and published largely in its interests, and friendly papers abroad gave it all the publicity that could be desired.

The merchants and private citizens, the noble men and women of St. Louis, took hold of the enterprise with generous zeal, and determined to make it a decided success. Sympathizing friends in Boston, New Bedford, Providence, Salem, Worcester, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and many smaller cities and towns made handsome donations, and some of them sent representatives to aid in the work. Many valuable trophies of the war and donations in money were received from the army. Fifteen gold and silver bars, amounting to over forty-five thousand dollars, were received from Nevada Territory, and several shipments of goods were sent also from England and Germany by generous sympathizers in the cause. Besides these contributions in goods, two hundred thousand dollars in money was given towards the object, of which much the largest portion came from the citizens of St. Louis, a city that probably suffered more from the war than any other city of the Union.

While these labors were being performed, a splendid building was erected on Twelfth Street, from Olive Street to St. Charles Street, five hundred feet long and one hundred and fourteen feet wide, with wings on Locust Street one hundred feet each in length beyond the main building and fifty-four feet wide, with an octagon centre seventy-five feet in diameter and fifty feet high. The whole was arranged, decorated, divided into apartments, and filled with contributions from art and nature of the most valuable kinds.

On the 17th of May, 1864, this immense building, filled with its splendid contributions of merchandise, art, and manufactures, ornamented with flags, trophies, mottoes arbors of evergreens and flowers, and superintended by fair ladies and noble men, was opened to the public with appropriate ceremonies, on which occasion speeches were made by Gen. Rosecrans, Governor Hall, and Gen. Fisk. The attendance was very large from the start, and for three weeks the influx of people from St. Louis and the neighboring country, and from the towns and cities of the adjoining States, continued in a steady stream.

The building in all its departments—its refreshment saloons, its gallery of fine arts, its counters for the sale of merchandise, its floral park, its room for the exhibition of trophies of the war, and its display of agricultural implements, of sewing-machines, of works of art, and of the gold and silver bars from Nevada—was filled with multitudes, who passed along the various walks and avenues, purchasing and admiring what they saw, from morning till evening, up to the close of the fair in the early part of June.

No written description can begin to do justice to the grand exhibition, but it will long be remembered by those who participated in its labors, and by the hundreds of thousands of visitors who gave their presence, their sympathy, and their money to aid the noble object for which the fair was held. Among these were many of the leading merchants and bankers of St. Louis, who were the main strength and support of the undertaking; the commanding general of the department and other officers of the army, stationed at St. Louis, or co-operating from their distant posts; the members of the Western Sanitary Commission; the Union ladies of St. Louis, including the members of the Ladies' Union Aid Society, the Freedmen's Aid Association, the Ladies' Loyal League, and the teachers and pupils of the universities, the colleges, the female academies, and the public schools of the city, all of whom, in their several spheres, contributed to the grand results of the fair.

The net receipts from the fair amounted to five hundred and fifty-four thousand five hundred and ninety-one dollars, being, it is believed, greater than those of any sanitary fair that has ever been held in the United States.[1]

St. Louis had occasion to be proud of this result, and Mr. Yeatman, chairman of the executive committee, in his official report of the fair said,—

"The city of St. Louis, situated comparatively upon the frontier of loyalty, has raised about three dollars and fifty cents for each inhabitant, while the cities of New York and Philadelphia, at their fairs, raised about one dollar and sixty-seven cents for each inhabitant."

The generous support extended by the Union citizens of St. Louis to the armies of the Union during the civil war, their sympathy and aid in sanitary and religious work for the sick and wounded soldiers, and the relief afforded by them to the freedmen and homeless Union refugees, are without a parallel in history. Besides the liberal contributions from the people of St. Louis to the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, the Western Sanitary Commission was the recipient of hundreds of thousands of dollars in money and sanitary goods from the same patriotic sources contributed from time to time during the whole progress of the war.

[1] The *Republican* of July 6th contained the following:

"*A Letter from Gen. Hancock.*—We publish below a letter, kindly furnished us by Mr. Yeatman, received last Saturday from Maj.-Gen. Hancock, acknowledging the receipt of the magnificent jeweled sword voted by his former fellow-citizens at the sanitary fair: . . .

"'HEADQUARTERS SECOND ARMY CORPS,
"'June 27, 1864.

"'DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 18th instant, informing me that the handsome sword donated to the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair has been awarded me, has been received. Such a mark of consideration from the citizens of St. Louis is truly gratifying, and having married in that city and resided there for many years, I regard it as a home. Only the soldiers can fully appreciate the benefit of your noble efforts in behalf of the Sanitary Commission, and the effects of its kind offices in the amelioration of our wants and suffering are felt with grateful remembrance throughout every part of our vast army.

"'I am sir, very respectfully
"'Your obedient servant,
"'W. S. HANCOCK, *Maj.-Gen. U.S.A.*'

"'TO JAMES E. YEATMAN, ESQ., *Chairman of the Executive Committee, Western Sanitary Commission, St. Louis, Mo.*'"

CHAPTER XVII.

POLITICAL PROGRESS.[1]

Upon the cession of Louisiana to the United States, Capt. Amos Stoddard succeeded the Spanish commandant at St. Louis, and in 1804, by act of Congress, March 26th, the Territory was divided into the Territory of Orleans (afterwards the State of Louisiana) and the District of Louisiana (known as Upper Louisiana), which became the Territory of Missouri. The same act provided that the Territorial government of Indiana should be extended to the District of Louisiana (Missouri), and the Governors and judges of Indiana were empowered to frame laws for the new district. Gen. William Henry Harrison was then Governor of Indiana, and associated with him were Judges Griffin, Davis, and Vanderberg. On the 3d of March, 1805, Congress passed an act transforming the district into the Territory of Louisiana, and Gen. James Wilkinson was appointed Governor, with Joseph Browne as secretary. The legislative power was vested in the Governor and the three Territorial judges, J. B. C. Lucas, John Coburn, and Rufus Easton.[2]

The first Legislature of the Territory, composed of the Governor and judges, assembled on the 11th of June, 1806, and continued to exercise its functions until the 9th of October, 1811, when it adjourned *sine die*.[3]

At the time of final adjournment the members were Frederick Bates, Secretary of the Territory and acting Governor, and John Coburn and Otto Strader, judges. Judge Lucas, however, was still in office.

Frederick Bates, who had been appointed Secretary of the Territory May 7, 1807, was born in Belmont, Goochland Co., Va., of Quaker parents, June 23, 1777. He did not possess facilities for obtaining a liberal education, but, like many others of his time, educated himself in the pursuit of the practical affairs of life by the exercise of his acute powers of observation. He thus developed the character which distinguished him through life, that of a clear-headed, energetic man fully competent to grapple with the difficulties which he encountered, and to give direction to the circumstances by which he was surrounded.

He was one of a family of seven brothers, four of whom, including himself, passed several years in the offices of the clerks of the Circuit Court in their native State.

At the age of twenty he went to Detroit, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits, and he was for a time postmaster at that place. Frequent intercourse with the French-Canadians enabled him to become to some extent acquainted with the French language. The knowledge thus acquired was improved by subsequent study, and proved of great advantage to him during his residence in Missouri. In 1805 he was appointed by President Jefferson the first United States judge for the Territory of Michigan.

In 1806 he removed from Detroit to St. Louis. From the time of his arrival in Missouri until its admission as a State he was in some capacity a Territorial officer, and during many years was Secretary of the Territory, and, as we have seen, was acting Governor part of his term. He also occupied several judicial and legislative positions, and in 1808 compiled the "Laws of the Territory of Louisiana," printed by Joseph Charless, the first book printed in St. Louis.

In 1824 he was elected Governor of the State of Missouri, to succeed Alexander McNair, the first incumbent of the office. On the 4th of August, 1825, he died, having administered the government only about a year. He was an earnest admirer of Thomas Jefferson, and held offices in the Territory under Presidents Jefferson and Madison. It is worthy of remark that he was elected Governor without solicitation or effort on his part.

He was married, March 4, 1819, to Nancy Ball, daughter of Col. John S. Ball, of St. Louis County, and took up his residence in Bonhomme township. They had four children, of whom the eldest, Mrs. Emily Walton, of St. Charles, and the second, Lucius Bates, survive. The latter lives on the old homestead where he was born.

[1] The history of the Territorial government has been fully narrated in a preceding chapter of this work, but in order to a clear understanding of the political development of St. Louis and Missouri the principal facts are recapitulated here.

[2] The commissioners to examine land titles were J. B. C. Lucas, Clement B. Penrose, and James L. Donaldson. In 1807, Frederick Bates was substituted in place of Donaldson.

[3] This Legislature was called to assemble on the 3d of June, but, as stated, did not meet until the 11th. The records of Edward Hempstead, clerk of the Legislature, show that James Wilkinson, Governor, Return J. Meigs, and John B. C. Lucas composed that body, Rufus Easton, one of the judges, not being present. One of the earliest entries on the records is a spicy correspondence between the Governor and Judge Lucas as to the proper manner of calling the Legislature together. After many delays and adjournments, the Legislature met on the 25th of June, and proceeded to the election of a clerk. Robert Wescott, Andrew Steel, and Edward Hempstead were placed in nomination, but there was no election until the 28th, when Mr. Hempstead was chosen. In the record of the proceedings, on the 26th of June, it is stated that a law respecting the District of Arkansas, which was then a portion of the Territory, had been discussed and agreed to and ordered to be engrossed, and that the Legislature had under consideration a law to prevent the discharging of fire-arms in the town of St. Louis.





Of the other members of the Territorial Legislature, Hon. Otto Strader had succeeded Judge Meigs. In 1807, Capt. Meriwether Lewis was appointed Governor of the Territory by President Jefferson. In June, 1808, the Legislature was composed of Hon. Meriwether Lewis, Governor, and John B. C. Lucas and Otto Strader, judges. Upon the death of Governor Lewis, in 1809, President Madison appointed Benjamin Howard Governor of Louisiana Territory. His first legislative act was dated Oct. 25, 1810. In 1813 he resigned the Governorship to accept the position of brigadier-general of Rangers, in which he served with great credit, and died in St. Louis, Sept. 18, 1814.

By an act of Congress, June 4, 1812, the Territory of Missouri was created, and on the 1st of October, 1812, Governor Howard issued a proclamation[1] dividing the Territory (which had previously been divided into districts) into five counties, and ordering an election for representatives to the Territorial Assem-

[1] The text of the Governor's proclamation is as follows:

"*By Benjamin Howard, Governor of the Territory of Louisiana, commander-in-chief of the militia thereof, and superintendent of Indian affairs in and over the same,*

"A PROCLAMATION.

"In discharge of those duties enjoined on the Governor of this Territory by an act of the Congress of the United States of America, approved the 4th of June, 1812, entitled 'An Act providing for the government of the Territory of Missouri,' I have made the following arrangements preparatory to the new organization of government to be instituted by the said act, and which will commence its operation on the first Monday of December next: that is to say,

"I have divided the future Territory of Missouri into five counties, excluding from the civil jurisdiction of each of said counties any tract or tracts of country which may fall within the respective general limits, as hereinafter set forth, the Indian title to which may not have been extinguished.

"The portion of territory situated north of the Missouri River, and usually known by the name of the Forks, as lying between that river and the river Mississippi, shall compose one county, and shall be called the county of St. Charles.

"That portion of territory bounded by the Missouri River on the north, by the Mississippi on the east, on the south by the Plain Creek from its mouth to its source, thence by a west line to the Missouri River, or to the western boundary of the Osage purchase, and on the west by the said western boundary of the Osage purchase shall compose one other county, and be called the county of St. Louis.

"That portion of territory bounded by the county of St. Louis on the north, on the east by the Mississippi, on the south by Apple Creek from its mouth to its source, thence by a due west line to the western boundary of the Osage purchase, and on the west by the said western boundary of the Osage purchase shall compose one other county, and be called the county of Ste. Genevieve.

"That portion of territory bounded on the north by the south limit of the county of Ste. Genevieve, east by the Mississippi, west by the western boundary of the Osage purchase, and south by that line which formerly separated the commanderies of Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, and known more recently as the boundary between those two districts, shall compose one other county, and be called the county of Cape Girardeau.

"That portion of territory bounded north by the south limit of the county of Cape Girardeau, east by the Mississippi, south by the thirty-third degree of north latitude (the southern boundary of this Territory, as settled by act of Congress), west by the western boundary of the Osage purchase, and from the southern extremity thereof to the thirty-third degree of north latitude aforesaid, shall compose one other county, and be called the county of New Madrid.

"And I do hereby make known and declare that elections of representatives to serve in the General Assembly of the future Territory of Missouri shall be holden throughout the Territory on the second Monday of November next at the respective seats of justice of the present districts, which are hereby declared to be the seats of justice for the several future counties respectively, except that the town of New Madrid shall be the seat of justice of the future county of New Madrid, which said future county will comprehend the present districts of New Madrid and Arkansas, to wit: at the town of St. Charles for the future county of St. Charles, at which time and place there will be chosen for the said county two representatives; at the town of St. Louis for the future county of St. Louis, at which time and place there will be chosen four representatives; at the town of Ste. Genevive for the future county of Ste. Genevieve, at which time and place there will be chosen for the said county three representatives; at the town of Cape Girardeau for the future county of Cape Girardeau, at which time and place there will be chosen for the said county two representatives; and at the town of New Madrid for the future county of New Madrid, at which time and place there will be chosen for the said county two representatives.

"And I do, moreover, make known and declare that on the said second Monday of November next an election will also be holden at the several seats of justice aforesaid for a Territorial delegate to the Congress of the United States. And I do enjoin and require that these elections be holden by the sheriffs of the present districts, or, in their absence or inability to act, by the coroners respectively; that the said sheriffs or coroners shall take the polls of those qualified to vote; that the clerks of the courts of the present districts or their deputies shall respectively write down the names of the voters in a fair and legible manner, and that the presiding judges of the courts of the present districts respectively, or, in case of absence or inability to act, the next in commission, shall attend and be judges of the qualification of the voters; that the said election shall be opened at the respective seats of justice aforesaid on or before nine o'clock in the morning of the said second Monday of November, and close at sunset of that day.

"And the sheriffs or coroners, respectively, after having caused the *proces verbal* of said polls to be signed by the clerks or their deputies who may have respectively committed the same in writing, and countersigned by the judges respectively who may have attended the elections, will themselves certify the same, explicitly stating at large the names of the persons elected as representatives, and the name of the person having the greatest number of votes as a delegate to Congress, and make immediate return thereof to the Governor of the Territory.

"And I do lastly enjoin and require that the representatives of the several future counties so as aforesaid to be elected do convene in the town of St. Louis on the first Monday of December next, as provided by the act of Congress aforesaid.

bly, and of a delegate from the Territory to Congress. The candidates for delegate to Congress were Edward Hempstead, Rufus Easton, Samuel Hammond, and Matthew Lyon. Edward Hempstead was elected.[1]

The Legislature was composed of a House of Representatives of thirteen members elected by the people, and a Council or Senate of nine nominated by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate. The House elected in November, 1812, held its first meeting in the house of Joseph Robidoux,[2]

"In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the Territory of Louisiana to be hereunto affixed.

"Given under my hand at the town of St. Louis, the first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve, and of the independence of the United States of America the thirty-seventh.

"BENJAMIN HOWARD."

[1] A full sketch of the life and services of Edward Hempstead is given elsewhere. Matthew Lyon, one of his principal competitors, was born in Wicklow County, Ireland, and having emigrated to this country when thirteen years old, participated to some extent in the Revolutionary struggle, having in 1777 been appointed temporary paymaster of the Northern army, and in 1778 deputy secretary of the Governor of Vermont, and at the same time clerk of the Court of Confiscation. He settled in Vermont after the war, and was elected a member of the State Legislature in 1799 and the three following years. In 1788 he founded the town of Fairhaven, where he built saw-mills, grist-mills, established a forge or iron foundry, manufactured paper from basswood, and established a newspaper called *The Farmers' Library*. He served that town in the Legislature ten years. In 1786 he was assistant judge of Rutland County. He was a representative in Congress from Vermont from 1799 to 1801, and it was during his first term that he had a personal difficulty on the floor of Congress with Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, when an unsuccessful effort was made to have him expelled. The fact of his giving the vote that made Jefferson President is well known, and caused him much persecution. At the end of his second term as a representative from Vermont he removed to Kentucky, served two years in the Legislature of that State, and was a representative in Congress from that State from 1803 to 1811. On Nov. 13, 1811, the Speaker of the House of Representatives presented a petition from him, setting forth that he had many years before been prosecuted and convicted under the sedition law of John Adams, had been made to pay the sum of $1060.90, and that he wished to have the money refunded to him. On July 4, 1840, a law was passed paying back to his heirs the specified sum, with interest from February, 1799, which made between three and four thousand dollars. It was while he was in prison at Vergennes that he was elected to Congress from Vermont, and at the close of his services as Congressman from Kentucky he was employed to build gunboats for the war, but became bankrupt from the speculation. In 1820 he was appointed a factor among the Indians in Arkansas. When that Territory was organized he was elected the first delegate to Congress, but did not live to take his seat, having died at Spadra Bluff, Ark., Aug. 1, 1822.

Matthew Lyon removed to St. Louis from Kentucky, but only remained a short time, during which, as stated above, he became a candidate for Congress.

While living in Vermont he had a son born, whom he named Chittenden Lyon, after the distinguished man of that name in that State. He also became a member of Congress from Kentucky, and served from the years 1827 to 1835, and died in Kentucky.

Kentucky honored Matthew Lyon's memory by naming a county after him, "Lyon" County, on the right bank of the Cumberland River.

[2] Joseph Robidoux, at whose house the Territorial Legislature assembled on the 7th of December, 1812, was born in St. Louis, Aug. 10, 1783, of French-Canadian parentage. About 1800 he made his first voyage up the Missouri, in search of a favorable location to establish a trading-post, stopping at the site of the present city of St. Joseph, Mo., but eventually removing to Council Bluffs. After four years' traveling and trading among the Indian tribes of the West, he returned and opened an Indian trading-store immediately above the Black Snake Hills, at the mouth of Roy's Branch, in the interest of the American Fur Company, for which he was agent. At a later day he removed to the mouth of the Black Snake, and built a store on or near the site of the "Old Robidoux Row." In 1843 he returned to St. Joseph and laid off that city, and population and wealth soon settled in the place. Previous to coming to St. Joseph, Joseph Robidoux located at Chicago, or rather on the present site of that city, but was plundered by Indians and left.

At the age of eighteen he married Eugenie Deaille, in St. Louis, by whom he had two children. At the time of his death, in May, 1868, but one of his children by his first wife, Joseph E. Robidoux, of St. Joseph, was living. Four years after the marriage of Joseph Robidoux his wife died. In 1815 he was married to Angelique Vaudry, who died in St. Joseph, Jan. 17, 1857. Three of his sons by his last wife—Jules C., Edmund, and Felix Robidoux—survived him in St. Joseph, and a daughter, Mrs. Sylvanie Beauvais, resided in St. Louis. He left also thirty-two grandchildren.

Joseph Robidoux was possessed of a remarkably strong constitution. For thirty years before his death he was never unwell for more than a day or two at a time. The day before his death he walked the streets of St. Joseph as erect and with as steady and elastic step as most men of forty-five.

His brother, Antoine Robidoux, died at St. Joseph on the 29th of August, 1860, after a long illness, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. He was born in St. Louis in 1794, and was possessed of a sprightly intellect and a spirit of adventure.

When not more than twenty-two years of age he accompanied Gen. Atkinson to the then very wild and distant region of the Yellowstone. At the age of twenty-eight he went to Mexico, and lived there fifteen years. He then married a very interesting Mexican lady, who returned with him to the States. For many years he traded extensively with the Navajoes and Apaches. In 1840 he removed to St. Joseph with his family and resided there until his death. In 1845 he went out to the mountains on a trading expedition and was caught by the most terrible storms, which caused the death of one or two hundred of his horses and stopped his progress. His brother Joseph, the founder of the city of St. Joseph, sent to his relief and had him brought in, or he would have perished. He was found in a most deplorable condition and saved.

In 1846 he accompanied Gen. Kearney as interpreter and guide to Mexico. In a battle with the Mexicans he was pierced with lances in three places, but survived his wounds and returned to St. Joseph in 1849. Soon after that he went to California, and remained until 1851. In 1855 he removed to New Mexico with his family, and in 1856 he went to Washington and remained there a year, arranging some business with the government. He then returned to St. Joseph, where he remained to the time of his death.

between Walnut and Elm Streets, on the 7th of December, 1812, the following being the members:

St. Charles, John Pittman, Robert Spencer.

St. Louis, David Musick, Bernard G. Farrar, William C. Carr, and Richard Caulk.

Ste. Genevieve, George Bullett, Richard S. Thomas, Isaac McGready.

Cape Girardeau, George F. Bollinger, Spencer Byrd.

New Madrid, John Shrader and Samuel Phillips.

The oath was administered by John B. C. Lucas, one of the judges. William C. Carr was elected Speaker, and Thomas F. Riddick, clerk *pro tem.* Andrew Scott was elected permanent clerk before the close of the session.

The House of Representatives then proceeded to nominate eighteen persons, from whom the President of the United States, with the Senate, was to select nine for the Council, and out of the number thus named the President and Senate chose the following:

James Flaugherty and Benjamin Emmons, of St. Charles; Auguste Chouteau, Sr., and Samuel Hammond, of St. Louis; John Scott and James Maxwell, of Ste. Genevieve; William Neely and Joseph Cavener, of Cape Girardeau; and Joseph Hunter, of New Madrid. Samuel Hammond was chosen president of the Council.

Governor Howard was succeeded by Capt. William Clark, the distinguished explorer, and the associate of Lewis in the famous Lewis and Clark expedition. The administration of Governor Clark, which commenced in 1813, continued until the admission of Missouri as a State, when, being nominated for Governor without his consent, he was defeated.

During the interval between the resignation of Governor Howard and the qualifying of Governor Clark, Frederick Bates, Secretary of the Territory, again acted as Governor, and on the first Monday of July, in pursuance of a call issued by him, the Legislature met, and Governor Clark entered upon the discharge of his duties.

Laws regulating weights and measures, fixing the office and duties of sheriffs, and the mode of taking the census, establishing the seats of justice in counties and defining their boundaries, providing for the compensation of officers, defining crimes and punishments, and incorporating the Bank of St. Louis, were passed at this session of the Legislature.[1] The counties into which the Territory was divided were St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid. At the same session a part of Ste. Genevieve County was formed into Washington County.

At the election for delegate in 1814 the candidates were Rufus Easton, Samuel Hammond, Alexander McNair (afterwards Governor), and Thomas F. Riddick. Mr. Hempstead declined re-election, and Mr. Easton was chosen by a small majority. The candidates to represent the county of St. Louis in the Territorial Legislature and their respective votes were: Caulk, 376; Carr, 303; Harris, 352; Emmons, 282; Simpson, 346; and Caldwell, 214.

At the election for delegate to Congress in 1816,

Mr. Robidoux was a very remarkable man,—tall, slender, athletic, and agile. He possessed the most graceful and pleasing manners, and an intellect of a superior order. In every company he was affable, graceful, and highly pleasing. His conversation was always interesting and instructive, and he possessed many of those qualities which, if he had remained in the States, would have raised him to positions of distinction.

[1] At this session the following law establishing the boundaries of St. Louis and St. Charles Counties was enacted:

"AN ACT *establishing counties and county lines.*

"*Be it enacted* by the General Assembly of the Territory of Missouri, that all that portion of territory lying north of the river Missouri and bounded as follows, to wit: Beginning at the junction of the river Missouri with the river Mississippi; thence up the Missouri River, in the main channel of the same, to a point immediately opposite to the mouth of the Gasconade River; thence in a direct line so as to strike the river Jessrion, at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth; thence down the said Jessrion River to the Mississippi River; thence down said river Mississippi in the main channel of the same to the place of beginning, shall compose a county and shall be called and known by the name of the county of St. Charles; provided, nevertheless, that if the Indian title shall be extinguished to any land bordering on the north or west of the county of St. Charles, in the recess of the General Assembly, it shall be the duty of the Governor at the time being by proclamation to annex the same to the said county, and the territory so annexed shall, to all intents and purposes, be within the limits and compose a part of the county of St. Charles.

"All that portion of territory bounded north by the south line of the county of St. Charles, east by the main channel of the river Mississippi, south by a line to commence in the main channel of the Mississippi immediately opposite to the upper line of a tract of land owned by Auguste Chouteau, which is about half-way between the mouths of the Plattin and Joachim Rivers; thence running in a direct line to a point on the dividing ridge between those waters where Wright's road falls into the road leading from the town of Herculaneum to the mine at Burton; thence along said road to a point thereon immediately opposite a spring called the Dipping Spring, which spring is situated about two hundred yards to the south of said road; thence on a direct course to the mouth of Mineral Fork of Grand River; thence such a course as shall leave all the persons now settled in that settlement, usually known by the name of Richwood settlement, to the south of said course or line, and in the county of Washington; thence southwest to the western boundary of the Osage purchase; thence northwardly on said line to the river Missouri; thence down said river Missouri in the main channel of the same to the southwest corner of the county of St. Charles shall compose one county, and shall be called and known by the name of the county of St. Louis."

the honor passed from St. Louis to Ste. Genevieve, John Scott, of Ste. Genevieve, defeating Mr. Easton. Mr. Scott continued to represent the Territory until Missouri was admitted as a State. The returns, as footed up by Governor Clark, under the law, gave Scott 1816 and Easton 1801 votes, a majority of 15 for Scott in a total vote of 3617. He received the certificate of election, and took his seat in the Fourteenth Congress Dec. 2, 1816. His election was contested by Easton on the score of fraud. The case was referred to the Committee on Elections of the House, who reported that Easton was elected by 7 votes, they having thrown out as illegal 22 votes cast for Scott in a certain precinct. The House refused to concur in this, and adopted a resolution that the election was void and the seat vacant.

A special election took place to fill the vacancy on Aug. 4, 1817, at which Scott received 2406 and Easton 2014 votes; majority for Scott, 392; total vote, 4420; increase, 22½ per cent. This election was of great interest to the politicians and immediate friends of the rival candidates. Heretofore the elections had been uniformly conducted in a quiet and peaceable manner, but on this occasion, according to Mr. Charless, editor of the *Missouri Gazette*, it was quite the reverse. The election in St. Louis was held at Baird's large old frame house on South Third Street. "The United States then kept up a recruiting rendezvous in this place. On the day of the election the soldiers were marched several times around the place of election (a part of the town they seldom visited when recruiting) with music and tickets on their hats, hurrahing for Scott." Riotous altercations occurred about the polls, in which prominent individuals of the place participated.

The *Missouri Gazette* of Aug. 9, 1817, thus describes the scenes attending the election:

"The night preceding the election the soldiers and music of a recruiting party paraded the streets in the vicinity of the election ground, and early on Monday the soldiers, with labels or tickets on their caps on which was printed 'John Scott,' etc., were in possession of the ground, with two stands of United States colors, on which 'True Republican nomination, John Scott,' was printed or painted. A large shed covered with boat-sails was erected by some of the Governor's family and others near the door of the election, under which was spread tables covered with whiskey, etc., and at which presided the most thoughtless assemblage ever witnessed, armed with daggers, pistols, and clubs, insulting every person whom they believed would vote for Col. Easton, and inducing the inexperienced to drink ardent spirits until they would vote for their candidate. A great number of persons who intended to support Col. Easton were deterred from appearing at the election, preferring the relinquishment of their right of elective franchise than to risk the dagger, pistol, or club.

"Fighting, stabbing, and cudgeling occurred. The street near the court-house door and whiskey-tables were so crowded by the mob that a person, in pushing through the crowd, was in danger of being assassinated without knowing who did it. Governor Clark himself, as if willing to excite the flame, exclaimed in a loud voice (although we vote by ballot) that he voted for John Scott for Congress.

"The timid and uninformed male population were brought in like sheep to the slaughter, under convoy, many under the influence of fear, and more ignorant of the consequences of a vote.

"A lieutenant of the regular army having attacked a mechanic of this place, a nephew of Governor Clark stabbed him with a dagger, and afterwards begged his pardon, saying 'he had mistaken him for one of Easton's friends.'

"We believe that in despotic England the laws ordain that the military shall retire three miles from any election. How different the practice here!

"Since the election attacks and clubbing has been the order of the day, aggression always coming from the above-mentioned persons.

"A few days ago one of Governor Clark's nephews assailed a citizen of this place, who would have sent him 'to that bourne from whence no traveler returns' had not his pistol, aimed at his breast, flashed.

"We have seen, we have heard of many outrages at elections, but we never expected to live to see the flag of the United States prostituted to electioneering purposes, and their officers and soldiers subserving the same ends.

"We have not been able to procure correct election returns. Owing to the causes above assigned, Mr. Scott got in this township two hundred and fifty-eight and Mr. Easton ninety-one votes."

A writer in the *Gazette* of the same issue thus narrates his experiences on this eventful day:

"Without attempting to describe the scenes of Monday last I shall briefly relate some transactions in which I was immediately concerned, leaving for more able pens a description of the extraordinary proceedings of that day. I was absent from town on Monday, the day of election, until two o'clock. When I returned, I was advised not to go to the election ground, as it was probable I should be insulted. I answered that as an independent voter I would run all risks in the exercise of my rights and accordingly proceeded to the place where the election was held. There was a considerable concourse of people collected at the door of the house, the United States flag was flying, on which was inscribed the words 'true republican nomination, John Scott for Congress,' near which was one or more tables with whiskey, porter, etc. In the crowd I saw several military officers. I made my way into the house, gave in my ticket and was standing conversing with a gentleman, when some person gave me a considerable jostle as he passed, whom I afterwards recognized to be Capt. John O'Fallon, of the United States army, nephew to the Governor of the Territory. He asked me if I took it as an insult; I answered him, 'No, sir; I assure you I did not.' He then said, 'Sir, I intended it as an insult.' My first impulse was to shoot him on the spot; a little reflection convinced me the provocation was not sufficient to justify my taking the life of a fellow-being, and although I was much agitated at being insulted by a man I scarcely knew I calmly replied that I should notice his conduct in another way, and after some moments I resumed my conversation with the gentleman and we walked out together. I am here under the necessity of noticing the conduct of another officer of the army. At the moment of my receiving the insult this officer sprang from his seat and placed himself at my right side. What his intentions were I know not. I am charitable enough to

presume they were pure. After witnessing scenes I never expected to see realized in this republic, the elective franchise completely destroyed, and the public voice controlled and overawed by a combination of executive and military influence, aided by the potent god whiskey, I retired with a friend, who exclaimed as we walked on, 'Good God! are these the blessings of a republic? Is the majesty of the law to be thus trampled on by those appointed to guard them? Are these the advantages we are to derive from the seat of government, the capital of Missouri? If so, may those who want it take it with all its appendages, and all good and peaceful citizens will say amen.

"To return to myself, on the morning after the election I received from Ben O'Fallon (another of the Governor's nephews) a note demanding a personal interview, which I requested his friend to tell him I should decline granting.

"On Wednesday morning I was standing in the street near my door, conversing with a friend, when Capt. John O'Fallon came up and demanded why I had not noticed him as promised; I answered that I intended to take legal notice of him, but should decline it. He immediately said, 'Then I pronounce you a liar and a coward.' I stepped back one step and told him he was a liar. The captain had in his hand a large stick, apparently cut for the purpose of aiding him in the character he performed on the Monday before, with which he struck at me, perhaps hit me. I had my big coat thrown over and buttoned across my shoulders, from which I could not conveniently extricate myself. I, however, succeeded in getting my pistol presented within a few inches of his breast, but, fortunately for him, it flashed, and saved me the after-reflection of having sent, unprepared, a human being to another world.

"The captain was so much occupied in endeavoring to strike my pistol from my hand and avoiding its contents that I escaped unhurt."

In fact, the incidents of the election recall some of the most turbulent demonstrations on similar occasions in the recent history of American politics, and the sensitiveness displayed by Mr. Charless at the presence of troops at the polls finds a parallel in the indignant protests frequently recorded against similar acts which are doubtless still fresh in the memories of our readers.

The agitation for the admission of Missouri as a State began in 1817,[1] but it was not until the session of Congress in 1819–20 that the question of admission became complicated with that of slavery. At the previous session a bill had been introduced for the admission of the State, and Mr. Tallmadge, of New York, moved an amendment prohibiting the further introduction of slavery within the Territory, and requiring that all children born therein after its admission should be free at the age of twenty-five years. The amendment was adopted by the House of Representatives by a vote of seventy-three to sixty-seven, and being disagreed to in the Senate, the bill was lost at that session. Upon the receipt of information in St. Louis as to the action of the House, public opinion was greatly agitated. "It has been reserved for the House of Representatives of the present Congress," said the *Missouri Gazette* of April 7, 1819, "to commit the most gross and barefaced usurpation that has yet been committed. They have ingrafted on the bill for our admission into the Union a provision that 'the State Constitution shall prohibit the further introduction of slavery; and that all children born of slaves shall be free at the age of five and twenty years.' Bear in mind, fellow-citizens, that the question now before you is not whether slavery shall be permitted or prohibited in the future State of Missouri, but whether we will meanly abandon our rights and suffer any earthly power to dictate the terms of our Constitution."

At the April term of the grand jury of the Circuit Court for the Northern Circuit of Missouri the following presentment was made:

"At a Circuit Court for the Northern Circuit of the Territory of Missouri, begun and held at the town of St. Louis, within and for the county of St. Louis, before the Hon. Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, judge of said circuit, the grand inquest for the body of the county of St. Louis return here into court the following presentment, which is ordered by the court to be spread upon the record in the following words, to wit:

"At a Circuit Court begun and held for the county of St. Louis, in the town of St. Louis and Territory of Missouri, on Monday, the 5th of April, 1819, we, the grand jury from the body of the county aforesaid, beg leave to present to the honorable court that they conceive it not only their privilege, but their solemn duty to present all grievances whatever of a public nature; that among these the greatest which they have ever witnessed, and which, through a sense of duty to themselves and the good people generally of this Territory, they are now constrained, however painfully and reluctantly, to animadvert upon, do present that the late attempt by the Congress of the United States to restrict us in the free exercise of rights in the formation of a Constitution and form of State government for ourselves is an unconstitutional and unwarrantable usurpation of power over our inalienable rights and privileges as a free people; that these privileges do not now depend upon the will of Congress, or any other power or body politic whatever, since our emancipation from British tyranny and oppression, but were virtually and essentially secured to us by the original Declaration of American Independence, as set forth in our Bill of Rights, and secured to us by the Constitution of the United States; that it is a restriction and assumption of power never before attempted or assumed, as it regards any of the other States or Territories, and, moreover, is a violation of the third article of the treaty of cession between the United States and France, which guarantees that we shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of our liberties and property, and that we shall be admitted into the Union upon the same terms, and with all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the other States. Although we deprecate anything like an idea of disunion, which next to our personal liberty and security of property is our dearest right and privilege, and cannot entertain for a moment the most distant probability of such an event, yet we feel it our duty to take a manly and dignified stand for our rights and privileges, as far as is warranted by the Constitution

[1] "We have seen in the last *Emigrant* the copy of a petition stated to be 'The Memorial of the Citizens of Missouri Territory,' praying to be admitted into the Union of States within certain limits."—*Missouri Gazette*, Oct. 11, 1817.

of the United States and the act of cession, and from which we will not depart, and request that the clerk of the court may be directed to hand this to the printers in this town for publication.

"John McKnight, *foreman*.	A. Hamilton.
John R. Guy.	John S. Ball.
Wm. Martin.	James Mackay.
Nicholas Long.	John Brown.
M. James.	Wm. L. Long.
E. Beebe.	Joseph Walton.
T. Sappington.	Eli Musick.
James McKnight.	Louis Yosti.
George Sip.	James Richardson.

"Attest, ARCHIBALD GAMBLE, *Clk.*"

During the same month (April, 1819) the grand jury of the Superior Court made the following presentment:

"The grand jurors of the Superior Court for the Territory of Missouri, sitting at St. Louis, for the northern circuit, April term, 1819, avail themselves of their assemblage to express their sentiments on the late attempt in the Congress of the United States to dictate an article in the Constitution of the future State of Missouri.

"They would view such an attempt as fraught with danger to the State sovereignties if carried into effect in the most inconsiderable article, but in the one proposed, the prohibition of the further introduction and continuance of slavery in the future State of Missouri, they believe that all the slaveholding States are vitally menaced and threatened with eventual destruction, as the transition is easy and direct from prescribing a Constitution in a new State to that of altering it (for the same cause) in an old one; and if it is conceded to be anti-republican to hold slaves, it will then become the duty of Congress, as the guarantee of Republican Constitutions to all the States, to make war upon those whose Constitutions admit of that doctrine.

"They further view the attempt in the House of Representatives as a direct violation of the treaty of cession, and so unfriendly to the slaves themselves, by confining them to the planting regions of the South, instead of letting them spread to the agricultural countries of the North, that they are at a loss to conceive how such an attempt could have been advocated by seventy-eight men in Congress, without believing that the interested motives and political views of some designing characters had taken advantage of the honest intentions of many who oppose slavery on principle to array them in favor of a measure nominally an abridgment of slavery, but in fact an aggravation of all its hardships.

"They believe that the Territory of Missouri had a right to be admitted at the last session of Congress, to form a Constitution on an equal footing with the original States, and that an adherence to their votes by seventy-eight members in the House of Representatives, by which the Missouri State bill was lost, was a gross violation of this right, and they believe it the duty of the people of Missouri to make it known in the most public manner that they are acquainted with their own rights and are determined to maintain them, for the better manifestation of which in this country they would recommend a public meeting of the citizens at the court-house in St. Louis on Saturday, the 15th day of May next, at four o'clock in the evening; and request this court will direct the publication of this presentment in the newspapers printed in this town.

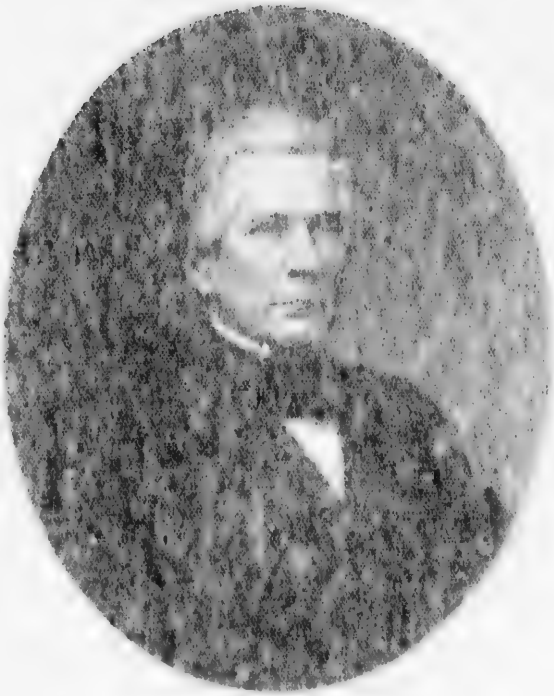
"In behalf of the grand jury,

"CH. W. HUNTER, *Foreman.*

"ST. LOUIS, April 30, 1819."

A memorial from the people of that part of Massachusetts which now forms the State of Maine, praying admission into the Union, was presented in Congress Dec. 7, 1819, and the advocates of the unrestricted admission of Missouri immediately seized upon it as a means of effecting their object. The debate and excitement incident to this, the first great struggle between slavery and anti-slavery, are too well known to require description in this work. They terminated in the famous "Missouri Compromise," and the State was admitted without restriction of any kind, the act of Congress being approved on the 6th of March, 1820. The advocates of unrestricted admission based their demands not on the constitutionality of slavery, but upon the inherent right of the people to be absolutely free from all restraint from any source in framing a State Constitution. They claimed that under both the Constitution and the treaty ceding Louisiana to the United States they enjoyed this right, and that Congress could not impair it by imposing conditions. The treaty provided that the inhabitants of Louisiana were to be "incorporated into the Union, and to be admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States," and it was argued that Congress could not in good faith abridge this provision or impair it by imposing any condition whatever upon the people of the State; that the local policy of a State was beyond the constitutional province of the Federal government; that the Constitution declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people;" that the right to hold slaves was one of these rights, and the guaranty applied to new States as well as to old States; that Congress might refuse to admit the State, but could not impose a condition upon the Constitution of the State. The "Compromise" postponed the final conflict between slavery and anti-slavery for more than half a century, but was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, which decision in the Dred Scott case, confirmed the position taken by Missouri and her friends.

The news of the action of Congress admitting Missouri was received with great rejoicing in St. Louis. "The town," we are informed by a local chronicler, "was generally and splendidly illuminated ... transparencies were displayed, among others a very handsome one displaying the American eagle with mounting the Irish harp, and another representing slave in great spirits, rejoicing at the permis-





Wm G. Pettus

granted by Congress to bring slaves into so fine a country as Missouri."

At a meeting in April, 1820, of "about one hundred citizens of the town of St. Louis, who wish to prevent, as early as possible, the further introduction of slaves into the new State of Missouri," at which Joseph Charless presided, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"1st. *Resolved*, That this meeting is decidedly opposed to any interference with the slaves now in the Territory. Justice and expediency demand that they should be left in their present condition.

"2d. *Resolved*, That the further introduction of slaves should be stopped as early as possible, and that we recommend to the members when elected to the convention from this county to use their most zealous efforts to effect so desirable an object.

"3d. *Resolved*, That any attempt to restrict the right of suffrage to freeholders and election by *viva voce*, thereby giving them undue weight in the community, and rendering the industrious poor man a slave, is aristocratical and subversive of our liberties, and shall always meet our decided disapprobation.

"4th. *Resolved*, That this meeting do request the candidates for a seat in the convention to declare their sentiments relative to the above resolutions, and that in our opinions none but such persons as do express their opinions ought to be supported."

Missouri adopted her State Constitution on the 19th of July, 1820. The convention which framed it assembled in the Mansion House, afterwards known as the City Hotel, at the corner of Third and Vine Streets, St. Louis, on the 12th of June, 1820, and was composed of the following delegates from the fifteen counties into which the State was then divided:

Cape Girardeau.—Stephen Byrd, James Evans, Richard S. Thomas, Alexander Buckner, Joseph McFerron.

Cooper.—Robert P. Clark, Robert Wallace, William Lillard.

Franklin.—John G. Heath, Nicholas S. Burckhartt, Duff Green, John Ray, Jonathan S. Findlay.

Howard.—Benjamin H. Reeves.

Jefferson.—Samuel Hammond.

Lincoln.—Malcolm Henry.

Montgomery.—Jonathan Ramsey, James Talbott.

Madison.—Nathaniel Cook.

New Madrid.—Robert D. Dawson, Christopher G. Houts.

Pike.—Stephen Cleaver.

St. Charles.—Benjamin Emmons, Nathan Boone, Hiram H. Baber.

Ste. Genevieve.—John D. Cook, Henry Dodge, John Scott, R. T. Brown.

St. Louis.—David Barton, Edward Bates, Alex. McNair, William Rector, John C. Sullivan, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Bernard Pratte, Thomas F. Riddick.

Washington.—John Rice Jones, Samuel Perry, John Hutchings.

Wayne.—Elijah Bettis.

The following was the return of votes for members of the convention, as made to the Executive office from eleven of the counties:

	Votes.		Votes.
New Madrid	314	Pike	492
Cape Girardeau	837	Cooper	797
Washington	453	Howard	1735
Jefferson	265	Franklin	.....
St. Charles	628		
Montgomery	359	Total	6128
Lincoln	248		

David Barton, of St. Louis, was elected presiding officer, and William G. Pettus secretary.[1]

William Grymes Pettus was one of the most prominent among the early citizens of St. Louis, and, as indicated by the fact that he was chosen secretary of its first Constitutional Convention, one of the leading men in the then infant State of Missouri. He was born in Mecklenburg County, Va., on the 31st of December, 1794, and was the second son of William Pettus and Elizabeth Poindexter. His parents were born in the same county in 1764, and were married in 1789. At the age of eighteen Mr. Pettus served as a volunteer in the war of 1812, and soon after was appointed deputy clerk of Lunenburg County, Va. In 1818 he removed to St. Louis, in company with Gen. Walter Taylor, United States senator from Indiana, taking with him a letter of introduction to Governor William Clark. The long journey was made on horseback, and Ashland, the home of Henry Clay, being on the route, Mr. Pettus spent several days with that distinguished statesman. On his arrival in St. Louis, Mr. Pettus became at once identified with public affairs. In June, 1818, he entered the Missouri land-office at St. Louis, as assistant under Alexander McNair, register, and continued to serve in that position until McNair was chosen first Governor of Missouri in 1820, when he was appointed private secretary to the Governor. In June, 1820, as we have seen, the convention to frame a Constitution for the new State of Missouri met, and Mr. Pettus was chosen secretary over three other competitors, viz., Thompson Douglas, Archibald Gamble, and J. V. Garnier. The vote on first ballot stood: Douglas, three; Gamble, twelve; Garnier, two; and Pettus, twenty-one. At the close of the convention a complimentary resolution, introduced by Mr. Jones, was adopted unanimously, thanking their secretary for the faithful and correct manner in which he had performed the duties of his office.

Compliments of this character were seldom bestowed by legislative bodies at that day, except for meritorious services actually rendered. When the Constitution was finally adopted by the convention it was necessary that it should be engrossed on parch-

[1] The expenses of Mr. Pettus, for stationery, inks, paper, books, etc., amounted to twenty-six dollars and twenty-five cents.

ment, on which it was very difficult to write. Mr. Pettus completed the whole instrument in a single night, and in the morning delivered it to Mr. Findlay, chairman of the committee. When the convention reassembled, Mr. Findlay presented the Constitution to the convention, saying,—

"It has been enrolled on parchment by your secretary, and permit me, Mr. President, to add that my business has been for many years to read proof-sheets, having been a newspaper editor, and I am free to say that I never saw such a paper as this. There is not an interlineation; there is not one word misspelled, there is not a 't' uncrossed nor an 'i' undotted in the whole instrument, and as such, as chairman of the committee, I present it to the convention for signatures."

In 1821, Mr. Pettus held the office of clerk of the Supreme Court and Court of Chancery, from which, in June of that year, he was appointed Secretary of State, which office he retained during the administration of Governor McNair. In 1824 he was elected secretary of the State Senate, during Governor Frederick Bates' administration, and subsequently was appointed by Governor Bates judge of the Probate Court of St. Charles County, which office he retained until September, 1826. On the 31st of December of this year he married Caroline R., daughter of Maj. James Morrison, of St. Charles, and entered into business at St. Charles, where he remained for several years. During his residence at St. Charles he was elected to the State Senate, and served during the session of 1832–33. From 1834 to 1842 he was engaged in mercantile and banking business in St. Louis. Later he was appointed secretary of the St. Louis Floating Dock Insurance Company, and continued to act in that capacity until 1855, when he accepted the position of secretary of the United States Insurance Company, which place he filled until 1862, when ill health compelled him to resign. He died on the 25th of December, 1867, leaving a widow, four daughters, and two sons.



GOVERNOR McNAIR'S MANSION.

In all the relations of life Mr. Pettus was distinguished by an unwavering integrity, great industry, and a warm and generous benevolence. His solid worth of character was held in the highest esteem by the people of St. Louis, and throughout his career he enjoyed the fullest confidence and respect of the business community. That he was a man of unusual capacity and superior education is demonstrated by the fact that while still very young, and a comparative stranger in the country, he was chosen secretary of the first Constitutional Convention, and afterwards occupied a number of prominent positions requiring great intelligence, reinforced by thorough and comprehensive knowledge of public affairs and an intimate acquaintance with men. As a man of probity and culture, he was always sought and esteemed, and his influence was exerted only for good and worthy objects. There are, in fact, few names among those of the early business men of St. Louis which carry with them as marked a suggestiveness of high and honorable principles consistently applied throughout a long and active life as does that of William G. Pettus.

When the Missouri Constitutional Convention assembled on June 12, 1820, each member took an oath, administered by Judge Silas Bent, to support the Constitution and to faithfully perform the duties of his office. Samuel Hammond, of Jefferson County, and Thomas F. Riddick, of St. Louis, were chosen respectively president and secretary *pro tem.*, and Messrs. Thomas, Emmons, Jones, Cook, of Madison, and Riddick were appointed a committee to draft and report rules and regulations for the order and government of the convention. The ballot for

permanent president resulted as follows: David Barton, 28; John Rice Jones, 3; Richard S. Thomas, 6; Samuel Hammond, 1. The doorkeeper was George W. Ferguson. The Constitution was framed and ratified in due time, and a limited number of copies printed in pamphlet form by Jonathan Smith Findlay, of Franklin, Mo. On the 26th of June, 1821, the General Assembly of Missouri formally complied with the provisions of the act of Congress of March 2d of that year, providing for the admission of Missouri as a State, and on the 10th of August the following proclamation was issued:

"Now, therefore, I, James Monroe, President of the United States, in pursuance of the resolution of Congress aforesaid, have issued this my proclamation, announcing the fact that the said State of Missouri has consented to the fundamental conditions required by the resolution of Congress aforesaid, whereupon the admission of the said State of Missouri into this Union is declared to be complete."

Prior to the formal admission of Missouri, however (on the 28th of August, 1820), an election was held for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, representative for the remainder of the Sixteenth Congress and one for the Seventeenth Congress, members of the Legislature, and sheriffs and coroners. The candidates for Governor were William Clark, then Governor of the Territory, and Alexander McNair; and for Lieutenant-Governor, William H. Ashley, Nathaniel Cook, and Henry Elliott. The vote resulted as follows: For Governor, McNair, 6576; Clark, 2556; McNair's majority, 4020. Lieutenant-Governor, Ashley, 3907; Cook, 3212; Elliott, 931; Ashley's majority over Cook, 695.



GOVERNOR ALEXANDER McNAIR.

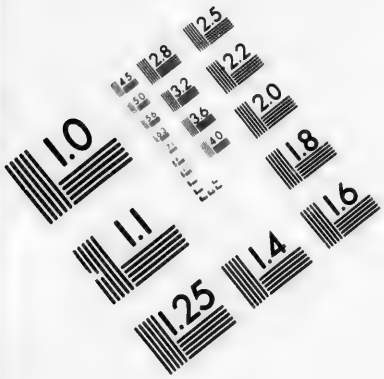
Alexander McNair, a native of Pennsylvania, was appointed lieutenant of infantry in 1799, but his regiment having been disbanded in the following year, he removed to Missouri, and in 1812 was appointed adjutant and inspector-general of the territorial forces. In 1813 he was made colonel of a regiment of Missouri militia in the service of the United States, and subsequently held an important office in the Indian Department. As we have seen, he was elected first Governor of Missouri in 1820, and died in May, 1826.

At the same election John Scott, who was already Territorial delegate, was elected representative to both the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Congresses. The General Assembly chosen at this election met at the old Missouri Hotel, situated on the southwest corner of Main and Morgan Streets, St. Louis, on the 19th of September, 1820, and organized by the election of James Caldwell, of Ste. Genevieve, Speaker, and John McArthur, clerk of the House. Lieutenant-Governor Ashley was the presiding officer in the Senate, but Silas Bent, of St. Louis, was chosen president *pro tem.*

Governor McNair made the following appointments, which were confirmed by the Senate: Secretary of State, Joshua Barton; State Treasurer, Peter Didier; Attorney-General, Edward Bates; Auditor of Public Accounts, William Christy,—all of whom were citizens of St. Louis. At this session of the Legislature, David Barton and Thomas H. Benton were chosen United States senators, but were not admitted until December, 1821, owing to the fact that the bill for the admission of Missouri as a State did not pass Congress until March 2d of that year, after a protracted and exciting debate. Mr. Barton was elected without much opposition; but Mr. Benton was bitterly antagonized by Judge John B. C. Lucas, Henry Elliott, John R. Jones, and Nathaniel Cook, all of whom were candidates for the place. Mr. Barton gave his support to Benton, and it was finally discovered that the latter could be elected with the aid of one more vote. Marie Philip Le Duc, a member of St. Louis County, who had previously opposed Benton, was finally induced to transfer his vote to him; but when this was accomplished one vote was still lacking, owing to the serious illness of John Ralls, one of the Benton members. Mr. Ralls, however, was brought down stairs in bed and voted for Benton, thus securing his election, but died soon after. In honor of his memory the Legislature named a new county, organized at that session, after him, Ralls County.[1]

Prior to the President's proclamation of Aug. 10, 1821, the Presidential election of 1820 had been held, and an act had been passed authorizing the General Assembly to select three persons as electors to vote for President and Vice-President. The electors chosen

1 "Personal Recollections," by John F. Darby, pp. 30, 31, 32, 33.



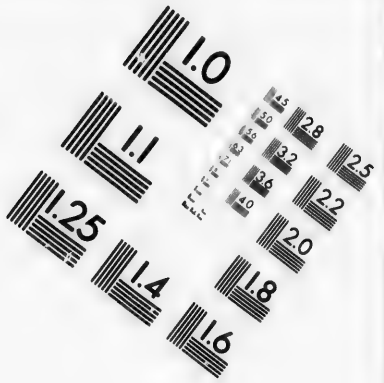
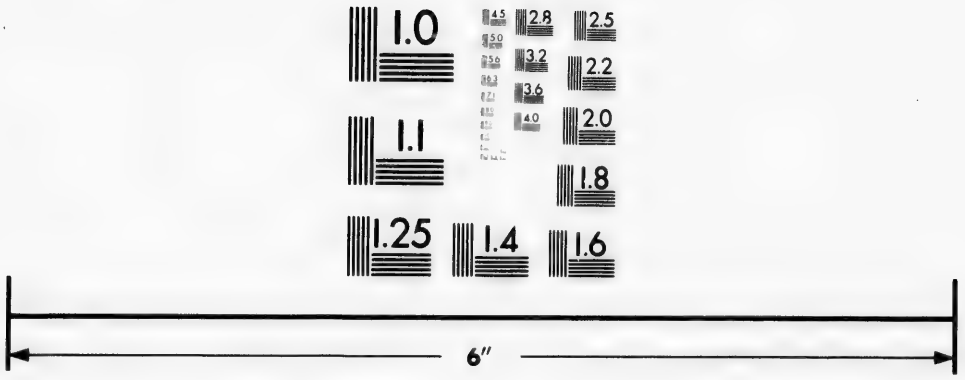
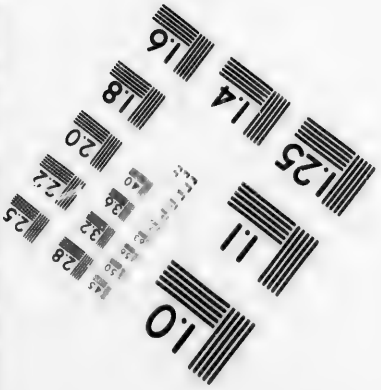
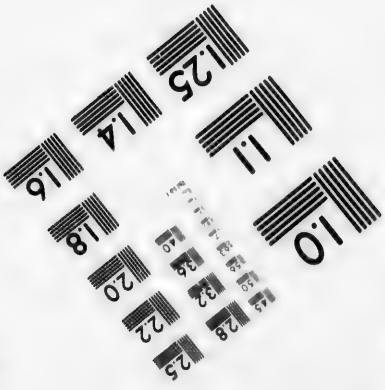


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were John S. Brickey, John Shannon, and William Christy. Objections were made to including Missouri in the count of electors for President and Vice-President, because the State had not been formally recognized as admitted, and the vote was not counted.

In 1822 an act was passed dividing the State into three districts for the election of Presidential electors in each district.

The First District included the counties of Clay, Ray, Chariton, Howard, Boone, Callaway, Cole, Saline, Cooper, and Lillard (Lafayette).

The Second, Ralls, Pike, Lincoln, Montgomery, St. Charles, St. Louis, Franklin, and Gasconade.

The Third, Ste. Genevieve, Jefferson, Perry, Cape Girardeau, Scott, New Madrid, Wayne, Madison, St. Francis, and Washington.

In 1824, David Todd was nominated and elected Presidential elector in and for the First District; David Musick in the Second, and J. Logan in the Third. Todd received 1111 votes, and his opponent, John Bull, 610; Musick received 604, William Smith 239, and Ruluff Peck 159; Logan received 327 votes, to 317 cast for David Armour, and 32 cast for R. J. Dawson.

At this election the candidates for President of the United States were Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Andrew Jackson.

In St. Louis the candidates were David Musick as the Clay elector, Ruluff Peck the Adams elector, and William Smith the Jackson elector. Henry Von Phul, Hubert Guion, and Thomas F. Riddick were judges of the election, and John J. Douberman and L. A. Benoist, clerks. Thompson Douglass was the justice of the peace who administered the oath of office to the clerks and judges and prefixed his verification of that act to the poll-book. The names of two hundred and ninety-five voters were recorded. Among those voting were the following:

For the Clay elector, George F. Strother, a lawyer of note, and afterwards a representative in Congress; John Simonds; Luke E. Lawless, afterwards judge of the Circuit Court; Henry S. Geyer, afterwards United States Senator; Henry Von Phul; L. A. Benoist; Spencer Pettis, killed in 1831 in a duel; Elias Rector, once surveyor-general of Illinois and Missouri; Peter Lindell; B. G. Farrar; Col. Thomas H. Benton; William Christy; William C. Carr, judge of the old Court of Common Pleas; James Wilgus, brother of the late Asa Wilgus; Elkanah English; Francis Duchouquette; Charles S. Hempstead; Gabriel Paul; Matthew Kerr, father-in-law of Hon. Samuel Knox, of Massachusetts; Thornton Grimsley; David B. Hill; Samuel Willi; Antoine Chenie; Robert Wash, once judge of the Supreme Court; Alexander McNair, Territorial Governor of Missouri; Phineas Block, John B. Sarpy, J. B. Belcour, Francis Tesson, Charles Keemle, Pascal Cerré, William K. Rule, James G. Soulard, and Auguste Brazeau.

For the Adams elector, John Simkins, Jr., Archibald Gamble, postmaster under President Fillmore; Edward Charless, once co-proprietor of the *Missouri Republican;* Josiah Spaulding, a prominent member of the bar; Sullivan Blood; Hamilton Gamble, afterwards judge of the Supreme Court and Governor of Missouri; Edward Bates, afterwards the distinguished jurist; Alfred Skinner; Joseph Charless, Jr., murdered while president of the Mechanics' Bank; Edward Tracy, afterwards city auditor; Col. J. B. Brant; Beriah Cleland, remembered as "the bard of the West;" Jesse G. Lindell, John D. Daggett, Benjamin Wilder, Daniel Hough, J. H. Gay, Frederick L. Billon, Daniel D. Page, John O'Fallon, William Risley, and George K. McGunnegle.

For the Jackson elector, Andrew Elliott, C. B. Penrose, Jr., afterwards a prominent politician of Philadelphia and office-holder at Washington, Silas Bent, N. B. Atwood, Joseph C. Laveille, Augustus Kerr, and David Sheppard.

The vote summed up: For Clay, 125; Adams, 99; and Jackson, 71.[1]

[1] Of the two hundred and ninety-five who voted only twenty-nine were known to be living in 1866, as follows: Andrew Elliott, Sullivan Blood, A. Skinner, L. A. Benoist, Ralph Clayton, Elkanah English, D. B. Hill, F. L. Billon, D. D. Page, Phineas Block, James G. Soulard, G. K. McGunnegle, Daniel Hough, James C. Sutton, Archibald Gamble, Edward Bates, Henry Von Phul, Frederick Dent, John D. Daggett, John H. Gay, S. Willi, Ben Ames, Emanuel Block, William K. Rule, David Sheppard, Bernard Pratte, Charles S. Hempstead, John B. Belcour, David Deshler.

Mr. Frederick L. Billon relates the following interesting reminiscences of the Presidential election of 1824:

"When the first Presidential election in Missouri took place, Nov. 1, 1824, we had but three votes in the electoral college, for our two senators and one representative in Congress, and for that purpose were divided into three electoral districts, and a somewhat singular circumstance connected with that first election is the fact that each one of the three candidates for that office for whom an elector presented himself in our own State—Clay, Adams, and Jackson—carried a district, showing a nearly equal diversity of opinion in our State as to the three candidates named. For the fourth name then before the people—that of William H. Crawford, of Georgia, one of the most popular men of the day in Congress, and with those who knew him personally, as is evinced by his receiving the largest vote in the congressional caucus—no polls were opened in our State, no one having presented himself as his elector.

"We had but three municipal townships in our St. Louis County at that period,—St. Louis, extending south to the mouth of the Maramec; St. Ferdinand's, along on the Mis-





Peter Lindelöf

Among those who were prominently identified with the commercial and political history of St. Louis at this time was Peter Lindell. He was a warm personal and political friend of Henry Clay, and took an active interest in his canvass. He was descended from an English gentleman who settled in Worcester County, Md., early in the last century, on a tract of land granted by the lord proprietary. Upon his death the first settler bequeathed this property to his son John, who managed the estate successfully, and was regarded as one of the most skillful farmers of that region. John Lindell had a large family, the eldest son being Peter, afterwards a resident of St. Louis, who was born March 26, 1776.

Until he attained his majority Peter Lindell worked on the farm and attended the schools of the neighborhood, but owing to the unsettled state of affairs resulting from the Revolutionary war, the colonists were able to pay little attention to educational matters. Whatever may have been the deficiencies of his early education, however, he more than supplied them in later life, as opportunity enabled him to indulge his taste for reading. He possessed a fine library, and was very well read in most matters of general interest.

At the age of twenty-one he went into business on his own account, and for some years conducted a store in the neighborhood with considerable success. Then, with his brothers Robert and John, he was seized with the prevalent fever to go West, and the three started out, reaching St. Louis in December, 1811. It seemed a promising place, and as they had no particular point in view they concluded to settle here, and established a general mercantile concern on Main Street, with a larger stock of goods than had ever been opened in the town before, and very soon were doing an extensive business. Peter Lindell was the resident partner, and his brothers represented the house abroad. This was before the days of steamboating, when goods had to be transported by wagon from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and thence by flatboat down the Ohio. The Lindells transacted business on such a scale that they found it to their interest to own their boats, and when steam navigation came into use they also owned and managed their

souri; and Bonhomme, embracing the back portion of the county,—with but one voting precinct in each township,—the city of St. Louis and the villages of Florissant and Manchester. St. Louis had just then reached the dignity of a city, having been incorporated as such the year preceding. We had had elections here for some twenty years, of various degrees, progressing onward from town and Territorial to city, county, and State, and generally they had excited but little interest with the people: but an election for a President of these United States was an entirely new sensation, which the voters of St. Louis had not as yet experienced, and occasioned considerable interest in the people at large, and no little excitement with the politicians, of whom we had our full share even at that day.

"I well remember on one occasion a general assemblage of the voters at large, called to take some action and express their views upon the momentous subject. The meeting was held on Friday, May 7, 1824, in the old Baptist Church at the southwest corner of Market and Third Streets (an unfinished and unplastered room of forty by sixty, abandoned by the Baptists, and then used for all purposes). Our then newly-made worthy mayor, the late Dr. W. Carr Lane, was called to preside temporarily, and took his position on a small temporary platform at the west end of the room that had originally served as a stand for the preacher, and Amos I. Bruce was named as secretary. There might have been present some one hundred and twenty or thirty persons, of all shades of opinions in regard to the different candidates. After a time quite a tumult arose in the meeting from various propositions offered, nearly all in the same breath, each aiming at the adoption of his particular views.

"The difficulty in the way was not so much diversity of opinion in political sentiment as it was to reconcile the personal preferences of those at the meeting in respect to their particular candidates. Finally, after considerable noise and confusion, which the presiding officer was unable to suppress, some one, in a loud voice above the tumult, proposed that we should divide, the friends of each retiring into one of the four corners, and the strongest party keep the house. Upon which proposition one of our prominent residents, a man of muscular frame, not very long since deceased, said 'this suited him exactly,' and prepared at once for the conflict by divesting himself of his coat and rolling up his sleeves, to the infinite amusement of the meeting. After several ineffectual attempts to 'count noses,' the Jacksonites present being, if not the most numerous, at all events the most noisy and vociferous, were allowed to retain the room, much the largest portion of the others having retired during the tumult, a few only remaining as spectators in the back room.

"This party then proceeded to reorganize their meeting with the same officers, some thirty or so participating in the proceedings, and adopted resolutions expressive of their choice of Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun for the positions of President and Vice-President. This meeting was mainly composed of politicians, prominent among whom were Duff Green, who in after-years contributed so largely to the first election of Andrew Jackson by the establishment of his paper at Washington City, and Patrick H. Ford, both newspaper editors, Dr. Simpson, John Shade, J. C. Laveille, Rocheblave, Elliott, Kerr, and others whose names do not recur to me.

"This meeting took place in the early part of May, fully six months before the day of election, giving, one would suppose, ample time for the anxious politicians and those personally interested in the matter to marshal their forces and prepare for the contest. Yet when the day of election finally arrived the total number of votes cast at St. Louis precinct was but 295, of which Clay received 125, Adams 99, and Jackson 71, exhibiting a very meagre vote in a population of about 6000 souls and a voting population of not less than 700, for St. Louis precinct included at that day all of what is now Carondelet township and a large portion of Central; and of these 295 voters, but 37 were of the original native French stock, evincing the little interest taken by that portion of our population in political matters."

own craft, and established the first packet-line to Pittsburgh. From the extent and variety of their operations the name of the Lindells became famous throughout the entire West.

After some years Robert Lindell married, and, having become wealthy withdrew from the firm and removed to Pittsburgh. Peter then sent for Jesse, a younger brother, whose father had died, and, taking him under his charge, sent him back to Philadelphia to complete his education, and then admitted him to the firm. Eventually Peter, in whom family affection was strong, collected the whole family in St. Louis.

Long before this Peter Lindell was recognized as one of the most substantial, safe, and enterprising business men of the place. He had built up a splendid fortune on strong common sense, integrity, industry, energy, and temperate business habits. Upon his settling in St. Louis the place was but little better than a town of log cabins, and Lindell, soon after his arrival, created general astonishment by building three brick houses, which were long the wonder of the place.

In that early period, when steamboats were unknown, and when the merchant went East to buy goods, he had to perform a long and fatiguing journey of one thousand miles, either on horseback or by the slow and tedious keel-boat. Lindell had his share of such experiences, which were not, indeed, unfraught with danger. He was then in the prime of a splendid manhood, and his strength and courage were often put to the test in the wild regions through which he was obliged to journey.

He continued as a merchant until 1824, and then turned his attention to the purchase and improvement of property in St. Louis. By buying land at a low figure and holding it for a rise in value as the city grew, the Lindell brothers became enormously rich. On one occasion Peter Lindell purchased for one dollar and seventeen cents an acre two hundred acres of land which is now in the very heart of St. Louis. Jesse died in 1858, leaving his widow two millions of dollars for life; and Peter's estate when he died (in 1861) was thought to be worth six millions of dollars, and was the largest that up to that time had ever been divided in St. Louis. It embraced about forty blocks in the very centre of the business portion of the city, and about twelve hundred acres (unimproved) in the suburbs (West St. Louis), now in the city, and a great part still unimproved.

By that magical power which some men possess, whatever he touched turned to money; and from his great wealth (phenomenal in an age when large accumulations of fortune were comparatively rare) he became almost as well known throughout the West as the great river that washed the city and once floated his boats.

He was, as might be inferred, a public-spirited man. He was one of the incorporators and directors of the old Missouri Insurance Company, and was also one of the directors of the Branch Bank of the United States in 1835. His name is perpetuated in the "Lindell Hotel," the greater part of the block on which it stands having been donated for that purpose by himself and Jesse Lindell. He was also the largest stockholder in the old "Lindell Hotel." In the improvement of his immense estate he built many houses, and dedicated many streets to the public, and was never (as so many land-owners have been) an obstacle to the progress of the city. "Lindell Avenue," the handsomest and most fashionable boulevard in West St. Louis, was named in loving tribute to his memory by his heirs, who, public-spirited like himself, presented it to the city.

In politics Mr. Lindell was an Old-Line Whig as long as the party existed, and then became a Democrat. He was a slaveholder, but was a thoughtful and kind master. He was brought up under Methodist influences, but never connected himself with the church, and never married. Mr. Lindell was a man of great natural warmth of heart, as was evinced by his treatment of less fortunate members of his family. In his business he was scrupulously exact in fulfilling his obligations to others, and insisted with rigor upon his dues from them, yet he was very considerate to the unfortunate but honest debtor, and did many an act of kindness to such of which the world never heard, and of which, also, the living witnesses are now few, for he survived nearly all those who were associated with him in the work of building up St. Louis. Of all his intimate companions only one is left, the honored Henry Shaw.

Born just before the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, he lived to see his country convulsed in the throes of civil war. Despite his great age, he was in harness to the last, personally supervising his large estate and adding to it. He died Oct. 26, 1861, full of honors, closing a long, well-spent life with pious resignation, and was regretted as one of the most unassuming as well as honored and respected citizens of his time. He was buried in his own family burying-ground in the centre of the large farm that had so long been the pride of his manhood and the consolation of his declining years.

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J. G. Lindell

long, singularly persistent, and successful business career abound in useful lessons for coming generations, and deserve long to be held in honorable remembrance.

Jesse G. Lindell, whose name is inseparably associated with that of Peter Lindell, his elder brother, was born on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Dec. 16, 1790. The circumstances under which he was reared may be inferred from the above sketch of Peter Lindell, and, owing to the brotherly generosity and oversight of Peter, he enjoyed the advantages of an ex[illegible] education and received a good start in business life. At Peter's solicitation he removed to St. Louis, and for several years was associated with him in the dry-goods business on Main Street. He brought the energy of youth to the enterprise, and contributed his full share to the great prosperity which attended the wide-spread undertakings of the Lindell brothers. In 1825 he abandoned the mercantile business and engaged in operations in real estate, of which he made large purchases. He was a firm believer in the future of St. Louis, and had the satisfaction of seeing his judgment vindicated by the marvelous rise in values from 1825 to 1850 and later. While he was noted as a shrewd and careful manager, and by his foresight accumulated a large estate, he thought less of making large acquisitions than did his brother Peter, and often, when rallied upon letting a desirable opportunity to make money escape him, would reply that he had real estate enough.

Like Peter Lindell, he was connected with nearly all the important enterprises of the day. His public contributions were numerous and liberal, among the best remembered being the gift by himself and his brother of a large portion of the block on which the Lindell Hotel stands. Besides this princely donation, he subscribed many thousand dollars to the old hotel. He was a director in the old Missouri Bank, the Missouri Pacific Railroad, and many other of the great historic enterprises of his generation; and the recollections of his active and useful citizenship are fresh and vivid, although a quarter of a century has elapsed since he passed away.

On the 14th of December, 1825, Mr. Lindell married Mrs. Jemima Smith, widow of Oliver Smith. This union was childless. Mrs. Lindell is still living, and is fond of relating the interesting experiences of her early life in St. Louis. She is a native of Kentucky, and came with her parents to the city when but six years old. Her family was the [illegible]rth English-speaking one that settled in St. Louis.

Jesse Lindell was of a retired nature, with strongly-marked domestic tastes, and spent the greater portion of his time during the latter years of his life in the rational enjoyments of home, where his warm and genial disposition manifested itself without restraint. His doors were always open to the homeless, and many were the young people whom he thus befriended in the absence of children of his own. He died on the 2d of February, 1858, in the Episcopal faith, of which church he was a communicant.

The gubernatorial election of 1824 excited very great interest in St. Louis. The candidates, Frederick Bates and Gen. William H. Ashley, were men of personal popularity, each of whom had done the State good service. Frederick Bates, long a resident of St. Louis, had discharged the duties of important places under the Territorial government, and was well known and highly esteemed. Gen. Ashley had pushed with daring intrepidity into the wilds of the Rocky Mountains, carrying the trade of the city into unexplored regions, and, awing the savages, had opened profitable fields for the adventurous spirits of St. Louis. Such services among a dashing and enterprising people were calculated to balance the ties of long residence and familiarity with executive duties. The election, however, proved that the substantial virtues of probity and fitness were not to be eclipsed by heroic and romantic adventure. Mr. Bates was elected, but died August 4th of the following year. Abraham J. Williams, president of the Senate, acted as Governor until the special election to fill the vacancy, held in September, at which Gen. John Miller was elected over Col. Rufus Easton, Hon. David Todd, and Wm. C. Carr; and Col. B. H. Reeves was chosen Lieutenant-Governor.

David Barton was re-elected to the United States Senate on the 25th of November, 1824, and John Scott, candidate for Congress, received 5091 votes, against 4258 cast for George F. Strother, and 1125 cast for Hon. Robert Wash. Not one of the votes cast for the three candidates had been given with any expectation of the election of Mr. Adams. Mr. Clay was the favorite in Missouri, and Gen. Jackson numbered many friends both in St. Louis and the State. Missouri had expressed her preference for Mr. Clay, both at the polls and in her electoral college. Twenty-four States then composed the Union, and the confident expectation was that Mr. Adams would receive the votes of twelve States, Jackson those of seven States, and Crawford those of four States, requiring a second ballot. When the appointed day arrived, the expectation of a long and protracted struggle was general, and great was the astonishment and disappointment when John Quincy Adams was declared to have been elected on the first ballot. "It was

evident at a glance that Missouri's representative (Mr. Scott) had disappointed her expectations, and had seized on the pillars of the temple of hope for any other candidate and pulled down the whole fabric, and buried his political life beyond the power of resurrection in Missouri in the débris of the down-fallen political faith."[1] At the election in 1826 Mr. Scott was defeated for Congress by Edward Bates.

The State Legislature met in Jefferson City for the first time on the 20th of November, 1826,[2] and on the 29th of December, Col. Thomas H. Benton was re-elected United States senator.

At the Presidential election of 1828 the candidates for electors were:

Andrew Jackson electors, Dr. John Bull, of Howard; Benjamin O'Fallon, of St. Louis; Ralph Dougherty, of Cape Girardeau.

J. Q. Adams electors, Benjamin H. Reeves, of Howard; Joseph C. Brown, of St. Louis; and John Hall, of Cape Girardeau.

The vote for the Jackson electors was 8272, and for the Adams electors 3400.

Governor John Miller was re-elected, and Daniel Dunklin was elected Lieutenant-Governor.

The State being still entitled to only one congressman, there were three prominent candidates for the position. These were Edward Bates, William Carr Lane, and Spencer Pettis. Mr. Bates was the Whig candidate, and Lane and Pettis the Democratic candidates. So nearly were the friends of Lane and Pettis balanced that the question as to who should run was submitted to Benton, who promptly decided in favor of Pettis, and his election was secured by a large majority.

Thomas H. Benton and David Barton, both residents of St. Louis, still represented Missouri in the Senate of the United States. While these senators did not always agree in political matters, they maintained their respective views so ably, and their characters for sincerity and honesty were so well established with their constituents, that each retained the confidence of his fellow-citizens.

In 1827 or 1828 a meeting was held by Senators Barton and Benton, together with other leading politicians, for the purpose of devising measures looking to the extinction of slavery. The meeting was composed of about an equal number of Democrats and Whigs. It was unanimously agreed that a memorial opposing slavery should be prepared, and that both parties should exert themselves to obtain signatures throughout the State, but the project was defeated, owing to the popular excitement created by the publication in the newspapers of a statement that Arthur Tappan, of New York, had entertained some negro men at his table, and that they had ridden in his carriage with his daughters. The Barton-Benton meeting had taken decisive action in favor of emancipation, which it was hoped might be secured under the leadership of the two great senators, but, owing to the excitement in Missouri caused by the Tappan episode, the idea was abandoned.

In November, 1830, Alexander Buckner was chosen United States senator in place of David Barton, the vote being, Buckner, thirty-four; John Miller, twenty-seven; W. H. Ashley, two.[3]

During the same session the Legislature, in anticipation of an increase of one member of Congress and one elector under the census of 1830, provided for their election. The member of Congress was elected at large, and the electors by districts, as heretofore.

In 1831, ex-Senator David Barton was a candidate for Congress, but was defeated by Spencer Pettis. He was afterwards elected a member of the State Senate from St. Louis County, and served four years.

Mr. Pettis having on the 27th of August following his election lost his life in a duel with Maj. Biddle, the State was left without a representative in Congress. William H. Ashley was elected to the vacancy

[1] Note, Shepard's "History of St. Louis and Missouri," page 76.

[2] The first Legislature, as we have seen, had met in St. Louis in 1820, but the seat of government was afterwards transferred to St. Charles, and thence to Jefferson City.

[3] Alexander Buckner at one time ranked high as a politician in Missouri, particularly in the southern part of the State. He was born in 1785, in Jefferson County, Ky. Little is known of his earlier life, but in 1812 he was in Indiana, had entered the law, and was building up quite a practice. Eight years later he reached Missouri, induced to make this move, it is said, by reason of a duel in which he had become involved. He bought a farm in Cape Girardeau County, practiced law, seldom, however, in the St. Louis courts, and entered the political arena. He was a circuit attorney for a short time. The *Jackson Eagle*, noticing his death, which occurred the 6th of June, 1833, sums up the salient points of his life as follows: "In 1820 he was elected a member of the convention which formed the Constitution of this State; subsequently he was elected to the State Senate, and in 1830 to the House of Representatives; while in that body he was elected to the Senate of the United States, in which capacity he served two sessions. Since the residence of Mr. Buckner in this county he has invariably been elected to every office for which he offered. The loss of Col. Buckner's services in the Senate of the United States will fall with peculiar force on the southern end of this State." The same journal states also that he died of an epidemic which then prevailed extensively, and that his wife, who had premonitory symptoms of the same disease, would not leave his bedside, and cared for him with intense devotion. When he died she yielded to the destroyer, surviving her husband but little over an hour. Col. Buckner was genial, industrious, a good speaker, and in every sense a growing man in his community.

almost without opposition, and was also elected to the next Congress, defeating Robert W. Wells. Gen. Ashley was born in Powhatan County, Virginia, and emigrated to Missouri in 1808, settling near the lead mines. In 1822 he projected the scheme of the "Mountain Expedition," by combining the Indian trade in the Rocky Mountains with the hunting and trapping business. He enlisted about three hundred adventurous men in the business, and after experiencing many reverses and meeting with many romantic adventures he and his associates amassed handsome fortunes. He was the first Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri after its admission as a State, and a Representative in Congress from 1831 to 1837. He died near Boonville, Mo., March 26, 1838.

In 1832, at the August election, Dr. John Bull was the additional congressman elected. The Presidential electors chosen at the November election were Joel H. Haden in the First Electoral District, William Blakey in the Second, John Hume in the Third, and George Bollinger in the Fourth. They cast the vote of the State for Jackson and Van Buren. When the electors in those days failed to attend at the capital to cast the vote, the absence was reported to the Legislature and the vacancy filled by it. The Whig or Clay candidates for electors this year were E. Rutter, P. B. Pratte, B. G. Farrar, and John Wilson.

As elsewhere stated, the veto of the Bank bill by President Jackson, July 10, 1832, created an excitement without parallel in St. Louis, and produced more animated discussions throughout the State than almost any political act that had agitated the public mind since the settlement of the country. A meeting of the citizens of the city and county was at once called to express their disapproval of the action of the President. A large meeting was convened at the courthouse, and among those who participated in the proceedings were some who had been his most sincere friends and supporters for many years. Dr. William Carr Lane presided, and James L. Murray acted as secretary. A committee composed of Edward Bates, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., George Collier, Thornton Grimsley, Henry S. Geyer, and Nathan Ranney was appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the meeting. This committee reported resolutions highly commendatory of the conduct of the officers of the United States Bank and censuring the action of the President. The meeting was addressed by Dr. George W. Call, Frederick Hyatt, Matthew Kerr, Asa Wilgus, Thomas Cohen, and Richard McGill. These extraordinary proceedings attracted the attention of the friends of the President, and called forth counter action in the form of another meeting at the City Hall, over which Dr. Samuel Merry presided, with Absalom Link as vice-president, and Gen. William Milburn as secretary. Col. George F. Strother addressed the meeting in support of the President, and a committee composed of Edward Dobyns, John Shade, James C. Lynch, Llewellyn Brown, B. W. Ayres, John H. Baldwin, and Philip Taylor reported resolutions indorsing his course. President Jackson was sustained by the Missouri members of Congress in ordering the removal of deposits of public money from the United States Bank, and their action was ratified by their constituents.

The "great debate" between Webster and Hayne, in which many other senators participated, took place in 1830, and in it was made the first distinct enunciation of the doctrine of nullification,—*i.e.*, that a State while a member of the Union could by her authorities declare a law of Congress null and void, and forbid its execution within her borders. Its advocates professed to find their authority for the new theory of constitutional law in the nature of the Federal Union, and in the resolutions of 1798 and 1799 of the States of Virginia and Kentucky. The "Foote resolutions," which were the occasion of the "great debate," were offered on the 29th of December, 1829, and from the next day until the 21st of May following were discussed by the senators. The object of the resolutions was to confine the sale of public lands to those already surveyed and brought into market. They were vigorously opposed by Senator Benton of Missouri, on the ground that their passage would check emigration to the new States and Territories and limit their settlement. The senators most familiarly associated with the debate were Hayne, of South Carolina, and Webster, of Massachusetts. The policy of the government as to the disposal of the public lands was discussed from different stand-points, the one view being that it had been just and liberal to the new States, and the other, embracing all the Western senators, that the new States had been treated by the government in the spirit of a task-master. Mr. Hayne having given to his objections the form of an expression to the effect that the very life of our system was the independence of the States, and that no evil was more to be deprecated than the consolidation of the governments, was replied to by Mr. Webster in these famous words,—

"Consolidation!—that perpetual cry of terror and delusion,—consolidation! When gentlemen speak of the effects of a common fund as having a tendency to consolidation, what do they mean? Do they mean, or can they mean anything more than that the union of the States will be strengthened by whatever fur-

nishes inducements to the people to hold together? This is the sense in which the framers of the Constitution use the word consolidation, and in which I adopt and cherish it. They tell us in the letter submitting the Constitution to the consideration of the country that 'in all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American,—the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, liberty, safety, perhaps our national existence.' . . . This, sir, is Gen. Washington's consolidation. This is true constitutional consolidation." Mr. Webster also laid down the propositions that the Constitution was not a compact between the States, but a government by the people, in which the Supreme Court was the final arbitrator upon all laws enacted. Mr. Benton thought the power claimed by Mr. Webster for the Supreme Court was no less than a despotic power. That court was called Supreme in reference to inferior courts,—the District and Circuit Courts,—and not in reference to the States of the Union. A power to decide on the Federal constitutionality of the State laws, and to bind the States by the decision, was a power to govern the States.

While the "great debate" ranged over the whole field of constitutional construction it settled nothing, so far as legislation was concerned, the resolution which was the occasion of the debate being merely a matter of regulating land sales. But the principles of constitutional construction announced on both sides became vital and of supreme importance when the tariff of 1832 was under discussion.

The "protective system," against which the doctrine of nullification was directly leveled, took its first decided shape in the tariff of 1816. Calhoun and Lowndes, of South Carolina, were among the most zealous advocates of nullification; Webster and the New England members were equally emphatic in opposition. Clay then, as always afterwards, was in favor of protection. Great excitement was produced at the South, particularly in Georgia and South Carolina, by the tariff discussion and legislation in 1827 and 1828. The popular indignation against the tariff laws found vent through public meetings, the press, and the action of the State Legislatures in terms of extreme violence, and memorials to Congress were adopted entreating that body to "save them, if possible, from the conjoined grasp of usurpation and poverty." The citizens of Columbia and Richland, S. C., in their appeal said, "We exist as a member of the Union merely as an object of taxation. The Northern and Middle States are to be enriched by the plunder of the South." Retaliatory measures were proposed, such as the prohibition of the introduction of horses, mules, hogs, beef, cattle, bacon, and bagging from Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Indiana; whiskey, beer, cheese, etc., from New York and Pennsylvania; and also the laying of a municipal tax, amounting to prohibition, on all stock in trade, consisting of goods, wares, or merchandise, the produce of those States. As yet these were the mere suggestions of an excited and injured people. No official action by the State was taken until at the session of 1829, when protests from the Legislatures of Georgia and South Carolina against the tariff act of the preceding session were laid before Congress. The slight reductions made in the tariff act of 1831–32 were not unsatisfactory to the friends of protection, and were regarded in the South by the Union party as concessions, but by the State rights party as no less objectionable than the former laws, and the anti-tariff excitement was continued without abatement. Public meetings, especially in South Carolina, the addresses of McDuffie, Hayne, Hamilton, and other high officials, and the acts and proceedings of the Legislature kept the public mind in a state of effervescence.

The Legislature of South Carolina, convened on the 22d of October, 1832, passed an act calling a convention on the third Monday (the 19th) in November. On the 24th an ordinance declaring the tariff act passed by Congress in 1832 null and void was adopted, the action of the Legislature to take effect Feb. 1, 1833. Other ordinances to carry the same into effect, and to protect State officials and citizens in rendering obedience, were also adopted. The intelligence of the passage of the ordinance reached Washington just as President Jackson's message to Congress was delivered. On the 11th of December the famous proclamation combating the doctrine of nullification was issued by the President. Governor Hayne responded in a proclamation reasserting "nullification as a rightful remedy." The President's message of the 16th of January, 1833, suggesting the adoption of measures to meet the crisis, caused the introduction of the "Force Bill." Virginia assumed the office of mediator, and sent Benjamin Watkins Leigh to intercede with the authorities of South Carolina; while Mr. Clay brought forward and secured the passage of "the Compromise" act. South Carolina accepted the measure, and the nullification ordinance was repealed.

The people of St. Louis watched these alarming proceedings with great solicitude. At a meeting of the citizens held at the court-house on Saturday evening, the 29th of December, 1832, the assemblage was called to order by J. Newman. Dr. R. Simpson nominated A. L. Magenis as chairman, and he was

unanimously elected. J. L. Murray was chosen secretary.

H. R. Gamble stated the object of the meeting, and suggested the propriety of a committee to draft resolutions expressive of its opinions and feelings; and on motion it was resolved that a committee of seven should be appointed. The chair named as the persons to compose the committee Dr. G. W. Call, H. S. Geyer, William Milburn, P. Walsh, H. Chouteau, R. Simpson, and J. Newman. Afterwards, on motion of H. L. Hoffman, J. C. Laveille and H. R. Gamble were added.

The committee, after having retired for a short time, returned and reported resolutions, which being before the meeting for its consideration, James S. Mayfield arose, and after a few remarks proposed a preamble and series of resolutions in lieu of those reported. Mr. Mayfield, after his resolutions were seconded, supported their adoption by some further remarks. Dr. R. Simpson said a few words sustaining the resolutions prepared by the committee and against the substitute, and on the question being taken Mr. Mayfield's substitute was rejected.

Dr. J. Woolfolk then proposed a series of resolutions, to be added to those reported by the committee. Their adoption was opposed by Mr. Geyer at some length, and on the question being taken they were rejected.

The following resolutions were then adopted:

"1. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this meeting, the present state of affairs in South Carolina exhibits a crisis of fearful interest to the people of the United States, as threatening us, next to the loss of liberty, with the worst of evils, a 'dissolution of the Union.'

"2. *Resolved*, That at a period so full of peril to the republic, so fraught with danger to the cause of civil liberty throughout the world, it becomes the indispensable duty, as it is the undoubted right, of every citizen to express his sentiments on the momentous question now at issue.

"3. *Resolved*, That while we sincerely regret that any portion of our fellow-citizens, whether in South Carolina or elsewhere, should experience, or believe that they experience, serious injury from the course of legislation pursued by the Federal government, we cannot coincide with them as to the expediency or constitutionality of the remedy which they have thought proper to adopt; that we solemnly deprecate the means which have been used to defeat the operation of the laws of the United States, and view with dread and abhorrence the end to which they lead.

"4. *Resolved*, That the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one State, is incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorised by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed.

"5. *Resolved*, That we concur in the opinion expressed by the President that the Constitution of the United States forms a government, not a league; that each State having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute, jointly with the other States, a single nation, cannot possess any constitutional right to secede from the Union.

"6. *Resolved*, That in the legal and constitutional discharge of his executive authority in enforcing a just observance of the laws of the Union, the President of the United States at this conjuncture ought to receive the aid and hearty support of every American citizen.

"7. *Resolved*, That, so far as depends on us and our efforts, the Constitution of the United States shall descend as we have received it, uncorrupted by sophistical construction, to our posterity; and the sacrifices of local interest, of State prejudices, of personal animosities that were made to bring it into existence shall again be unreservedly offered for its support.

"8. *Resolved*, That we warmly sympathize with that portion of our countrymen in South Carolina denominated the Union party; that we admire the firmness they have displayed, and have entire confidence that they will remain true to their principles and unshaken in their support of the Constitution of our country.

"9. *Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly now in session, to be laid before their respective Houses, with the request of this meeting that the Legislature of the State will tender to the President of the United States that support which the State is bound to give and the head of the nation is entitled to receive in the present exigency.

"10. *Resolved*, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States.

"On motion of Mr. Geyer, the tenth resolution was adopted by the meeting and added to the report."[1]

Before the terms of office of President Jackson and Vice-President Calhoun expired it was apparent that these two names would not appear again together on the Democratic ticket. The "caucus" system had been abandoned, and that of the convention adopted. Gen. Jackson's popularity made his renomination certain, and a convention called to select a candidate for the Vice-Presidency assembled in Baltimore in May, 1832, and nominated Van Buren. Mr. Clay was the Presidential candidate of the opposition, with John Sargeant, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. The aggregate Democratic vote was overwhelming in every district of Missouri for the Democratic candidates.

Missouri was represented in Congress on the 4th of March, 1833, by Thomas H. Benton and Lewis

[1] In its notice of the meeting the *Republican* (Jan. 1, 1833) said, "The meeting at the court-house on Saturday evening to respond to the sentiments of the President's proclamation was the most numerous ever held in this city. It was composed of citizens of both the late political divisions of the country, and the best spirit, a passionate devotion to the Union, seemed to animate the assembly almost to a man. An attempt was made to substitute a proposition for a general convention of the States, but the resolution for this purpose met the marked disapprobation of the meeting. The resolutions which were adopted express the sentiments of the people of the State at large, and they are mistaken who expect that we can be brought to approve of nullification in any form."

F. Linn in the Senate, and by Wm. H. Ashley and John Bull in the House of Representatives.

Dr. Lewis F. Linn was elected United States senator to succeed Senator Buckner on the death of the latter senator. Dr. Linn was a man of remarkable abilities, and throughout his political career was identified with the interests of the Mississippi Valley, which he advocated with signal ability and success. He was born near Louisville, Ky., Nov. 5, 1796, and was descended from a highly respectable family, who emigrated to Kentucky at a very early period. His mother was born in Carlisle, Pa., and was the sister of George Hunter, who at one time represented Scott County, Mo., in the Legislature. She emigrated to Kentucky, and was first married to Israel Dodge, at the Iron Banks, at that time a military station. She was afterwards married to Ashael Linn, the father of the doctor, who was born in Virginia, and who had emigrated to Kentucky with his father, William Linn. William Linn had rendered important services in the army during the Revolution, having joined it when but fifteen years of age. On his arrival in Kentucky he was elected colonel of a regiment, and afterwards one of the judges of the court, then first organized in the country. When on his way from his station to Louisville, to take his seat at the first court then to be held at that place, he was killed by the Indians, leaving several children, all yet very young. Col. Pope, the father of John Pope, late member of Congress from Kentucky, became the guardian of Ashael Linn. When residing in the family of Col. Pope, an incident occurred which was very near changing the entire destiny of his life. When on a hunting excursion, in company with his older brother, William, and two other young men of the name of Brashear and Wells, they were captured by the Shawnee Indians and taken captives to their village. These four boys remained with the Indians in the interior of the country (now Indiana) upwards of three years, adopting their language, manners, and customs; and indeed Ashael Linn, who was the youngest of the four, had adopted a father and mother, whom he afterwards left with tears of regret. The three older boys finally availed themselves of the favorable moment, when all the warriors of the nation were out on a hunting expedition, to make their escape, taking Ashael with them. To effect this they were, however, compelled to kill the adopted father and mother of Ashael, who had charge of the captives. Ashael Linn often spoke, many years afterwards, of the feelings which he experienced at the time of this occurrence as the most painful he had ever felt in his life. The brave boys, after making their escape from the Indians, had to surmount another great difficulty before they could reach their families. When they got to the Ohio River, opposite to Louisville, they ascertained that they had no means of crossing; and to remain on the other side during the whole night, they ran great risk of being recaptured by the Indians. The three older boys were able to swim, but Ashael was too young, and yet they were unwilling to leave him behind. Having taken a gun with them when they effected their escape, with it they killed a bear, and making a kind of a sack with the skin, they placed Ashael in it, and with grapevines attached to it, they succeeded in swimming over the stream, and pulling the bear-skin with its contents across.

Ashael, on his return to his family, was placed under the care of a carpenter, for the purpose of learning the trade. He lived in Louisville or its environs up to the time of his death, leaving behind him three children, viz., Mary, Lewis, and William. Lewis, at the time of his father's death, was about ten years of age. William died very young, on his way to West Point, to which place he had received the warrant of a cadet. Lewis had the advantage of such schools as were at that early day kept in Louisville, and at the requisite age began the study of medicine under the instruction of Dr. Galt.

His half-brother, Henry Dodge, afterwards delegate from the Territory of Wisconsin, having been appointed by Governor Wilkinson sheriff of Ste. Genevieve County, he was induced to visit Missouri as early as the year 1811 or 1812. He, however, returned to Louisville to finish the study of his profession. When prepared to practice he again went to Missouri and settled in Ste. Genevieve about the year 1815. On his arrival there he was placed by his brother Henry in the office of Dr. Henry Lane, a gentleman eminently skilled in his profession, and with whom he shortly afterwards formed [illegible] nership.

From this time up to the time when he was appointed one of the commissioners under the act of Congress of the 9th of July, 1832, to investigate and report on the French and Spanish claims, he devoted himself with great assiduity both to the study and the practice of his profession. The professional brethren of Dr. Linn all bore testimony to his learning and skill in his profession. For its practice he seemed to have been especially calculated by nature. There is no doubt that he impaired his health and abridged his life by a too close and rigid discharge of the duties of his profession. His reputation extended over the most of the southern counties of the State; he was called upon to visit the sick at all seasons of the year, and

frequently compelled to travel fifty to sixty miles on horseback over rough roads, and not unfrequently in the night. Some time before he abandoned his practice he began to feel his constitution giving way, and he became satisfied of the necessity of changing his mode of life, if not altogether abandoning the practice of his profession. When, therefore, the appointment of commissioner under the act of the 9th of July, 1832, was tendered to him he readily accepted it. Believing that the salary would enable him to remove from Ste. Genevieve to St. Louis, where the practice of medicine would not be so arduous, he accordingly removed to St. Louis in June, 1833, and formed a partnership with Dr. E. H. McCabe. From this time up to October following he devoted himself with great zeal to the discharge of the duties of his office. At the first meeting of the board of commissioners, composed of himself, Hon. Albert G. Harrison, and Frederick R. Conway, it was important to settle the principles which should guide them in the investigation of the titles of the different claimants, and Dr. Linn accordingly introduced ten resolutions, laying down the policy pursued by the Spanish government in the granting of land, and the policy which should be pursued by the government of the United States in the final confirmation of these grants. These resolutions are a monument to his wisdom and liberality, and would alone entitle his memory to be respected by all classes of people. In September, 1833, his old friends at Ste. Genevieve, who were severely afflicted with the cholera, requested him to pay them a visit, and he, in obedience to a call from such a source, abandoned his own business in St. Louis to visit them. He found them in the greatest affliction; the cholera was scattering death among them; he had ventured there for the purpose of administering relief, and to this benevolent object he devoted himself with increasing assiduity. While at Ste. Genevieve he was called to visit the Hon. Alexander Buckner, at Jackson, in the county of Cape Girardeau, who had been prostrated by this fell disease. He arrived there too late; he either found him dead or so far gone as to be beyond the reach of medical skill. He returned immediately to Ste. Genevieve, and it was then his turn to be prostrated with the same terrible disease. He suffered long and acutely, and it is more than probable that his constitution received such a shock at this time as never to have entirely recovered from it. He was, however, appointed by Governor Dunklin, in October of this year (1833), to supply the vacancy in the Senate occasioned by the death of the Hon. Alexander Buckner, and he took his seat in this body at the session of 1833–34. He was elected nearly unanimously at the session of the Legislature of 1834–35, and re-elected by a large majority at the session of 1836–37, and again by a large majority at the session of 1842–43. His services as a senator will long be remembered by the people of Missouri. Although he had never made politics his study, he soon acquired a high and honorable position in the Senate. Firm yet conciliating, candid yet courteous, he sat in that body during a time when party spirit ran higher than at almost any other time in the history of our government; and without abandoning a jot or tittle of the principles upon which he had been elected to that high station, he maintained terms of personal friendship and respect, with one exception, with every member of the Senate.

As a senator, he knew neither friend nor foe, willing alike at all times to serve his constituents, belonging to whatever party they might. His industry was untiring, and it was not confined to the Senate chamber, but extended to the different offices and departments of the government. For the last five years of his life his mind had been much preoccupied with the settlement of the Oregon Territory, and he labored assiduously to promote the organization and settlement of the Territory. He died on the 3d of October, 1843, and on the 11th a meeting was held at the court-house, at which, on motion of Judge James B. Bowlin, Hon. John M. Wimer, mayor of St. Louis, was called to the chair, and Nathaniel Paschall was appointed secretary. In his address on taking the chair, Mayor Wimer characterized the death of Senator Linn "as the greatest loss and the severest chastisement ever inflicted upon St. Louis." On the motion of Lewis V. Bogy, a committee was appointed to draft resolutions of respect to Senator Linn's memory, and during the absence of the committee Senator Benton delivered an address, in which

"He said that great as the grief of all present was, he had more to lament than any one. As a citizen of the State he felt, in common with all other citizens, the sorrow which oppressed their bosoms; as a senator, still having some time to serve, he felt the loss of a colleague from whom he always received the kindest, the most cordial, the most efficient aid; as a friend, he had to lament the loss of one of his earliest friends. He (Mr. Benton) had arrived in Missouri above a quarter of a century ago, while the lamented deceased was still a youth at school, and from the first moment of his arrival had found in him and in all his connections the most generous friendship, never interrupted for an instant, and which never glowed with more warmth than in the last interview a few weeks before, when they spent the day together. The loss of such a colleague and of such a friend was to him the addition of a private to a public loss, and doubled the weight of the grief which he felt.

"The worthy mayor, said Mr. Benton, who presides on this melancholy occasion has opened the subject with just and appropriate remarks. The respectable committee which has been appointed will report resolutions which will cover the merits of the deceased and attest our feelings; and some one of the com-

mittee will doubtless be designated to illustrate with his observations the resolutions which shall be submitted. He would not trench upon his province, but would confine himself to points in the public life and character of his deceased friend and colleague less generally known, but equally honorable to the *man* and the *senator*. He would speak of his generous kindness and amenity, which conciliated good will from all parties, which softened the acerbities of party, which composed many differences, and which flew to the sick-bed of every member without regard to party, and joined the assiduities of nurse and friend to the profound skill of the accomplished physician. He would speak of his punctual attendance in his place and his faithful discharge of every public duty. He would speak of his instant and ready attention to every call from his constituents, whether opponents (for he had no foes) or supporters. He would speak of his success in carrying great measures which could not have been carried by any one save himself. There was a charm in the goodness of his heart, the gentleness of his manner, and the amiability of his temper which gave power to talents, and enabled him to do for his State what none but himself could have done.

"He was not using the language of eulogy, but speaking the words of truth, and saying that which should pass into history. Perhaps the most important measure ever carried in Congress for the benefit of Missouri was the acquisition of that superb territory known as the Platte country,—the lamented Linn was the author of that measure. True, he was supported by his colleague, but they could not have carried it. His colleague in the Senate, older than himself, and who now addresses you, could not have carried it. It required not only sagacity and tact and discretion to carry that great and delicate measure, but it required also the sweetness of temper which wins hearts, and which our deceased friend so eminently possessed. As an historical truth which should be known now and forever to every Missourian, this statement is now made on this solemn occasion to this large and respectable assembly that the knowledge of it may be spread as wide and last as long as the acquisition of the Platte has been auspicious and glorious for the State.

"The old inhabitants of this country,—those who viewed all the new emigrants with such kindness on the change of government, and whose grants of land from Spain and France had in so many instances suffered from want of confirmation,—these old inhabitants, and all claiming under them, owe a debt of gratitude to the illustrious deceased; for to him is owing the passage of the last act of Congress which has done so much towards the final and equitable acknowledgment of these long delayed grants.

"This is not the time, said Mr. Benton, to enumerate the services of the deceased; another occasion will present itself for that act of justice. To mourn the loss of a statesman, a patriot, a friend, a good man—to weep for him rather than to speak of his public acts—is now the feeling of every one. But how can we omit the last great act, as yet unfinished, in which his whole soul was engaged at the time of his death? The bill for the settlement and occupation of Oregon was his; and he carried it through the Senate when his colleague, who now addresses you, could not have done it. This is another historical truth, fit to be made known on this occasion, and which is now declared to this large and respectable assemblage under all the circumstances which impart solemnity to the declaration. He carried that bill through the Senate, and it was the measure of a statesman. Just to the settler, it was wise to the government. The settler has a right to have a home in the new country which he reclaims from the wilderness and the savage; the government of the United States can only save its domain on the Oregon by planting its citizens there. Land is the inducement and the reward to emigration, and that land was granted by the bill, liberally granted to the wife and the children, to the young man and the widow, as well as to the husband and the father. That bill is the vindication and the assertion of the American title against the daring designs of England, and it was the only way to save the country. It was carried through the Senate at the last session, and its author was preparing to carry it again. Called this summer to the Atlantic States on private business, he availed himself of all opportunities to collect fresh materials for the support of his darling measure. The last day that he spent in this town, only three weeks ago, on his return from the East, he spoke of these materials, of the daring pretensions of England, and of his determination to push the measure which was to save the country's rights with renewed vigor at the ensuing session. Alas! that he should not have been spared to put the finishing hand to a measure which was to reward the emigrant, to protect his country, to curb England, and to connect his own name with the foundation of an empire. But it is done, the unfinished work will go on; it will be completed, and the name of Linn will not be forgotten. That name will live and be connected with the Oregon while its banks bear a plant, or its waters roll a wave.

"A great man of the early days of the French Revolution died while he had a great measure depending; it was Mirabeau, who was surprised by death while his bill for the division of estates was still depending before the Legislative Assembly. The terrors of death could not stifle his regard for his bill. He made a bequest of it to a friend. He willed the unfinished work to the celebrated Talleyrand; and this deputy read to the Assembly the speech prepared for the occasion by the great orator, and carried the measure. If inexorable fate had allowed a few minutes to our departed friend, he would doubtless have done the same. Death had no terrors for him, and a moment would have been snatched from the agonizing cares of friends and family to have commended and committed the crowning measure of his life to the faithful hands of a successor. He had not that time,—not a moment to think, nor to speak,—and now the whole representation from Missouri, the whole delegation from the Great West, must constitute themselves his political legatees, take his great measure to themselves and carry it through.

"Mr. Benton would still confine himself to points not so generally known, and among these was the great development of mind which their lamented friend was undergoing at the time of his death. Of the nine years he had served in the Senate, the last two or three were fullest of improvement to himself and benefit to his country. His faculties were maturing every day, and his delivery becoming truly beautiful. Bred to a profession which did not admit of public displays, he required practice to perfect and develop his powers; and practice was doing its part in perfecting genius. A natural gift for speaking was improved into eloquence; a mind originally good was enriched with the acquisitions of study and observation. Thus improved, he spoke without effort, and seemingly without a consciousness of the power and beauty of his own discourse. The Senate listened to him with astonishment and admiration, and some have been heard to exclaim, *the man is inspired*. A few years more would have doubled his powers. That such a man should have perished in the meridian of his days, and so suddenly and unexpectedly, is forever to be deplored. He lay down to sleep a few moments, and awoke no more. It was the sleep of death,—sleep converted into death,—eternal sleep. He died unseen; and he whose skill had saved so many, whose sympathy had carried consolation to so many death-beds was without help and without consolation until the mortal struggle was over and the inanimate clay had become insensible to the efforts of skill or the sorrows of friends and family.

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Joel H. Conn



"On another occasion, Mr. Benton said, it would be his privilege to speak more deliberately of the merits of the deceased; at present he only followed the impulses of the heart in giving vent to feelings of sorrow and affection which found a response in all bosoms, and which so many had met this night to manifest."

Mr. Bogy, from the committee for that purpose, reported the following preamble and resolutions for the action of the meeting:

"WHEREAS, the safety and prosperity of our country mainly depend on the virtue and ability of the statesmen and representatives to whom the duties of government and the making of laws are delegated by the people; and wherens, when Providence has removed from amongst us to another and a better world a representative of eminent merit, it becomes our duty to declare in a public and solemn manner our respect for his memory and our sense, with all submission to the Divine Will, of the loss sustained; and whereas an occasion has presented itself of so testifying our sentiments in the sudden death of the Hon. Lewis F. Linn; it is therefore

"*Resolved*, That we have received the sad tidings of the recent sudden decease of the Hon. Lewis F. Linn, one of the senators from this State in the Congress of the United States, with feelings of profound regret, and deplore the event as a public misfortune.

"*Resolved*, That the conduct and deportment of Lewis F. Linn during his too brief existence was distinguished in private and professional life, as in high public station, by a rare combination of qualities, commanding our respect while they won our affections; and that our lamented senator has given to those who shall succeed him in the councils of the nation a salutary and bright example.

"*Resolved*, That in his senatorial action on the relation and interests of these United States and Territories in their whole vast expanse, from the Lake of the Woods to Cape Sable, and from the shores of the Pacific Ocean to the boundary line of Maine and New Brunswick, we acknowledge and appreciate the wisdom, energy, and high sense of national right and honor exhibited by Lewis F. Linn.

"*Resolved*, That the efforts of Lewis F. Linn to obtain justice for that portion of our population whose rights of property were especially guaranteed to them by the treaty of cession of the 30th April, 1803, alone entitle his memory to the respect of every American citizen who can appreciate the value, to the individual or to the mass, of national good faith and honor.

"*Resolved*, That we respectfully tender to the bereaved and afflicted family of our deceased senator the assurance of our sympathies, and that a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to his widow by the chairman, with an appropriate letter."

The report having been adopted by the meeting, Gen. Ranney offered a resolution, which was afterwards modified to read as follows:

"*Resolved*, That a committee of three persons be appointed by the chairman, whose duty it shall be to select some person to deliver an appropriate address on the occasion of the death of Senator Linn, and to appoint a time and place for its delivery."

The chair appointed Messrs. Ranney, Hudson, and Bennerhassett to act as this committee.

Judge Lawless, Lewis V. Bogy, and T. B. Holt then in succession addressed the meeting in eloquent eulogiums of the deceased.

At the time of his death Senator Linn left several relatives living in Missouri, among whom was his nephew, the late Joseph H. Conn, one of the best-known merchants of St. Louis. Mr. Conn was also a nephew of Hon. Henry Dodge, who represented Wisconsin in the United States Senate at the time of the death of Senator Linn. Mr. Conn was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, about the year 1816, and was the son of Joseph Conn, who emigrated at an early day from Pennsylvania to Cincinnati. His mother, Nancy Dodge, was a native of Kentucky, and belonged to a family that was ever ready to serve its country in field and council. Her father, Israel Dodge, was of an adventurous type, and left his home in Kentucky about 1800 in search of a wider field of usefulness on the western bank of the Mississippi River. He found a suitable location at Ste. Genevieve, at that time under Spanish domination, and far in advance of St. Louis. In these days of luxurious travel it is almost impossible to fully realize how much of spirit and determination such a journey involved, yet there still remain some descendants of those early pioneers who have heard from their lips recitals of their stirring adventures, which now read like the incidents of romance. The settlement of the country demanded men of a dauntless spirit, and such a man was the elder Conn, who belonged to the class that pluck success from danger, and whose hardy spirit led him to make repeated voyages as early as 1800 down the Mississippi to New Orleans, returning overland to his Ohio home. It seems a small matter now to make this holiday jaunt by steam and rail, but it was a very different undertaking at that far-off day, and required a steady nerve and great endurance to journey alone through those solitary forests, haunted by the wild beast and the wilder Indian. On one occasion the elder Conn and his party, returning from New Orleans, were attacked by Indians and robbed, each escaping with only a blanket.

Of Mr. Conn's early life little is recorded. He came to St. Louis in 1835, and for forty years was identified with certain prominent interests of the city. He soon earned a reputation for business integrity and for sincerity and fair dealing which he enjoyed without interruption to the day of his death. He very soon became a member of the firm of Conn, Sprigg & Greene, a large auction and commission enterprise, and afterwards a partner in the house of Anderson & Conn, in the boat stores business, his associate being a son of Maj. William C. Anderson, whose daughter Elizabeth he had married in 1837.

Maj. Anderson was a Cincinnatian who had removed to St. Louis. Subsequently Mr. Conn was a member of the firm of Carter & Conn (Walter R. Carter), who were also in the boat stores business.

Mr. Conn was essentially a business man, and was possessed of more than ordinary abilities. Uniform success attended all his ventures until the later years of his life, when he met with serious reverses. His firm was largely interested in the Red River trade as owners or part owners of some eight or ten vessels plying in those waters, but the sinking or exploding of several of these vessels (which chanced not to be insured) entailed heavy losses on the company and on himself personally.

Mr. Conn was a man of no common amiability of character, and this with an ardent temperament and unrestrained geniality caused him to be held in the highest esteem by a very large circle of loving friends. He was of unostentatious character, and never sought place or preferment, and although often urged to accept office, chose rather the private station which he was eminently fitted to adorn. He died suddenly, May 7, 1874, of heart-disease, leaving a wife and six children and several sisters. In politics, Mr. Conn was a lifelong Democrat, and to the very last exhibited the deepest interest in the political questions of the day.

Among the questions in which Missouri was most particularly interested about 1833 was that of the removal of the Indians from her territory. In that part of the State beyond the old west line of Missouri and the Missouri River was included territory that afterwards constituted seven counties, unsurpassed in point of healthfulness, beauty, and fertility, but which was then in the possession of the Indians. The transfer of the savages farther westward was a labor that has had no parallel in the political history of the State. It embraced two propositions, both of which presented obstacles that were generally supposed to be insurmountable,—the one to enlarge the area of slavery by adding to it free territory, and thus to alter the line of the Missouri compromise; and the other to remove the Indians from lands they had just received in exchange for their former possessions to others in a more distant region, where they would have no river like the Missouri to protect their feeble remnants from the incursions of their more powerful neighbors. Notwithstanding these difficulties, such were the indefatigable efforts of the Missouri delegation in Congress that they succeeded in accomplishing the task, and in enlarging the area of slavery without exciting the animosities of its enemies. In 1836 the Senate confirmed the Indian treaty, by which Missouri was freed from the presence of the savage tribes within her borders.

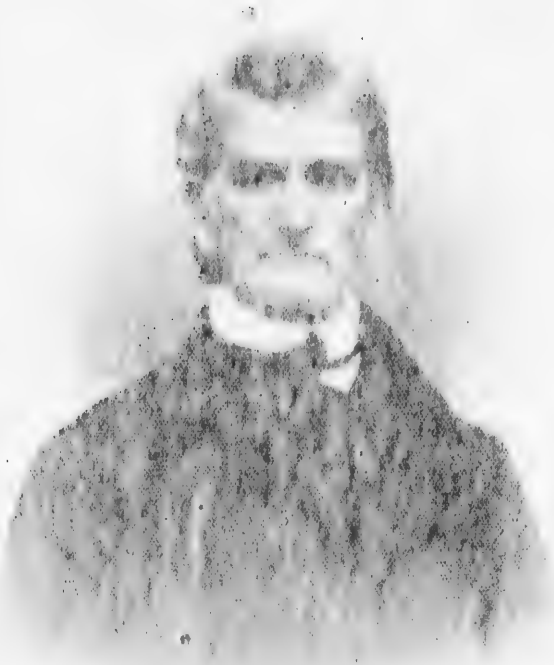
In 1834, William H. Ashley (anti-Van Buren) and William H. Harrison (Van Buren) were elected to Congress, defeating James H. Birch (anti-Van Buren) and George F. Strother (Van Buren).

In 1835 the Legislature again redistricted the State into four electoral districts, and being in doubt as to the number of electors to which the State might be entitled in the new apportionment under the census of 1835, authorized the Governor to redistrict it, if necessary to do so, between then and the general election. This authority has been continued in the statutes of the State ever since, although the purposes of it have long since ceased to exist. It is found in the present statutes, and is numbered Section 5120. The Governor never had any authority to district the State into congressional districts, nor did he at this or any other time divide it into electoral districts. This act and section, after the passage of the act of 1864, became a nullity, then as now.

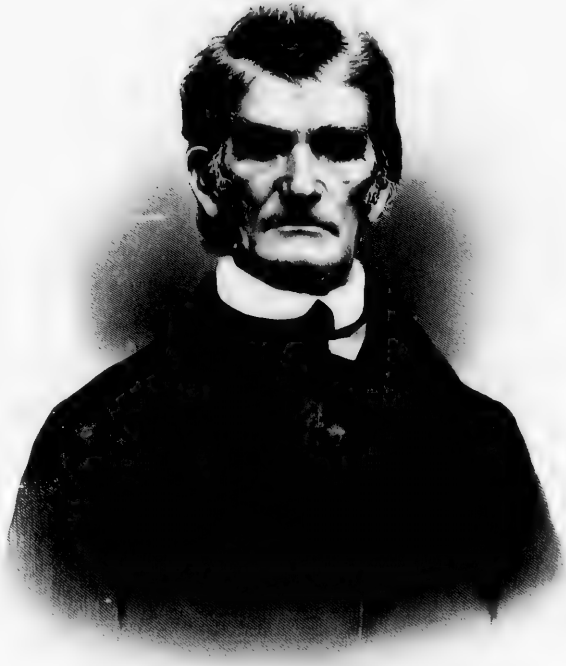
In 1836, Albert G. Harrison and John Miller were elected to Congress. George F. Bollinger was chosen elector in the First Electoral District, Abraham Bird in the Second, John Sappington in the Third, and William Monroe in the Fourth. They cast the vote of the State for Van Buren and Johnson.

John Sappington, who was thus chosen Presidential elector, was a prominent figure in the political and social affairs of St. Louis at this time. At a very early period John and James Sappington came from England and settled in Maryland. John Sappington (2d) removed to Kentucky, and there John Sappington (3d), the subject of this sketch, was born May 28, 1790. He was one of a family of eighteen children, one of whom died young. The seventeen others became heads of families in Missouri, to which State they came with their father in 1806, settling on a tract of six hundred and forty acres which he purchased in Carondelet township.

On arriving at his majority, Mr. Sappington purchased the tract of land on which his son, Thomas J. Sappington, now resides, near Sappington post-office. He subsequently added to this other tracts, amounting in all to two thousand acres, all of which is owned by his five surviving children. In 1815 he established on his farm a tannery, the capacity of which was increased until it came to have thirty vats, and which he conducted in connection with his farm until 1845, when he discontinued the business of tanning and devoted himself to farming alone during the remainder of his life. As a farmer he was highly suc-



mies. In 1836 the Senate confirmed the Indian mainder of his life. As a farmer he was highly suc-



John T. Thompson

s a farmer he was highly suc-

cessful, and in 1859 received from the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association a premium for "the model farm."

In the war of 1812 he was a volunteer, under Col. Nathan Boone, son of Daniel Boone, the Kentucky pioneer, and was the first one of the fifteen hundred horsemen to plunge into the Mississippi River and lead the way across to Illinois, whither they went to join Governor Edwards. He was held in high esteem by Governor Howard, and was one of the trusty scouts who were sent in advance of the army to detect ambush and apprise it of danger.

He always felt a deep interest in the advancement of agriculture, and was active in the organization of the Agricultural and Mechanical Association. He was a Whig in politics, and was three times chosen to represent St. Louis County in the State Legislature, his services in which body met the entire approbation of his constituents.

He was married Jan. 8, 1815, to Miss Sarah Wells, daughter of Joseph Wells, of Carondelet. They had eleven children, of whom five, Tyrie Sappington, Mrs. Elizabeth Manro, Mrs. Jemima Sternhauer, Mrs. Mary Long, and Thomas J. Sappington are now living.

Mr. Sappington died March 17, 1864. His wife had died on the 31st of August, 1861.

John F. Long, who married Mary Nelson, daughter of Hon. John Sappington, is a member of a family which for many years has been conspicuously identified with the business and social interests of St. Louis, and has occupied many positions of trust and honor under the municipal government. Mr. Long has filled the offices of chief of police, county marshal, general superintendent of roads and bridges (for eight years), member of the City Council and of the school board, judge of the county court, and surveyor and collector of customs, in all of which he has acquitted himself honorably and to the satisfaction of all good citizens. His amiable wife is a member of the Second Baptist Church, and Mr. Long of the Compton Avenue Presbyterian Church.

The pioneer of the Long family in St. Louis was Capt. John Long, one of the earliest residents of the town. He was born in Port Royal, Va., in 1755, was a soldier in the Revolutionary war under Gen. Lafayette, and engaged in the battle of Brandywine. In 1781 he married Elizabeth Bennet, of Philadelphia, and raised a family of four children,—Isabella, wife of Capt. James Mackey; Nancy, wife of Eli Musick; William S., and John Long. After the Revolutionary war Capt. Long was commander of the vessel "Dolphin," which plied between Philadelphia and Liverpool some five years. In 1794 he removed with his family to Kentucky, and in the fall of 1796 with several other families removed to St. Louis and settled upon Spanish grant No. 415, near Bonhomme, issued by Don Zeñon Trudeau, Spanish commandant at that time. St. Louis was then a small village of Spanish, French, and Canadians, numbering some seven hundred inhabitants, and the dwellings were nearly all of logs or poles set on end and covered with boards, the openings being plastered with prairie-grass and mud. The out-houses and barns were thatched with straw. A few stone and some frame houses were also standing.

In 1807 he removed to Gravois, on survey No. 9, where he led the life of a farmer until 1826, when he died. His associates comprised many of the generous and noble-hearted French residents,—the Chouteaus, Soulards, Cerrés, Sarpys, Gratiots, Dr. Saugrain, the Lucases, etc., together with the Kents, Conways, Eastons, and Carrs. During Gen. Lafayette's visit to St. Louis in 1825, John Long, in company with many others, called upon him, and the reception accorded them by the general was of the most cordial character. Deep feeling was exhibited on the one side, and affectionate respect and gratitude for the venerable soldier and statesman on the other, eliciting tears from both parties. John Long was widely known as a man of honesty and integrity, and as one whose life was above reproach.

William S. Long, his son, was born Feb. 20, 1789, in Virginia, and with his father's family arrived in St. Louis in 1796. In July, 1808, he married Elizabeth Sappington, daughter of John Sappington, also a Revolutionary soldier under Gen. Greene. He located upon a part of survey No. 9, where he erected a comfortable frame house, still standing, and now owned by Gen. Grant, and known as White Haven. In 1813 he volunteered as a soldier under Gen. McNair, was appointed a lieutenant, and fought the Indians in Illinois and Missouri, from Cap Au Gris to Fort Madison and Sutro Island. In 1818 he purchased of Antoine Soulard survey No. 373, on the Maramec River, established a farm, and laid out the town of Fenton. In 1820 he removed with his family back to a part of survey No. 9 and fractional section 17, where he successfully cultivated a large farm, on which was situated a spacious and comfortable house, always open to his relatives and friends. Among the latter were the Soulards, Cerrés, Saugrains, Chouteaus, Sublettes, Bateses, Geyers, Gambles, Bentons, Bloods, Von Phuls, Hawkses, Browns, Dr. Simpson, etc. William S. Long's recollection of the early times and events in St. Louis was remarkably vivid, and he could relate incidents with great precision

and rare humor. Among other reminiscences of the early period he was wont to state that the French wagons and carts for hauling produce, wood, or other articles were destitute of iron, not a tire, band, pin, or nail of iron being used in the whole structure. They oiled the axles with tallow or bear's grease. There were, however, some fine two-wheeled gigs (iron-bound) from Pittsburgh, owned by Dr. Saugrain, Judge Lucas, and the Chouteaus, and used for riding and the doctor's medical practice. During the cholera scourge of 1849, Mr. Long visited a sick friend in the city, and a few days after was attacked with that disease. His wife was also taken ill, and died on the 3d, he on the 9th, his daughter, Mrs. Dr. Brown, on the 10th, and his son's wife, Mrs. H. S. Long, on the 14th of July, 1849. His children then living were Mrs. Ritchey, Harrison L., Mrs. J. Long, John F., Mrs. Berry, Thomas S., Mrs. T. E. Wright, and Miss Marion, afterwards Mrs. Brown.

Lilburn W. Boggs was elected Governor by the Democrats over William H. Ashley, the Whig candidate, by a vote of 14,815 to 13,057.

In anticipation of a visit from Daniel Webster, the friends of that statesman in St. Louis held a meeting at Masonic Hall on the 11th of June, 1837, for the purpose of making arrangements for his reception. William S. Johnson called the meeting to order, and Jonathan Thompson was elected chairman. The following persons were chosen vice-presidents: John I. Lanagh, John Barstow, Egbert Benson, James H. Braine, Jacob Drake, Samuel Roome, Joseph N. Lord, J. G. Rapelje, John Remick, Barzillai Wyer, Farris Finch, Nathaniel Weed, William Bakewell, Joseph Tucker, Richard Barnes, Edward Dayton, Charles Colgate. Thomas Fessenden and William P. Disosway were appointed secretaries.

In accordance with resolutions adopted by the meeting, when it was known that the steamboat "Robert Morris," on which Mr. Webster was expected, had passed the mouth of the Ohio, a committee appointed for the purpose proceeded to meet him on the steamboat "H. L. Kenney." At a point below Jefferson Barracks the committee boarded the "Morris," and were introduced to Mr. Webster. The two steamers then proceeded to Market Street landing, where Mr. Webster and his family were escorted to the National Hotel, afterwards the St. Clair Hotel, where they spent several days. The admiration entertained for Mr. Webster by the people of St. Louis was attested by one of the grandest demonstrations that ever took place in this country in honor of any public man. On June 13th, in a beautiful grove, where the Lucas Market was afterwards located, over five thousand persons assembled at a "barbecue" to which Mr. Webster had been invited by a committee composed of R. Wash, H. S. Geyer, Beverly Allen, and others. Col. Charles Keemle acted as chief marshal, assisted by a number of aids, and Gen. Ashley presided, with Richard Graham, William Carr Lane, John B. Sarpy, John Perry, James Clemens, Jr., and James Russell as vice-presidents. Mr. Webster was present, and acknowledged the honor done him in a speech of unusual power and felicity of expression. "He was frequently cheered by the enthusiastic crowd, who in their frenzy seemed desirous of bearing him aloft, if not to the skies, at least as high as their hands could carry him, and were only restrained from attempting it by a desire to have him continue the flood from the same fountain."[1] From St. Louis Mr. Webster went to Alton, Ill., being accompanied by a committee from both cities.

Among those at this time who took a gentleman's earnest part in politics, and were deeply and actively interested in the guidance of party ends and aims, but without seeking or looking for office, was John B. Sarpy, then one of the most active, influential, and enterprising citizens of St. Louis. He was an "Old-Line" Whig of deep and strong convictions, like Peter Lindell, Thornton Grimsley, James G. Soulard, Henry Von Phul, Col. John O'Fallon, and so many more of the prominent business men of St. Louis in those good old times, and we find his name in connection with many of the leading political movements of the period. Mr. Sarpy was a warm personal and political friend of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and many other distinguished men of his day, some of whom made his house their home when visiting St. Louis. Besides being a vice-president at the great festival and barbecue given in honor of Daniel Webster's visit to St. Louis in 1837, he was the next year a prominent member and worker of the famous Whig "Vigilance Committee" which "organized victory" for William Henry Harrison in 1840. John B. Sarpy's paternal grandparents, Charles Sarpy and wife, whose maiden name was Suzanne Trenty, were residents of Fumel, near Agen, on the river Garonne, which in the days of the *ancien régime* formed part of the province of Gascony, in France. Gregoire Berald Sarpy, the father of John B. Sarpy, born at the above place in the year 1764, was one of several brothers, two of whom, John B. and Silvestre D., had preceded him to Louisiana, where John B., the eldest, was established as a merchant in New Orleans prior to the founding of St. Louis in 1764.

[1] Shepard's History of St. Louis, MS., p. 137.

This John B. Sarpy came up to St. Louis in 1766, and was one of the earliest merchants of the place, being extensively engaged in business here for a period exceeding twenty years. He never married, and eventually returned to New Orleans, where he died in 1798. Silvestre Delor followed his brother to St. Louis some years thereafter, remaining here but a comparatively brief period, and then returned to New Orleans, where he married, and at his death, in 1799, left several children, two of his daughters having become the wives of the two brothers Burthe, from Paris, prominent gentlemen of New Orleans in the old French days. About the year 1786–87 a third brother of the above Gregoire, Pierre Lestamp Sarpy, arrived in St. Louis, and died Oct. 8, 1788, at the age of thirty-three years.

Gregoire Berald Sarpy (born in 1764), father of John B. Sarpy, came to St. Louis about the year 1786, a young man of twenty-two years, married in 1797 at thirty-three, and died May 15, 1824, aged sixty years.

In addition to these four brothers, who came at different periods to St. Louis, a fifth one, J. B. Lille Sarpy, was in New Orleans in the year 1809; and a sixth, Pierre St. Marc Sarpy, together with four sisters, Madames Suzanne D'Alverny, Thérèse Noirit, Helène Lanausse, and Marie Laporte, spent their lives in their native France.

On the mother's side, John B. Sarpy was a great-grandson of Madame Marie Thérèse Chouteau, *née* Bourgeois, the first white lady that settled in St. Louis in 1764, his descent from this lady being as follows:

Silvestre Labbadie, Sr., son of Dominique Labbadie and Anne Baclac, his wife, was born in the parish of St. Jean, town of Farbes, capital of Bearn, an ancient province of the south of France. He was an early merchant of St. Louis, and married Pelagie Chouteau, the eldest daughter of Madame Chouteau, on July 27, 1776. They were the parents of the following children:

1. Emilie Sauveur, born in 1778, married to Bernard Pratte, 1794.

2. Pelagie, born in 1780, married to Gregoire Sarpy, 1797.

3. Silvestre, born in 1785, married to Victor Gratiot, 1807.

4. A son, born in 1787, died in 1790, aged three years.

5. Auguste, born in 1788, died in 1794, aged six years.

6. Marie Anne Sophie, born in 1790, married to Aug. P. Chouteau in 1809.

7. Marie Antoinette, born in 1793; married, first, to John W. Honey in 1810; secondly, to John Little in 1816.

Silvestre Labbadie, Sr., died June 18, 1794, at the age of about forty-three years, but a short month following the marriage of his eldest daughter, Emilie, leaving his six children all minors. He left quite a handsome estate for those days, which he had acquired in a successful business career of some twenty years. His widow survived him about eighteen years, and died June 6, 1812, at the age of about fifty-five years.

Gregoire Berald Sarpy, as stated above, was married to Pelagie, the second daughter of the foregoing Silvestre Labbadie, Sr., and his wife, Pelagie Chouteau, on May 1, 1797. Their children were,—

1. John B. Sarpy, born Jan. 12, 1798.
2. Susanne, born Oct. 28, 1800, died young.[1]
3. Pierre Abadie, born in 1805, died unmarried.
4. Thomas Lestang, born in 1810, and some others who died in infancy.

John Baptiste Sarpy, son of Gregoire Sarpy and his wife Pelagie, aged twenty-two years, was married to Adèle, daughter of John P. Cabanné, and his wife, Julie Gratiot, aged fifteen years, on Sept. 14, 1820. They were the parents of some five or six children. Mrs. Adèle Sarpy died March 27, 1832, at the early age of twenty-seven years, leaving but one surviving child, a daughter.

After a few years of widowhood John B. Sarpy married his second wife, Martha Jane, daughter of James Russell, of Oak Hill, St. Louis Co. They were married April 14, 1835, by the Rev. William S. Potts, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis.

This lady died in New Orleans in the winter of 1845–46. Her remains were brought up to St. Louis and interred in the Catholic cemetery at the corner of Jefferson and Franklin Avenues, and subsequently removed to Calvary Cemetery.

John B. Sarpy survived his second wife about eleven years, dying at his residence at the northeast corner of Olive and Sixth Streets on April 1, 1857, in his sixtieth year, leaving by this second wife two children,—

1. John Russell Sarpy, who died unmarried in France in the year 1868. His body was brought to St. Louis in 1869 by his half-sister, Mrs. Virginia

[1] John B. Sarpy, his sister Susanne, and the first child of John P. Cabanné, named after his sponsor, Baptiste Gregoire, born Feb. 8, 1800, were all baptized at one ceremony on Feb. 22, 1801, by Father Janin, the parish curate.—*Cathedral Register.*

Berthold, and interred in his father's family lot in Calvary Cemetery.

2. Julia Anne Adèle, present wife of Col. James Lowry Donaldson Morrison, to whom she was married April 10, 1861, by Rev. F. J. Garesché, S.J.

Mr. Sarpy left a large and productive estate to his surviving children.

John B. Sarpy entered very early into business, and continued an active and energetic man of affairs for forty years, during which time he was prominently identified with the leading enterprises of the young and growing city. It was the custom of the merchants of those days to take an active part in the volunteer fire companies and the volunteer militia, and Mr. Sarpy was a fireman in the old Union Volunteer Fire Company No. 2, and being an accomplished and skillful horseman, and fond to enthusiasm of the saddle, he became a member also of Capt. Gabriel Paul's troop of horse, "the St. Louis Chasseurs," at one time the pride and boast of the city. He was from the beginning a leader in benevolent and charitable undertakings, and his name is most frequently found in the old subscription lists at those times when "the cheerful giver" whom the Lord loves is also in particular request among men.

Mr. Sarpy, in 1817, when only nineteen years old, became the partner of Auguste P. Chouteau and Julius DeMun in the fur trade. These young men had been upon a fur-hunting and trading adventure to Santa Fé, and were taken prisoners and detained some time in confinement in Chihuahua. Upon their return to St. Louis they succeeded to the business of the firm of Berthold & Chouteau, which expired by limitation, taking the brick house occupied by that firm, the first brick building erected in St. Louis, under the firm-name of Chouteau, DeMun & Sarpy. In 1819 the firm was Chouteau & Sarpy, and the place of business the building next to "the Indian council house," adjoining the residence of Sarpy's father, Gregoire.

The next year he was married, and in 1821 he is named in Paxton's first St. Louis directory as a "merchant, place of business 11 North Main Street." Continuing here for some years, Mr. Sarpy finally associated himself with Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Joseph A. Sire, at first as clerk, afterwards partner in the firm of "P. Chouteau, Jr., & Co.," for many years the most eminent house in the West, if not in the whole country, in the fur trade. John Jacob Astor at one time was a member of this firm, which, indeed, was the Missouri and the American Fur Company, rivaled only by the Hudson's Bay, the Northwestern and the Rocky Mountain Company, the last of which was a home competitor for this lucrative trade, sometimes under the conduct of Manuel Lisa and Sublette, sometimes under Gen. Ashley and Maj. Ben O'Fallon.

Mr. Sarpy, at this time in the prime and vigor of early manhood, was a man of striking and handsome presence, active, well knit, sinewy, and shapely figure, of a little above medium height, erect, and sitting his horse like a centaur. He became the financial manager of the wealthy firm with which the best part of his active life was spent, and which owed so much of its wealth and its extensive business operations and connections to his management, and the steadfast, unremitting energy, fidelity, integrity, and tact and judgment with which he conducted its affairs. The company gradually came to depend upon Mr. Sarpy to manage all its internal concerns, just as it looked to Pierre Chouteau for the management of its external relations, and no great concern was ever better served than it, with Pierre Chouteau in the Rocky Mountains, at Fort Pierre, or Berthold, or Benton, or Casper, or at O'Fallon's Bluff or South Pass, while J. B. Sarpy kept the counting-room in order at home. One by one the partners died,—Berthold in 1831, Pratte in 1837, John P. Cabanné in 1841,—and the younger men who came in to take their places, Joseph A. Sire and John F. A. Sanford, would naturally defer more and more to the tried and skillful judgment of their seniors.

The community had learned to trust and respect Mr. Sarpy, as his business partners did, and to consult him in public matters of importance.

In 1839 John B. Sarpy and George Collier[1] were lected aldermen to represent the Third Ward in the Municipal Council, and they both served with great acceptability to their fellow-citizens, but could not be prevailed upon to serve for another term. The name of Mr. Sarpy is now preserved in Sarpy Avenue, St. Louis.

[1] George Collier was born on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, on the 17th of March, 1796, and arrived in Missouri in 1816, whither he had been preceded by an elder brother, John Collier. He settled in St. Charles, and conducted a mercantile business in a limited way. In 1827 he removed to St. Louis, where he became a large and successful merchant. About five years before his death, which occurred in July, 1852, he retired from active business life, and occupied himself chiefly in the erection of buildings and in superintending his large estate. Mr. Collier was married twice,—the first time to a daughter of James Morrison, of St. Charles, by whom he had two children, who survived him, and the second time to a daughter of John Bell, of Pittsburgh. The fruit of the latter marriage was five children. He left a fortune estimated at one million two hundred thousand dollars, which in those days was considered an enormous sum. The bulk of his estate was left to his wife and



Berthold, and interred in his father's family lot in | of which was a home competitor for this lucrative

or for this lucrative





At the time of the great flood in 1844 he was given a prominent place upon the advisory and relief committees. In 1846, when the Missouri volunteers were starting out to fight the battles of their country in Mexico, Mr. Sarpy was one of the most prominent of the subscribers to the fund for equipping and supplying these gallant soldiers. He had always been conspicuous for his interest in public improvements and the development of internal communication and transportation facilities. He was one of the founders of the Missouri Pacific Railroad. The first memorial to Congress in 1850 on this subject, asking for a land grant and the right of way through the public lands of Missouri, and the first list of incorporators both contain the name of John B. Sarpy, along with O'Fallon, Page, Meier, Brant, Lucas, Walsh, Yeatman, Wayman Crow, Collier, P. Chouteau, Jr., Campbell, Henry Shaw, Pratte, Angelrodt, and Benoist. It was among these men that Mr. Sarpy properly stood as a merchant, and as prominent as any of them. Unhappily he did not live to see the completion of this great railroad enterprise, the advancement of which he had so much at heart. Several years before his death, owing to the infirm state of his health, he retired from active business.

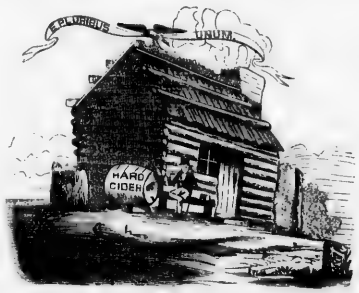
Mr. Sarpy was a man of very domestic habits and regular life. The time he could spare from his business, to which he was faithfully attentive, was devoted to his family, and he knew no higher pleasure nor wanted one more exciting than the quiet enjoyment of fireside comfort. His social qualities were of a superior order, but he never cared to display them except in that small inner circle of close friends whom he admitted to his intimacy. His home was the centre of his affections and of his daily life. He had three residences during his life in St. Louis besides his father's house, in which his youth was spent. In 1826 he bought a lot of forty feet front on Main Street, south of Vine Street, from John B. Cabanné. On this he built two store-houses, occupying the upper part of the building, as was then the custom, as his own residence. Ten years later he bought a fourth of block No. 117 from Peter Ferguson, and built on it, on the southeast corner of Olive and Sixth Streets, a large mansion of brick, a double house, fifty feet front, and having extensive back-buildings and domestic offices. Into this building he moved, and continued to make it his residence until the time of his death.

Only two daughters survive of Mr. Sarpy's numerous children,—Virginia, first the wife of Frederick Berthold, deceased, of St. Louis, and at present married to Armand Peugnet, residing in France, and Julia Anne Adèle, wife of Col. J. L. D. Morrison, one of the leading lawyers of the St. Louis bar.

In 1838, Messrs. Harrison and Miller were re-elected to Congress over Beverly Allen and John Wilson, Whigs. Mr. Harrison died before the expiration of his term. In 1839, John Jamison was elected to the vacancy over Thornton Grimsley, Whig. Van Buren and Johnson electors were chosen this year.

In 1840, John Miller and John C. Edwards were elected on the Democratic ticket to Congress, defeating E. M. Samuel and George C. Sibley, Whigs. Under the census of this year the State became entitled to five members of Congress.

In this year the carnival of mimic log cabins, cider barrels, gourds, coon skins, stag's antlers, beaver-traps, hunting shirts, etc., made so familiar by the Whigs in



WHIG LOG CABIN.

the Harrison campaign, overran the surface of St. Louis politics, but the State held fast to the Democratic party and cast her vote for Van Buren. A "log cabin" was erected by the Whigs on the square in

children, but he also bequeathed ten thousand dollars to the Methodist Episcopal Church South for the St. Charles College, and five thousand dollars to the Protestant Orphan Asylum. Bequests of various sums of from one thousand to ten thousand dollars were also made to different relatives and friends. During life Mr. Collier studiously avoided all ostentation, and in his will requested that his remains might be interred decently without vain display, enjoining upon his executors that there should be no extravagant adornment of his last resting-place, and that the cost of the monument erected to his memory should be limited to two thousand five hundred dollars. Mr. Collier's bequests to charitable objects by no means represented the amount of good of which he was the willing and cheerful instrument, for throughout his business career he was a ready and generous contributor to objects which he considered worthy of his benefactions. He was especially liberal in his donations to St. Charles' College, even before the acquirement of great wealth had made such contributions not only a pleasant but an easy task. On the 22d of February, 1868, Mr. Collier's sons—John P., William B., M. Dwight, and Thomas F. Collier—presented the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars to Washington University as a permanent endowment.

front of Mrs. Ashley's mansion, and the enthusiastic chronicler adds that "they have great pleasure in testifying to the warm encouragement Mrs. Ashley gave to the proposed celebration."[1] Hon. Thomas H. Benton said, "Log cabins, coon skins, and hard cider were taken as symbols of the Whig party, and to show its identification with the poorest and humblest of the people; and these cabins were actually raised in the public parts of the richest cities, ornamented with coon-skins after the fashion of frontier huts, and cider drunk in them out of gourds in the public meetings which gathered about them, and the virtues of these cabins, these skins, and this cider were celebrated by traveling and stationary orators. The whole country was put into commotion by traveling parties and public gatherings. Steamboats and all public conveyances were crowded with parties singing doggerel ballads made for the occasion, accompanied with the music of drums, fifes, and fiddles, and incited by incessant speaking. A system of public gatherings was got up, which pervaded every State, county, and town, which took place by day and by night, accompanied by every preparation to excite, and many of which gatherings were truly enormous in their numbers, only to be estimated by the acre, attempts at counting or computing such masses being out of the question."

Nathaniel Paschall and Charles G. Ramsey, in their newspaper, the *New Era*, rendered effective aid to the Whig party, already elated with its success at the municipal election in the month of April, 1840, at which the Hon. John F. Darby had been re-elected mayor.[2]

At the election in the fall of this year, Thomas Reynolds was elected Governor over John B. Clark, the vote standing 29,625 for Reynolds and 22,212 for Clark, and M. M. Marmaduke was chosen Lieutenant-Governor. The Democrats elected a decided majority of the members of the Legislature, but St. Louis sent a Whig delegation. The electoral vote of the State was cast for Martin Van Buren for President.[3]

In 1842, James M. Hughes, James H. Relfe, James B. Bowlin, and G. M. Brown were the congressmen elected. They were really the only candidates. Some votes were cast for John P. Campbell, W. Ranney, and William Gilpin, Whigs. There being some question raised as to the legality of electing the congressman at large under the congressional apportionment bill, the Whigs declined to make any nominations for Congress this year. The apportionment under the census of 1840 had been delayed until 1842, and then the act was so framed that there was much difficulty in determining what would be proper to do at the approaching election, as the State had not been divided into districts corresponding in number with her then apportionment. However, the election was ordered under the existing general ticket system. The ballot system was adopted in the same year.[4]

In 1843, David R. Atchison was elected United States senator from Missouri, and continued to serve until 1855.

In 1844, for Congress, the "Hards" or Benton Democrats nominated John S. Phelps, who received in the election which followed, 36,023 votes; Sterling Price, 35,128; James H. Relfe, 35,100; James B. Bowlin, 35,550; and D. C. M. Parsons, 18,850. Mr. Parsons died a short time before the election, which accounts for his small vote and the election of

[1] Republican, April 27, 1840.

[2] In the month of May of this year the laboring population of St. Louis forced upon their employers the adoption of the ten-hour system. The movement originated with the bricklayers, but soon extended until it embraced the journeymen of all trades.

[3] The Native American association nominated in 1841 the following ticket for the General Assembly as candidates for the August election: For senators, Adam L. Mills, Presley Cordell; for representatives, John Simonds, David B. Hill, Alfred Tracy, Thomas Sappington, Oley Williams, George H. Lanham, Fremon Delaurie.

The ticket stood politically divided thus: the two senators and four representatives were Whigs, and the three others were Democrats.—*Republican*, Dec. 4, 1841.

[4] Among the members of the State Legislature in 1842 was William Shields, who represented Cooper County in the House of Representatives. He was born on the 18th of February, 1808, married Miss Ann O'B. McIntyre, in Virginia, Nov. 6, 1831, emigrated to Missouri in 1836, and settled at Boonville. After serving in the House, he represented the district of which his county formed part from 1844 to 1848, and in 1845 was sent as a delegate from his county to the State Constitutional Convention. In 1856 he was selected as one of the delegates from Missouri to the National Democratic Convention, and at the breaking out of the war espoused the cause of the Southern Confederacy. For some years prior to 1860 he had been engaged in the banking business at Lexington, and when war between the States became imminent he was appointed by Governor Jackson fund commissioner and paymaster-general of the State forces. At the close of the war he made his home in St. Louis, and became the secretary of the Atlas Fire Insurance Company. Subsequently he was appointed cashier of the Western Savings-Bank, and afterwards cashier of the Union National Bank and finally receiver. In 1874 he was elected city auditor. In 1877 he was appointed by Mayor Overstolz collector and assessor of water rates, which office he retained until his death, the latter occurring Dec. 30, 1878. The deceased left a widow, four children, and nineteen grandchildren. The children were Capt. Thomas W. Shields, of St. Louis; Mrs. H. E. O'Bannon, of St. Louis; Mrs. A. M. Elliott, of Pettis County, Mo.; and Mrs. H. M. Hatch, of Galveston, Texas.

L. H. Simms, the leading candidate on the "Soft" or Calhoun ticket. Simms' associates on the "Soft" ticket were Thomas B. Hudson, Augustus Jones, Ralph Boone, and J. Thornton. The vote for this ticket averaged from 27,000 to 29,000. The Whigs had no candidates, but generally voted for the candidates on the "Soft" ticket. Gen. Price having resigned to go to Mexico, the vacancy was filled by the election of William McDaniel, Democrat. The seven votes of this State this year were cast for Polk and Dallas. At this election the vote cast in St. Louis was the greatest ever given at any election there. The whole number of votes was 4869.

In 1845 the Legislature changed the mode previously followed for the election of members of Congress, and divided the State for the first time into congressional districts as follows: First District, the counties of St. Louis, Jefferson, St. François, Ste. Genevieve, Perry, Madison, Shannon, Cape Girardeau, Wayne, Stoddard, Scott, New Madrid, and Ripley; Second, Marion, Ralls, Pike, Audrain, Callaway, Montgomery, Lincoln, Warren, St. Charles, Franklin, Gasconade, Osage, Pulaski, Crawford, and Washington; Third, Scotland, Clark, Lewis, Monroe, Boone, Howard, Charlton, Randolph, Macon, Shelby, Cooper, Morgan, Cole, Miller, and Camden; Fourth, Adair, Linn, Grundy, Livingston, Carroll, Ray, Caldwell, Daviess, Clay, Platte, Clinton, Buchanan, Andrew, and Holt; Fifth, Jackson, Lafayette, Saline, Van Buren, Cass, Johnson, Pettis, Henry, Benton, Bates, St. Clair, Dallas, Polk, Dade, Jasper, Greene, Newton, Barry, Taney, Wright, Decatur, and Ozark.

In this year the State was also divided into seven electoral districts for the election of one Presidential elector in each.

At the election in St. Louis on the 4th of August, 1845, for delegates to the State Constitutional Convention the vote was as follows:

Native American Ticket.		Democratic Ticket.	
Campbell	2645	Polk	2595
Wright	2608	Leslie	2558
Hyatt	2626	Edmonson	2547
Foster	2558	Wise	2489
Bassett	2656	Watson	2484
Adreon	2502	Mead	2463

The convention met at Jefferson City Nov. 17, 1845, and organized by the election of Robert W. Wells as president, Claiborne F. Jackson vice-president, and R. Walker secretary. The Constitution adopted by this convention was rejected by the people at the election in August of the following year by nine thousand majority. Among the measures adopted by the convention was one for the cession of St. Louis and adjacent territory to the United States as the site of the national capital. The *Republican* of Jan. 20, 1846, under the heading of "A Ridiculous Blunder," thus refers to the proposition:

"During the recent session of the convention a proposition was made and finally entertained to cede St. Louis and a goodly quantity of territory contiguous to it 'for the purpose of locating and keeping thereon the seat of government of the United States.' There are those among us who think that they may live long enough to see such a consummation, and so, doubtless, thought the convention, or they would not have inserted such a clause in the Constitution. There it is: they did attempt to cede St. Louis to the general government, and no doubt thought they were doing so, but, unfortunately for them and for us, the metes and bounds set forth with so much precision do not happen to touch St. Louis. The nearest approach to our city is the township line which strikes the United States arsenal tract below the city. The section of country ceded takes in the ancient and renowned city of Vide-Poche, otherwise denominated empty pocket, and reaches nearly to Jefferson Barracks. What effect this strange blunder may have upon the two towns we leave to those interested to find out, certain of one thing only, that Vide-Poche and not St. Louis is to be the future seat of the national government if the terms of our Constitution are to be regarded."

About this time the agitation for the abolition of slavery began to assume a formidable shape. At a public meeting of the citizens of St. Louis, held in September, 1846, a committee of one hundred was appointed to consider and adopt measures "for the protection of slave property against the evil designs of the abolitionists and others." On the 5th of October a large concourse of citizens assembled in the rotunda of the court-house to receive the report. John H. Ferguson, chairman of the former meeting, presided, and Henry B. Belt acted as secretary.

Mr. Norcom, chairman of the committee of one hundred, presented the report in the shape of a preamble and constitution of an anti-abolition society, which was read, considered, and adopted.

The committee also reported a list of officers provided for in the constitution, which, on being read to the meeting, were unanimously approved and elected. They were as follows:

For *President*, John O'Fallon.

Vice-Presidents.—County: St. Louis township, F. Norcom; St. Ferdinand, A. Sanford; Central, Thomas Skinker; Carondelet, William L. Long; Maramec, Henry Tyler; Bonhomme, W. H. Dorsett. City: First Ward, J. H. Ferguson; Second Ward, T. Grimsley; Third, Adam L. Mills; Fourth, J. B. Brant; Fifth, J. M. Wimer; Sixth, P. G. Camden.

Committee of Finance.—St. Louis township, R. W. Hunt, James Russell, R. I. Curle, H. M. Shreve, L. D. Martin; St. Ferdinand, James Bissell, Olley Williams, W. McKelvy, F. Hyatt, Frank Utz; Central, John Lay, J. H. Douglas, John Marshal, James

McDonald, Thomas Wash; Carondelet, F. Dent, John Sappington, William Pipkin, Antoine Barada, John Bingham; Maramec, P. Tippitt, B. G. Brown, W. Boxly, W. A. Hereford, William Berry; Bonhomme, Judge Higgins, William Bassett, W. Berry, John Hempstead, William B. Blackburn.

Committee of Finance from the City.—First Ward, Henry Pilkington and Samuel Black; Second Ward, Joseph S. Pease and Charles Robb; Third Ward, R. McO. Blenis and Enoch Price; Fourth Ward, H. Renard and J. W. Beachboard; Fifth Ward, J. B. Carson and John Leach; Sixth Ward, J. J. Childs and S. V. Farnsworth.

Mr. Norcom, from the same committee, then submitted the following resolutions, which, he said, had occupied the attention and received the sanction of the committee, and which they recommended for the adoption of the meeting:

"*Resolved*, That the president of this association request, in the name of this meeting, the city authorities to adopt such ordinances as may be necessary to prevent all negroes from leaving the homes of their masters after dark, whether with or without permission of their owner or employer; and that proper signals be given, in at least three points of the city, announcing the hour for negroes to retire.

"*Resolved*, That our fellow-citizens throughout the State be requested to organize similar societies, and adopt like means with our own, for the more effectual protection of their slave property, and the execution of laws against the abduction of slaves.

"*Resolved*, That this meeting consider all 'negro preaching' and 'negro teaching' dangerous to the happiness, quiet, and safety of our slave population, in view of which we earnestly request the city authorities to enact ordinances effectually to prevent the continuance of these evils."

The resolutions were severally adopted. The committee also presented for the consideration of the meeting a memorial to the Legislature setting forth the necessity for the passage of additional laws on this subject. The memorial was read and adopted.

On motion of Mr. Whittelsey, it was also

"*Resolved*, That the sheriff, marshal, and constables of the county be requested to put in force the laws now existing against free negroes, and that the county court be requested to appoint a patrol for the county."

Pending the consideration of the resolutions, Wilis L. Williams addressed the meeting, urging the necessity of prompt measures "to put an end to the evils arising from the success of the efforts of the abolitionists in this State."

In 1846, James B. Bowlin (Democrat) was elected to Congress in the First District over William Milburn (Democrat) and Uriel Wright (Whig); John Jamison in the Second over Preston P. Bradley; James S. Green in the Third over John G. Miller; Willard P. Hall in the Fourth over James H. Birch; and John S. Phelps in the Fifth over John P. Campbell.

In March, 1847, the distinguished statesman Henry Clay visited St. Louis. Mr. Clay had declined in advance the official reception with which it had been proposed to honor him, stating that his visit was entirely of a private character, and undertaken for business reasons. On his arrival, however, he was greeted by an immense assemblage, and was conveyed in a carriage with four fine bay horses down Commercial to Vine Street, down Main to Chestnut, and up Chestnut to the Planters' House. He remained in St. Louis some time, and during his stay a *soirée* was given in his honor at the Planters' House.

In 1848 Messrs. Bowlin, Green, Hall, and Phelps were re-elected, and W. V. N. Bay elected in the Second District. The electoral vote of the State was cast this year for Cass and Butler.[1]

In 1850 the congressmen elected were John F. Darby in the First District, Gilchrist Porter in the Second, John G. Miller in the Third, Willard P. Hall in the Fourth, and John S. Phelps in the Fifth.

On Jan. 15, 1849, Claiborne F. Jackson, senator from Howard County, reported to the Senate of Missouri a series of resolutions on the subject of slavery, which asserted that any attempt on the part of Congress to legislate on the subject so as to effect the institution of slavery in the States, in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories was "a violation of the principles upon which" the Constitution was founded; that the Territories ought to be governed for the common benefit of the people of all the States, and that any organization of Territorial governments which excluded the citizens of any part of the Union from removing to such Territories with their property

[1] The vote of St. Louis City and County was as follows:

Precincts.	Taylor.	Cass.	Lackland.	Hall.
First Ward	138	725	56	362
Second Ward	424	584	224	275
Third Ward	1477	756	701	394
Fourth Ward	1077	641	484	240
Fifth Ward	690	758	359	461
Sixth Ward	434	711	129	170
Central	55	82	23	19
St. Ferdinand	120	81	38	40
Bridgeton	57	80	47	26
Manchester	131	111	26	25
Carondelet	78	50	46	25
Gravois	35	106	2	62
Maramec	50	54	5	21
Washington House	66	14	22	6
Prairie House	35	23	19	11
Bellegrove	38	20	3	10
Lanham's Store	5	5	...	...
Total	4847	4801	2171	2097

Six votes for Taylor and Fillmore were rejected by the judges, the voters simply depositing Taylor and Fillmore tickets, without a list of the electors. These votes included, the Whig majority in the city will be one.—*Republican*, Nov. 9, 1848.

would be an exercise of power by Congress inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution, insulting to the States, and calculated to dissolve the Union; that the conduct of the Northern States upon the subject of slavery had practically abrogated the Missouri Compromise of 1820, but that Missouri, for harmony, would sanction the application of that compromise to territory acquired from Mexico; that slavery can only be prohibited in any Territory by the people in the formation of a State Constitution; and that Missouri would heartily co-operate with the slaveholding States in such measures as they may deem necessary for mutual protection against congressional legislation upon this subject. These resolutions, adopted by a vote of 53 to 27, encountered the bitter opposition of Senator Benton, who on the 26th of May, 1849, opened a canvass against them. In the prosecution of this appeal from the Legislature to the people, Senator Benton canvassed the entire State during the spring and summer of 1849.

One of the immediate consequences of this "appeal" was a division of the Democratic party into "Benton" and "anti-Benton" factions. In this crisis the Whig party leaned towards Benton, rather than his party opponents. In the Legislature the Whig representatives had opposed the Jackson resolutions, and before the people they maintained the pro-Union principles which had always been advocated by that party. The Democrats of the Legislature were divided into "anti-Benton" or "Hards," and Benton or "Softs;" and even among the Whigs there appeared Benton and anti-Benton Whigs.

The joint convention to elect a senator met on Jan. 10, 1851, and from day to day until the 22d. On the fortieth ballot the result stood, for Henry S. Geyer, Whig, 80; Thomas H. Benton, 55; B. F Stringfellow, 18; scattering, 4.[1]

This defeat ended the thirty years' senatorship of Thomas H. Benton. The Jackson resolutions continued to be a source of discord and division in the politics of Missouri. At the special session of the Legislature, beginning Aug. 30, 1852, which was divided into Benton and anti-Benton, Free-Soil and Slave-Soil, Whigs and Democrats, the contest for Speaker of the House was long and bitter, presenting scenes of excitement never surpassed in the history of Missouri.[2]

The contest terminated with the election of Dr. Reuben Shelby, a Benton Democrat, on the resolution of Wm. D. Maupin, of Saline, a Whig. In the regular session of the Legislature, beginning Dec. 27, 1852, the same division of parties was exhibited, and similar bitterness in the election of Speaker. After many ballots Reuben Shelby was re-elected.

About 1850–51 St. Louis was the favorite rendezvous of the Mormons on their way to the West. In its issue of May 8, 1851, the *Republican* said,—

[1] "Benton is beaten! With this announcement, simple in its terms, but full of import, we give to the public the result of the canvass in this State for the last twelve months. It is hardly necessary to recapitulate the position of parties. It is known that Col Benton appealed to the people of Missouri against certain instructions passed by the Legislature two years since. It is also known that the members of the Legislature, and a majority of the Democratic party, took issue with him upon that 'appeal,' and in favor of the doctrines enunciated in the 'Jackson resolutions,' and it is furthermore known that the Whig party, standing upon their own ground, as they have always done, sought to elect, and did elect, a greater number of members of the present Legislature than either of the other parties. They did so without any concealment of their principles. They avowed their intention, if possible, to secure the choice of a sufficient number of senators and representatives to elect a Whig senator in the Congress of the United States. In this they failed by fifteen or sixteen votes. But they were and are the predominant party in the Legislature. First in point of numbers, though representing, as is contended, a less number of the popular votes than their party opponents, stand the friends of Col. Benton; and close upon them and better represented, because of their superiority in tact and talent, may be classed the anti-Bentonites. For nearly two weeks these parties have been engaged in the election of a senator of the United States in place of Col. Benton. It was perfectly competent at any time for the Whigs and anti-Bentonites to have secured an election, but as there was no affiliation between them, except in the desire to beat Benton, very little was done other than to vote for the candidates of the respective parties. This position was maintained until all expedients to bring the Benton and anti-Benton parties together had failed, and until a palpable trick had developed to the latter the heartlessness and insincerity of the former party. Then it was that there was an approximation to an election, and on Wednesday morning, and on the fortieth ballot, the election was consummated. The vote is thus declared by the *Telegraph*: For Geyer, 80; Benton, 55; Stringfellow, 18; Green, 2; Dunn, 2; Polk, 1.

"Mr. Geyer, we suppose, in the absence of telegraphic dispatches, received the votes of fifteen anti-Benton men and one Benton man. The whole of the Whig party adhered to him, and the votes of a majority of the anti-Benton men were given for different gentlemen. Of the entire Legislature, composing one hundred and sixty members, saving the absentees, Mr. Benton received only sixty-five votes, a little over one-third of the members, and representing less than that ratio of the popular voice of the State. Benton is beaten, not by any combination, but by the voice of the people, and if at any time he has exercised influence with the citizens of Missouri, that influence is now gone."—*Republican*, Jan. 24, 1851.

[2] Joseph A. Hay, Whig, of Lewis County, offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That a veil be hung over the portrait of Col. Benton now hanging in the Representative Hall, that Claib Jackson be requested to absent himself from the House, and that the members drink no more grog till a Speaker is elected."

"Some two hundred Mormons left our city yesterday on the steamer 'Statesman' for Council Bluffs, where they will, we learn, proceed immediately to Salt Lake.

"Although we have no Mormon Church in St. Louis, and though these people have no other class or permanent possession or permanent interest in our city, yet their numerical strength here is greater than may be imagined. Our city is the greatest recruiting point for Mormon emigrants from England and the Eastern States, and the former especially, whose funds generally become exhausted by the time they reach it, generally stop here several months, and not unfrequently remain among us a year or two pending a resumption of their journey to the Salt Lake. Those from the Eastern States ordinarily leave their homes only when they have sufficient means to take them through their entire journey, and for that reason rarely stop here over a few days, or at most a few weeks. There are at this time in St. Louis about three thousand English Mormons, nearly all of whom are masters of some trade, or have acquired experience in some profession which they follow now. As was said, they have no church, but they attend divine service twice each Sunday at Concert Hall, and they celebrate their feasts and perform their devotional duties with the same regularity, if not in the same style, as their brethren in the valley. They apprehend none of the molestation here with which formerly and elsewhere they were visited. During the past winter they have not been behindhand with their fellow-citizens in devising modes to spend the time pleasantly. We heard frequently of Mormon balls and parties, and Concert Hall was on several occasions filled with persons gathered to witness Mormon theatrical performances. We have witnessed the congregation as it issued from the hall at the religious meetings on Sundays, and certainly we think it does not compare unfavorably with the other congregations."

In continuation of his "appeal," Col. Benton, defeated for the Senate, became a candidate in 1852 in the First Congressional District for Congress, and was elected.[1] A. W. Lamblin was chosen in the Second District, John G. Miller in the Third, M. Oliver in the Fourth, and John S. Phelps in the Fifth.

The distinguished lawyer, politician, and statesman, Thomas H. Benton, opened a law-office in St. Louis in 1815. A great flood of emigration set in about this time, and the interior of the State began to be settled rapidly. Col. Benton was retained in several important land suits, and won immediate reputation. His public services in after-life have become matters of national history. Thomas H. Benton was born near Hillsborough, N. C., March 14, 1782. His parents were Jesse Benton, a respectable lawyer, and Ann Gooch, of Hanover County, Va., and he was the eldest son of that marriage. His mother was the niece of Col. Thomas Hart, of Kentucky, and was a cousin of the wife of Henry Clay. His father, who died when Thomas was eight years old, had a tract of valuable land, some twenty thousand acres, lying twenty-five miles to the south of Nashville, Tenn., and to this region his mother removed with her two sons, Thomas Hart and Jesse. Soon afterwards Thomas H. was educated at Chapel Hill University, North Carolina; taught school in Middle Tennessee in 1896, was admitted to the bar in 1808, and opened an office in the town of Franklin, but shortly after removed to Nashville. In 1811 he was elected to the State Legislature, and during his term of service secured the passage of a law for the reformation of the judicial system of the State, and another by which the right of trial by jury was given to slaves. He joined the army in 1812, and was Gen. Jackson's aide-de-camp until shortly before the personal encounter between them, in which Jesse Benton participated. He then became colonel of a Tennessee regiment. The life, work, and character of Col. Benton have been subjected to alternate eulogy and criticism. He was a man of strong intellect, and a natural leader of men. Though sometimes amusingly egotistic and disagreeably overbearing, he could exert rare winning faculties, and his probity was unimpeachable. His "Thirty Years' View" will always be one of the books that a student of American history must read, for Benton's contemporaries were Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Seward, Sumner, Douglas, Crittenden, and men of almost equal eminence; and in his prime the people of the West, even including his political opponents, had a right to be proud of their representative. Foote, in his interesting volume upon the "Bench and Bar of the Southwest," lays peculiar stress upon Col. Benton's industry, perseverance, and fertility of resource, but adds that the great Missouri senator was "far more plenteously endowed with the dictatorial spirit than with the gentle graces of persuasion," and that his voice was always "harsh and untunable, his gesticulations clumsy and ungraceful." But Foote adds that Col. Benton could express himself on paper in a simple, nervous, and idiomatic English style which few men of his time could equal.

He was engaged in two personal encounters, one of which has been mentioned, the other being the sad and fatal duel with young Lucas, in 1817. In reference to the first, the noted conflict with Gen. Andrew Jackson, Parton throws the chief blame upon Col. Benton. It is proper, therefore, to give the following letter, printed by Col. Benton a few days after the affair, and republished in the *St. Louis Republican*,

[1] "The election is over. The battle has been fought, and we have been very completely beaten. There is no use of complaining over what cannot be remedied. Benton has made a Duke of Wellington affair of it,—a perfect Waterloo defeat to us,—and that, too, we believe, solely by the aid of Blucher and the Prussian forces.

"The smoke and dust of the battle having passed away, we can take a calm survey of the field.

"Such a contest has never been witnessed in the United States, and Col. Benton has a right to claim as great a *coup d'état* as Louis Napoleon."—*Republican*, Aug. 5, 1852.

Aug. 2, 1881. It is as follows, and gives a curious picture of the possibilities of daily existence in that duelistic age, when certainly life could not be termed monotonous:

"FRANKLIN, TENN., Sept. 10, 1813.

"A difference which had been for some months brewing between Gen. Jackson and myself produced, on Saturday, the 4th inst., in the town of Nashville, the most outrageous affray ever witnessed in a civilized country. In communicating this affair to my friends and fellow-citizens, I limit myself to the statement of a few leading facts, the truth of which I am ready to establish by judicial proofs:

"*First.* That myself and my brother, Jesse Benton, arriving in Nashville on the morning of the affray, and knowing of Gen. Jackson's threats, went and took our lodgings in a different house from the one in which he stayed on purpose to avoid him.

"*Second.* That the general and some of his friends came to the house where we had put up and commenced the attack by leveling a pistol at me *when I had no weapon drawn*, and advancing upon me at a quick pace without giving me time to draw one.

"*Third.* That seeing this my brother fired upon Gen. Jackson when he had got within eight or ten feet of me.

"*Fourth.* That four other pistols were fired in quick succession, one by Gen. Jackson at me, two by me at the general, and one by Col. Coffee at me. In the course of this firing Gen. Jackson was brought to the ground, but I received no hurt.

"*Fifth.* That daggers were then drawn. Col. Coffee and Mr. Alexander Donaldson made at me and gave me five slight wounds. Capt. Hammond and Mr. Stockley Hays engaged my brother, who, being still weak from the effects of a severe wound he had lately received in a duel, was not able to resist two men. They got him down, and while Capt. Hammond beat him on the head to make him lay still, Mr. Hays attempted to stab him, and wounded him in both arms as he lay on his back parrying the thrusts with his naked hands. From this situation a generous-hearted citizen of Nashville, Mr. Sumner, relieved him. Before he came to the ground my brother clapped a pistol to the breast of Mr. Hays to blow him through, but it missed fire.

"*Sixth.* My own and my brother's pistols carried two balls each, for it was our intention, if driven to our arms, to have no child's play. The pistols fired at me were so near that the blaze of the muzzle of one of them burnt the sleeve of my coat, and the other aimed at my head a little more than arm's length from it.

"*Seventh.* Capt. Carroll was to have taken part in the affray, but was absent by the permission of Gen. Jackson, as he has since proved by the general's certificate,—a certificate which reflects I know not whether less honor upon the general or upon the captain.

"*Eighth.* That this attack was made upon me in the house where the judge of the district, Mr. Searcy, has his lodgings. So little are the laws and its ministers respected. Nor has the civil authority yet taken cognizance of this horrible outrage.

"These facts are sufficient to fix the public opinion. For my own part, I think it scandalous that such things should take place at any time, but particularly so at the present moment, when the public service requires the aid of all its citizens. As for the name of courage, God forbid that I should ever attempt to gain it by becoming a bully. Those who know me know full well that I would give a thousand times more for the reputation of Croghan in defending his post than I would for the reputation of all the duelists and gladiators that ever appeared in the face of the earth.

"THOMAS HART BENTON,
"*Lieutenant-colonel Thirty-ninth Infantry.*"

There will always be divergent views about this affair. A writer in the *Republican* of Nov. 5, 1844, says, "Thomas H. Benton came to Missouri, I think, in 1815, much in the character he left North Carolina, as a fugitive from justice, having cast his Parthian arrow behind him in a letter giving an account of the bloody affray between him and Gen. Jackson."

The difficulty seems to have originated in a personal controversy between Gen. Jackson and Col. Benton's younger brother Jesse. Gen. Jackson received a painful wound, and from that time until the development of his policy as President in relation to the United States Bank and nullification he and Col. Benton were strangers. Finally, however, they were brought together and reconciled by the force of political sympathies.

The duel with Charles Lucas occurred in 1817. The trouble grew out of political controversy and excitement. In August of that year, Lucas, a son of Judge J. B. C. Lucas, and a young attorney of promise, challenged Col. Benton's vote at the polls. Benton called Lucas an insolent puppy, was challenged, and a duel took place August 12th on Bloody Island, L. E. Lawless being Benton's second, and Joshua Barton second for Lucas. They exchanged shots, and Lucas was shot in the neck and Benton in the knee. It was thought the affair would terminate here, but disparaging rumors and gossip angered the principals to such an extent that a second encounter took place September 27th, in which Lucas was mortally wounded and died in half an hour. It is said that mutual friends could by proper exertions have prevented this meeting, but at that time it was sanctioned by public opinion; and though Col. Benton was opposed to dueling, he was not willing to lose his place in public life by refusing to accept the challenge of Lucas in the first place, or by refraining from challenging him in turn.

Judge J. B. C. Lucas published a statement in the *Missouri Gazette* of Nov. 1, 1817, in which he says that his son made a methodical statement in writing previous to the first meeting. It is to the effect that in October, 1816, Col. Benton and himself were employed on opposite sides in a case and gave each other the lie. Benton then sent Lucas a challenge, which the latter declined, and nothing further occurred till the election of Aug. 4, 1817. Judge Lucas states that his son was the challenged party in this case also, and there is a conflict of authorities on the subject. After Lucas was wounded, Benton demanded a second meeting, but afterwards waived this right. The rest of the account agrees in the main with that previously given.

But the entire subject was reviewed at great length on the evening of March 14, 1882, the one hundredth birthday of the great statesman.[1] On that occasion, before a large assemblage in Memorial Hall, Hon. Thomas T. Gantt, by request of the Missouri Historical Society, delivered an address upon Benton's life and character. It is not likely that any more complete and able account from friendly hands can ever be given to the public. Col. Gantt drew largely upon the reminiscences of Judge Lawless in his story of the Lucas duel, and showed how the natural antagonism between the old French families of influence and the bustling new-comers was fostered, how political and social elements combined to intensify it, what causes urged on the high-spirited Lucas, and how absolute was the demand of society that the "code of honor" should be observed, else were a man disgraced forever. Altogether it was one of the saddest tragedies of the West, and Benton never ceased to [illegible] the fatal shot; the Lucases never forgave it.

Col. Gantt's version of the tragedy is as follows:

"Charles Lucas, a son of Judge Lucas, was a young man of unusual promise, both as a lawyer and a politician. To him his father looked as the representative of his interests, and on him was imposed the duty of taking aggressive measures to drive Benton from the political field. I speak as I have already said, from information received from Col. Lawless. According to him, there was no doubt in his own or Benton's mind of the plan proposed; and of course no one can doubt of the fierce opposition likely to be made to it by Benton. He was throughout his life the enemy of compromises and half-measures, and without the least injustice he may be called an extremist. He was a fast friend, but a bitter enemy; and when he drew the sword he cast the scabbard away.

"It was a somewhat perilous enterprise, that of driving Benton from the political field, which means from St. Louis, supposing it to have been really entertained. What was done in the execution of it was not judicious. It was resolved that Charles Lucas should challenge his vote at the August election in 1817, and should allege as the ground of his challenge that Benton had not paid his taxes. Col. Lawless stated that this course was agreed upon at a conference of the Lucas men, and that the choice of Charles Lucas as their spokesman was determined by lot.

"When the challenge was made Benton denied the ground of it, and on its repetition by Charles Lucas demanded to be sworn as the law directed. He advanced haughtily to take the oath, saying to Charles Lucas, 'Out of my way, you puppy!' The bystanders interfered, but in that day there could be but one issue to such an altercation. Benton had unequivocally placed what is technically called the *onus* on Charles Lucas, who promptly challenged him. They met, with pistols as the arms and ten paces as the distance, on Bloody Island, opposite St. Louis, and Charles Lucas was dangerously wounded.

"Judge Lucas was greatly disappointed. His exasperation was extreme. He had hoped for the death of Benton, and now his favorite son was dangerously, and it was at first believed mortally, wounded. The symptoms improved, however, and the sufferer was soon pronounced out of danger. Some of his friends spoke of his soon being able to renew the fight with Benton. 'I have no fight to renew,' said Charles Lucas; 'Benton could not have done otherwise than he did. I don't blame him in the least. In fact, I and my friends have been entirely in the wrong in this matter. I am glad I am getting well, but I have no quarrel with Benton.' It was told to Benton by a common friend of both that Charles had thus expressed himself. Benton authorized this gentleman to say to Charles Lucas that he, Benton, deeply regretted the meeting and its consequences; that he was delighted that these consequences were less serious than he had at first feared; that his best acknowledgments were due for the manly frankness with which Charles Lucas had spoken, and that no one more sincerely than himself wished for his early and complete recovery. This message was delivered, and Charles Lucas expressed himself much gratified, and sent word to Benton that as soon as he left his sick-room he would offer him his hand. Benton was much moved. He said that if Mr. Lucas would permit him he would be glad to anticipate the period of complete cure and in person express his own feelings. Charles Lucas replied that such a visit would give him great pleasure, and Benton, accompanied by a friend, waited upon him. Some friends of Mr. Lucas were also present, and the interview was most satisfactory. The reconciliation appeared to be complete.

"It appears that Judge Lucas had not been taken into the counsels of his son on this occasion, and when he became aware of what had passed his wrath was great. He was, as nearly every one is when in a violent passion, unreasonable and unjust. He proclaimed that cowardice had been Benton's motive in seeking a reconciliation with his son; that Benton was a practiced duelist, confident of his skill, but afraid of the deadly terms as to distance on which Charles had intended to renew the war, and that he had by abusing Charles' generosity and making abject professions of regret extorted a pacification which was his only means of safety. Very soon kind friends of the class from which the Spanish proverb declares it a happiness to be saved repeated to Benton these utterances of Judge Lucas. But Benton was determined to pay no attention to what Judge Lucas said, and so declared, greatly, of course, to the disappointment of the friends spoken of, and of Judge Lucas himself. Judge Lawless said that Judge Lucas was furious when he heard Benton's resolution; he repeated that Benton was a poltroon, and added, 'and Charles says so too.' The friends performed their office as before, and, greatly to the chagrin of Benton, he perceived that the matter was becoming complicated in a most annoying degree. At first he hesitated; but this

[1] At the Benton centenary celebration there was a notable gathering of the leading men of St. Louis. Seats on the platform were occupied by Col. George E. Leighton, Silas Bent, John F. Darby, Peter L. Foy, George Knapp, W. G. Eliot, Dr. Stevens, Richard Dowling, and Wayman Crow.

The meeting was called to order by Col. Leighton, who stated that in the absence of Edwin Harrison, president of the society, the duty of presiding devolved upon him. The place of Benton in the history of the State, of the Mississippi valley and the country had been already fixed. The events of the past thirty years had removed them so far from the state of society in which he lived that the Historical Society had deemed it proper to recall some of the events in the life of the great statesman. The society had therefore asked one of Benton's most appreciative friends to address them that evening, and the speaker had the pleasure of introducing Hon. Thomas T. Gantt. Col. Gantt's address was an exhaustive sketch of Benton's career, and an eloquent tribute to his services in behalf of Missouri and the Union.

only seemed to irritate to madness Judge Lucas, who repeated in every company his injurious remarks respecting Benton, and cited Charles Lucas as concurring with him. Obviously this could not last. Benton addressed a note to Charles Lucas, saying that he had heard that some persons claiming to be his friends had imputed the expression of such opinions to him Charles Lucas); that he (Benton) was satisfied that he (Charles Lucas) had said nothing of the kind, but that it was necessary that he (Benton) should have the means of effectually disproving the rumor, and that this means could only consist in the written authority of Charles Lucas. He begged Charles Lucas to enable him to make this disproof.

"On receiving this note Charles Lucas expressed in words his regret that any such rumor should be in circulation, and declared it to be groundless, adding that he would furnish Benton with a written statement to that effect. Benton's friend expressed himself highly gratified, and the interview closed. That day passed and the next without the promised letter being written by Charles Lucas, and Benton's friend called again. Charles Lucas put him off to the following day. On that evening Judge Lawless said that Charles Lucas and his father were seen walking backwards and forwards on the open ground west of where the Planters' House now stands. The elder man was vehement in his gesticulation and apparently earnest in his speech to the younger, who said little and appeared to be in deep dejection. What was actually said no one knew but the speakers themselves. Next morning, when Benton's friend called for the written statement, Charles Lucas, still appearing deeply dejected, told him that he could give no such statement, and added that if Benton wished for his blood he could have it.

"Benton's friend was Judge Lawless. When he brought to his principal this answer of Lucas, Benton was strongly excited, and remarked that from that point 'all the moves were forced.' He sent at once a pointed challenge to Lucas. He said that Lucas' refusal to disavow the infamous language imputed to him compelled Benton to treat him as its author, as charging him (Benton) with cowardice, etc.; that he thus made it necessary that they should meet again, and, with a view of enabling Lucas to make the terms of the meeting as deadly as he was alleged to wish, he (Benton), by challenging him, conferred on him the privilege of dictating the weapons, the distance, place, etc. In short, everything needed to make the fight desperate was done. Lucas named pistols, six paces, and an early day. It was very warm weather, perhaps early in September, but on this point I am speaking conjecturally. Lawless was the second of Benton, Maj. Clemson the second of Lucas. The parties met at Bloody Island. Both were dressed in black frock coats. It was agreed that the contestants should stand facing each other, with an interval of six paces; that one of the seconds should ask, 'Gentlemen, are you ready?' If no reply were given it would be assumed that both were ready, and then the words should be, 'Fire! one, two, three,' the firing to be after *one*, and not after *three*. Lots were cast to determine which of the seconds should give the word, and it fell to Maj. Clemson.

"The combatants were moving toward their places, when Benton, who was suffering extremely from the heat of the day, exclaimed, 'I can't stand this,' and stepped towards a pitcher of water and basin which had been brought to the ground (I think, but am not positive, that Col. Lawless spoke of an ice-bucket also), threw off his coat, rolled up his shirt sleeves, and bathed his hands and face in water. He was still drying them with the towel, when Maj. Clemson asked, 'Gentlemen, are you ready?' Benton turned sternly towards him and exclaimed, 'Don't you see that I am not ready?'

"It happened that his undershirt was of red flannel, and this was exposed by his baring his arms for the purpose of bathing them. He hurriedly and only partially adjusted his dress, stepped to his place, received his pistol, and turning to Clemson, said, '*Now* I am ready.' Col. Lawless said that Clemson seemed disconcerted by his own blunder and Benton's rebuke of it. In a somewhat broken voice he commenced counting, 'One, two,' etc., without uttering the command, 'Fire!' Every one was astonished. Benton started and looked toward Clemson, as if to interrupt him, when 'one' was pronounced, and Col. Lawless, a highly-impulsive man, suspected foul play on Clemson's part, and expecting to see Benton shot before the proper word was given, resolved, in that event, to shoot Charles Lucas; but just before the word 'two' was called Charles Lucas raised his pistol. Benton raised his own and fired 'like a flash of lightning,' to use the expression of Col. Lawless; the pistol of Lucas was discharged at nearly the same moment, but Benton's bullet passed through Lucas' body, while Lucas' bullet wholly missed Benton. Lucas felt that he was mortally wounded. He caused Benton to be brought to him, expressed himself perfectly satisfied with Benton's conduct, and took on himself the blame of the meeting. Benton was choked with emotion. He pressed the hand of the dying man and withdrew from the spot. That to the day of his death he regarded the death of Charles Lucas as a supreme misfortune to himself, second only to the alternative of being himself killed, is notorious."

Shortly after his removal to St. Louis, Col. Benton established a newspaper (afterwards the *Enquirer*) in opposition to the *Missouri Gazette*, and soon became conspicuous as an editor, lawyer, and politician. In 1820, as we have seen, when Missouri was about to be admitted to the Union, he was elected United States senator as the colleague of David Barton. He was chosen only after a fierce and obstinate struggle, his chief competitor then as afterwards being Judge J. B. C. Lucas, and the contest was waged with great bitterness on both sides. Thus amid the storm of personal and party strife, which was often afterwards to beat about him, began the senatorial career of Col. Benton, destined to continue without interruption for thirty years. At this time he was in the prime of manhood, temperate, industrious, resolute, and in every way fitted to represent the interests of the great West. In his public career Col. Benton accomplished many worthy reforms, and won many political triumphs. He never forgot that the interests of a frontier population were intrusted to his care, and he sympathized with their demands, though he showed at times that he was able to withstand a popular cry and resist even his own constituency. The hard times throughout the country in 1820 were especially felt by the Western land buyers, and Col. Benton urged measures for their relief. In 1824 he brought forward in the Senate a measure providing for the granting of pre-emptive rights to actual settlers, a periodical reduction in the price of public land, and a donation of homesteads to certain persons, and advocated with the ardor and persistence so char-

acteristic of him a bill embodying these features, until at last it was approved by Gen. Jackson in one of his messages, and enacted into a law by Congress. Through his efforts also the saline and mineral lands of Missouri were thrown open to occupancy and the salt tax was repealed. He was one of the earliest as he was one of the most earnest advocates of the construction of a railroad to the Pacific; and assisted largely in the formation of Western exploring expeditions, and in the development of trade with New Mexico, the extension of inland commerce and postal facilities, the establishment of military stations in the West, and the cultivation of friendly relations with the Indian tribes. Throughout his senatorial career he was the ablest, most energetic, and most influential representative of the interests of the Mississippi valley. His most elaborate speeches, however, and those on which his fame as a thinker chiefly rests, were made during the currency disputes about the charter of the Bank of the United States. Throughout his life he supported a gold and silver currency as the only rightful medium for government disbursements and receipts. From this financial policy he obtained the sobriquet of "Old Bullion." He was the mover of the famous resolutions by which the vote of censure passed by the Senate upon Gen. Jackson was, in 1837, expunged from the journal. From 1841 to 1852 he took a prominent part in the debates with regard to the "Oregon boundary," and during the Mexican war period he was the earnest advocate of a vigorous policy. At one time President Polk proposed that the title of lieutenant-general be conferred on him, and that he be given entire charge of the military operations in Mexico, but this idea was abandoned. Col. Benton had always been an uncompromising opponent of the doctrine of nullification, and was the most formidable Democratic antagonist of John C. Calhoun in the Senate.

But it was in the famous slavery agitation, commencing in 1849, that Benton figured most conspicuously before the people of Missouri. On the 15th of January in that year, as already stated, Claiborne F. Jackson, senator from Howard County, reported to the State Senate from the Committee on Federal Relations in a modified form a series of resolutions which had been introduced by Carty Wells, senator from Marion County. These resolutions as reported began by asserting that the Federal Constitution was the result of a compromise between the conflicting interests of the States that formed it; that in no part of that instrument was to be found any delegation of power to Congress to legislate on the subject of slavery, excepting some special provisions having in view the prospective abolition of the African slave-trade, made for securing the recovery of fugitive slaves, and that any attempt on the part of Congress to legislate on the subject, so as to affect the institution of slavery in the States, in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories, was, "to say the least, a violation of the principles upon which that instrument was founded." The resolutions further alleged that the Territories "acquired by the blood and treasure of the whole nation ought to be governed for the common benefit of the people of all the States, and any organization of the Territorial governments excluding the citizens of any part of the Union from removing to such Territories with their property would be an exercise of power by Congress inconsistent with the spirit upon which our Federal compact was based, insulting to the dignity and sovereignty of the States thus affected, calculated to alienate one portion of the Union from another, and tending ultimately to disunion;" also that "this General Assembly regard the conduct of the Northern States on the subject of slavery as releasing the slaveholding States from all further adherence to the basis of compromise fixed on by the act of Congress of March 6, 1820, even if such act ever did impose any obligation upon the slaveholding States, and authorizes them to insist upon their rights under the Constitution; but, for the sake of harmony and for the preservation of our Federal Union, they will sanction the application of the principles of the Missouri Compromise to the recent territorial acquisitions, if by such concession future aggressions upon the equal rights of the States may be arrested, and the spirit of anti-slavery fanaticism extinguished." The resolutions, moreover, asserted that "the right to prohibit slavery in any Territory belongs exclusively to the people thereof, and can only be exercised by them in forming their Constitution for a State government, or in their sovereign capacity as an independent State; that "in the event of the passage of any act of Congress conflicting with the principles herein expressed, Missouri will be found in hearty co-operation with the slaveholding States in such measures as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism;" and "that our senators in Congress be instructed and our representatives be requested to act in conformity to the foregoing resolutions."

In the Senate the resolutions were promptly adopted, but in the House an effort was made to pass a substitute. This, however, failed, and the Jackson resolutions were finally adopted by a vote of fifty-three to twenty-seven. Senator Benton had

been pronounced and uncompromising in his opposition to the resolutions from the outset, and on the 26th of May, 1849, he opened, in the hall of the House of Representatives at Jefferson City, a popular canvass against them, which soon stimulated the public mind to fever-heat. He denounced the resolutions in the strongest terms, and asserted that in them lurked the spirit of disunion and nullification. He also maintained that they were in conflict with the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and that their ultimate purpose was to disrupt the Union. Col. Benton made one of the most vigorous and exhaustive canvasses recorded in the political history of Missouri, or, indeed, of any State.



Thomas H. Benton.

During the spring and summer he labored incessantly, delivering many able speeches, and exerting to the utmost of his ability the immense personal influence which he had so long wielded in Missouri. The result was as disheartening to him as it was unexpected. Slavery was as yet too strong for even his resources, and he found it impossible to carry his party with him. The Legislature chosen in 1850 was divided into three separate parties,—Whigs and Benton and anti-Benton Democrats,—and at the election in the winter of 1851, Col. Benton was defeated and Henry S. Geyer elected United States senator. Benton, however, was not the man to submit patiently to such a rebuff, and in the following year he presented himself before the people of his district as a candidate for Congress, and was triumphantly elected.

During his term of service in the House of Representatives he at first sustained the administration of President Pierce, but subsequently, in view of the ascendency of the Calhoun party in its councils, withdrew his support. The Kansas-Nebraska bill was earnestly opposed by him, and one of his most memorable speeches was made in opposition to the bill. At the next election—1854—the new American party combined with his old opponents, and he was defeated. In 1856 he was persuaded to run as an independent candidate for Governor. His wit and eloquence drew immense crowds, and the campaign was a brilliant one, but there were three candidates in the field, representing the Benton Democrats, National Democrats, and Native Americans, and Trusten Polk, the National Democratic nominee, received a small plurality. It has been cited as an example of Benton's unselfishness that in 1856 he supported Buchanan as President in opposition to his own son-in-law, Fremont, thinking that the former would restore Jacksonian principles, and the latter's triumph might cause sectional parties, but he afterwards changed these views. The last two years of his life were devoted to literary pursuits. His "Thirty Years' View" was completed, and he then undertook to revise and condense the "Debates of Congress." Even on his death-bed he dictated portions of this work, which was published under the title of "An Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856."

In his later years Col. Benton became reconciled to many of his bitterest political antagonists. His popularity with the people of his State was always great, and towards the close of his senatorial career no Democratic candidate could be elected to the Legislature without pledging himself to support Benton's re-election. Personally he was reserved, and even austere, but his zeal to originate and carry out measures in the interests of the settlers gave him power over his constituency. His wife, Elizabeth, was a sister of Governor McDowell, of Virginia. She died in Washington, Sept. 10, 1854. Col. Benton had four daughters,—Mrs. Jessie Fremont, wife of Gen. Fremont, Mrs. William Carey Jones, Mrs. Sarah B. Jacob, and Madame Susan B. Boileau. One of his grandsons, Carey Jones, graduated at the University of California, and now holds an honorable position in that institution.

Col. Benton died in Washington, April 9, 1858, aged seventy-six, and both houses of Congress imme-

diately adjourned. He had for forty years filled a large place in the public estimation, and with one voice the leading journals expressed their sense of national loss. The citizens of St. Louis met at the court-house at noon April 10th to pass appropriate resolutions. The preliminary committee consisted of Col. John O'Fallon, Hon. H. R. Gamble, Edward Walsh, Charles F. Meyer, Charles D. Drake, S. M. Breckenridge, and Franklin A. Dick. John Brady Smith was chosen chairman of the meeting, and John O'Fallon, H. S. Geyer, Hon. O. D. Filley, Col. Robert Campbell, Henry Von Phul, Edward Walsh, and Adolphus Meier were vice-presidents.

The resolutions were drawn up by Hons. Henry A. Clover, James R. Lackland, Charles B. Lord, B. Gratz Brown, Samuel T. Glover, A. S. Gitchell, S. M. Breckenridge, and Franklin A. Dick, and expressed in fitting terms their sense of the loss the State had sustained. A committee consisting of the following citizens was appointed to take charge of arrangements for the public funeral exercises: Hon. O. D. Filley, Hon. John M. Wimer, Hon. Edward Bates, Hon. Wayman Crow, D. A. January, Col. Thornton Grimsley, Col. Charles Keemle, Col. D. D. Mitchell, John A. Brownlee, Wyllys King, Capt. J. W. Pritchard, Hon. John How, Capt. Henry Almstedt, Edward Eggers, Hon. B. Gratz Brown, Joseph Charless, John C. Rust, Alexander Kayser, H. I. Bodley, P. T. McSherry, Dr. M. L. Linton, John Doyle, N. Holmes, S. H. Gardner, A. S. Mitchell, Robert Barth, Hon. Lewis V. Bogy, Dr. J. O'F. Farrar, Hon. Samuel Reber, Dr. William Webb, Hon. Thomas Allen, Henry Boernstein, C. D. Drake, William D'Oench, William Lindsay, Dr. Charles A. Pope, Dr. Ellsworth Smith, Charles Daenzer, S. M. Breckenridge, Franklin A. Dick, Col. Robert Campbell, Col. A. D. Stuart, Col. Robert Renick, Col. George Knapp, John H. Lightner, Hon. Wm. S. Allen, R. J. Howard, Ferdinand Gottschalk.

On the afternoon of the 14th of April the remains arrived at the Mississippi River, in charge of Col. William Carey and Richard Jacobs, sons-in-law of the deceased, and were received by Mayor Filley, ex-Mayor Wimer, members of the City Council, city officers, and a committee of citizens composed of J. Brady Smith, Andrew Elliott, John D. Daggett, Adolphus Meier, Thomas Andrews, William T. Christy, Bernard Pratte, Sr., John H. Lightner, B. W. Alexander, William Finney, Sr., G. K. McGunnegle, Asa Wilgus, M. L. Cerré, Henry Kayser, Edward Eggers, John F. Darby, John McNeil, William Bennett, J. B. S. Lemoine, Henry T. Blow, Jacob Blattner, William Carr Lane, John H. Gay, James Castello, Dr. Prout, Samuel Willi, George R. Taylor, S. H. Gardner.

The remains of Col. Benton were escorted by the National Guard to the residence of Col. J. B. Brant, his brother-in-law, and the next morning, escorted by all the military companies of St. Louis, were taken to the Mercantile Hall, where they rested in state, guarded by the Washington Blues. On the 16th of April the funeral ceremonies took place. The Chamber of Commerce adjourned, and business was generally suspended throughout the city. The judges of the courts and the members of the bar marched in the procession, as also did the mayor, the City Council, the directors of the public schools,[1] and the members of all the benevolent societies of St. Louis. The remains were taken to the Second Presbyterian Church, where Rev. John F. Cowan preached the sermon. The cortege again formed for the march to Bellefontaine cemetery, and the St. Louis journals of the 17th state that the procession contained 890 military, 782 persons belonging to associations, and 384 persons in carriages, or a total of 2056. At least 40,000 people watched the procession pass. At the grave the Episcopal burial service was read by Rev. Mr. Schuyler. The pall-bearers were the following gentlemen: Col. John O'Fallon, Frederick Dent, William Carr Lane, Kenneth Mackenzie, Robert Campbell, Col. A. D. Stewart, John Shade, Bernard Pratte, Sr., Thomas Watson, Sr., Edward Walsh, Judge H. R. Gamble, John Brady Smith, Judge R. W. Wells, Henry Von Phul, O. D. Filley, Andrew Elliott, John D. Daggett, Thornton Grimsley, G. K. McGunnegle, John How, John M. Wimer, Samuel Hawken.

Col. A. R. Easton acted as chief marshal. During the day all public buildings were draped in mourning, the flags in the harbor were at half-mast, bells were tolled, and the great city that over forty years before, when it was a small town, had received the young, fiery, and eloquent lawyer into citizenship, mourned with heartfelt sorrow his death.

On the 22d of April, Edward Walsh, John O'Fallon, John How, M. L. Linton, and John Brady Smith issued a "call to the public" for a meeting to take steps with reference to erecting a monument to the memory of Col. Benton. This meeting was held April 24th, and the final result was the colossal statue of Col. Benton, by Harriet Hosmer, which now stands in Lafayette Park.

The Benton centenary speech of Col. Gantt, re-

[1] Edward Wyman, A. Carr, and J. Baker were appointed a committee to represent the board of public schools in the procession. The resolution of the board taking this action discloses the fact that Col. Benton was a member of the first school board organized in St. Louis, and the first secretary of that board.

cently referred to, gave rise to much discussion throughout the State, and revived many Benton remembrances. As time rolls on the animosities and bitter hatreds of those fiery days are forgotten, the greater storms of the war having swept them out of sight. An historic character, a passionate lover of his country, a giant in warfare, his clear-cut features soften more and more into fairer outlines, but lose little of their heroic strength. Only students of congressional history can realize how large a share of national legislation for thirty years bore for good or for evil the impress of Benton's powerful thought. And yet, though west of the Alleghanies there was none to cope with him, he was overthrown and his services lost to the nation because a certain enormous arrogance, superb, pompous, ungovernable, and always impolitic, wrought his ruin, and winged each shaft that weaker men hurled against him. Few men of greater mental power, however, have appeared in any generation. "Tom" Benton, it is said, could sit at his desk, after reading upon a subject, and write his speech, without change or erasure, throwing the numbered pages on the floor, and without another glance at the writing would the next day, or the day after, deliver his speech *verbatim*, crammed with figures and blazing with invective. With all his faults it will be long before Missouri possesses another such leader.

Under the census of 1850 and the apportionment bill which subsequently passed Congress the State became entitled to seven members of Congress. The Legislature which met in 1853 districted the State into seven congressional districts, as follows:

First, the county of St. Louis.

Second, the counties of Marion, Ralls, Monroe, Pike, Audrain, Boone, Callaway, Montgomery, Warren, Lincoln, and St. Charles.

Third, Lewis, Clarke, Scotland, Knox, Shelby, Howard, Randolph, Macon, Adair, Schuyler, Putnam, Dodge (now part of Putnam), Sullivan, Linn, Chariton, Carroll, Livingston, Grundy, and Mercer.

Fourth, Ray, Caldwell, Daviess, Harrison, Gentry, DeKalb, Clinton, Clay, Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Nodaway, Atchison, and Holt.

Fifth, Jackson, Cass, Henry, Johnson, Lafayette, Saline, Pettis, Benton, Morgan, Moniteau, Cooper, Cole, and Miller.

Sixth, Bates, Jasper, Newton, McDonald, Barry, Lawrence, Dade, Cedar, St. Clair, Hickory, Polk, Greene, Stone, Taney, Ozark, Wright, Dallas, Laclede, Camden, Gasconade, Osage, Pulaski, Texas, and Oregon.

Seventh, Franklin, Jefferson, Ste. Genevieve, Washington, Crawford, Dent, Shannon, St. François, Perry, Madison, Reynolds, Cape Girardeau, Bollinger, Wayne, Scott, Ripley, Mississippi, Butler, Stoddard, New Madrid, Dunklin, and Pemiscot.

The congressmen elected in 1852 being residents of the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Districts, the act provided that in 1853 elections should be held in the Third and Seventh for the two additional members. At this election James J. Lindley, Whig, defeated Claiborne F. Jackson, Democrat, in the Third, and in the Seventh Samuel Caruthers, Democrat, defeated English, Democrat, Jackson, Democrat, and Rozier, Whig. In 1852 the State cast her electoral vote for Pierce and King. The Democratic electors were E. D. Bevitt, Henry F. Gary, C. F. Jackson, C. F. Holly, Alexander Kayser, W. D. McCracken, John D. Stevenson, J. M. Gatewood, Robert E. Acock, and J. F. Jones; and Thomas L. Anderson, J. A. Brown, W. A. Cunningham, Charles B. Gibson, Robert A. Hatcher, D. E. Perryman, Ben Tompkins, and John S. Waddill the Whig electors. The popular vote of Missouri for President stood: Pierce, 38,353; Scott, 29,984. For Governor, Sterling Price, Democrat, 46,245; James Winton, Whig, 32,784.

In 1854, Samuel Caruthers, L. M. Kennett, Gilchrist Porter, James J. Lindley, M. Oliver, John G. Miller, and John S. Phelps were elected to Congress. Mr. Phelps was the only straight Democrat elected. Mr. Caruthers claimed to be a Democrat during this campaign, and denied being a Know-Nothing at any time.

In 1855 the State was again divided by the Legislature into congressional and electoral districts, but only a few changes were made in the districts as formed in 1853.

In 1856 the members of Congress elected were F. P. Blair, Jr., J. L. Anderson, James S. Green, James Craig, Samuel H. Woodson, John S. Phelps, and Samuel Caruthers. This year Thomas P. Ackers was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John G. Miller, and in 1857, John B. Clark, Sr., was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the election of James S. Green to the United States Senate. The vote of the State in 1856 was cast for Buchanan and Breckenridge.

In 1855 the division of parties in the Legislature was so equal, standing anti-Benton, fifty-six; Benton, forty; Whig, fifty-nine, that no election of senator could be made, and after many ineffectual ballots the Legislature adjourned, December 13th, without electing a senator. In 1856, James S. Green, anti-Benton, was elected; and to succeed Senator Geyer, Trusten Polk was chosen.

The celebrated Dred Scott case entered into politics, State and national, about this time. The impression has been created that the case was got up and pushed to a final conclusion in the Supreme Court by the friends of the administration as a party movement. The true history of the matter seems to be as follows:

Scott instituted a suit in the Circuit Court of Missouri to obtain a discharge from servitude for himself and family. On the trial it was proved that he had been originally a slave in Missouri, that his master first took him to the military post at Rock Island, in Illinois, and subsequently to Fort Snelling, in Minnesota, at a point north of the Missouri Compromise line, and that he and his family subsequently returned with him to Missouri. It was contended in his behalf that, inasmuch as his owner had voluntarily taken him to places where slavery did not exist by law, both he and his family became free, and remained so after returning to a slaveholding State. The Circuit Court decided in his favor.

On appeal to the Supreme Court of Missouri, that tribunal held that he and his family, on returning to the State, continued slaves. Between the announcement of the opinion of the court and the filing of its mandate in the Circuit Court, Scott voluntarily dismissed his suit in the State Court, thus evading the decision against him, and thereupon instituted another in the Circuit Court of the United States. In this court the question of jurisdiction depended upon his being a citizen of Missouri, and the defendant a citizen of another State. If the court should be of opinion that he was a citizen, then he claimed that he was free, because his owner had taken him to Illinois, and also to part of the Louisiana Territory north of the Compromise line.

The Circuit Court rendered final judgment against him, and thereupon he appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The case came to trial in May, 1854, and the same questions were raised and twice argued by his counsel, and also determined against him. The cause was last argued by George T. Curtis, brother of Judge Curtis, and Montgomery Blair, son of Francis P. Blair, Sr., for the plaintiff, Scott; and by Senator Geyer and Reverdy Johnson for the defendant. Messrs. Curtis, Geyer, and Johnson were Whigs, while Mr. Blair's political sympathies were understood to be with his father. On the first argument neither Mr. Curtis nor Mr. Johnson took part.

The fact that the court ordered a reargument is ample proof of the importance of the questions involved and the difficulty of solving them. On the last argument the court-room was filled with intelligent and anxious listeners. The court took time to deliberate and prepare their opinions. Each judge formed and expressed his own convictions, and the reasons upon which they were founded. The owners of Dred Scott did that for him which the Supreme Court of the United States decided the law would not do,—they made him a free man. This favor was accorded to him May 26, 1857, in the Circuit Court, where Taylor Blow appeared and entered on record the papers necessary to secure the freedom of Dred Scott, his wife, Henrietta, and his two daughters, Eliza and Jane. Mr. Blow was merely the technical owner of the slaves, having become so in order to comply with the law of Missouri, which required that a person manumitting a slave should be a citizen of the State. To constitute him an owner the title must have passed from Dr. Chaffee, his wife and her child or children; and therefore they sold these slaves to him for a nominal consideration, perhaps, but still they were sold, and by such means Dred Scott and his wife and children were set free. The ownership was in Dr. Chaffee and his family, pending the trial in the courts.

In 1856, Trusten Polk, Democrat, was elected Governor, receiving 46,993 votes, as against 40,589 cast for Robert C. Ewing, American, and 27,618 for Thomas H. Benton, Independent. In 1857 a special election was held for Governor, at which Robert M. Stewart, Democrat, received 47,975 votes, and James S. Rollins, Whig, 47,641 votes.

In 1858, J. Richard Barret, Thomas L. Anderson, John B. Clark, James Craig, Samuel H. Woodson, John S. Phelps, and John W. Noel were elected to Congress. The candidates in St. Louis were Messrs. Barret, Breckenridge, and F. P. Blair, and their votes were: Barret, 7057; Blair, 6631; Breckenridge, 5728; Barret's majority, 426. Mr. Blair, however, contested the seat of Barret and ousted him, but Mr. Blair upon taking his seat tendered his resignation, to take effect on the day of the next general election in 1860. At this election Mr. Barret was elected to the vacancy, and to the seat from which he was ousted, and Mr. Blair was elected as Mr. Barret's successor.[1]

[1] In 1859, U. S. Grant, afterwards the distinguished general and President of the United States, applied to the commissioners of St. Louis County for the appointment of county surveyor. In a note to the editor of the *Missouri Republican*, dated Feb. 26, 1881, Hon. John F. Darby gives the following account of this episode in Gen. Grant's career:

"In your obituary notice of Henry B. Belt, Esq., in this morning's *Republican*, in speaking of the deceased, among other things, you say, 'He was one of the judges of the county court from 1854 to 1856, and was one of the two judges that voted favorably on the application of U. S. Grant for the appointment of county surveyor. The other judge was Phil. Lanham.'

"You have been misled in above statement. It is entirely untrue. U. S. Grant never applied to the county court for the appointment of county surveyor. In 1859, after the county court of St. Louis County had been abolished by the Legislature for alleged misconduct, and a new court established by law for St. Louis County, called the county commissioners' court, composed of Lightner, Taussig, Farrar, Easton and Tippet, U. S. Grant did apply to the county commissioners' court for the

In 1860, F. P. Blair, Jr., James S. Rollins, John B. Clark, C. H. Norton, John W. Reid, John S. Phelps, and John W. Noel were the members of Congress elected. Messrs. Clark and Reid being in sympathy with the Confederate cause, and having entered the Confederate army, were expelled. Mr. Clark lived to see his son elected and serving his fifth term in the hall from which he was expelled. William A. Hall was elected in place of Gen. Clark, and Thomas L. Price to the Reid vacancy. The nine electoral votes of the State were cast this year for Douglas and Johnson.

Following was the vote in St. Louis at the Presidential election of 1860:

WARDS AND PRECINCTS.		Lincoln.	Bell.	Douglas.	Breckenridge.
First Ward	E. P.	1125	85	465	12
	W. P.	94	5	71	5
Second Ward	E. P.	1191	61	420	13
	W. P.	60	18	101	...
Third Ward	E. P.	532	201	493	37
	W. P.	116	16	49	3
Fourth Ward	E. P.	891	446	811	71
	W. P.	101	60	166	5
Fifth Ward	E. P.	343	765	732	144
	W. P.	228	140	198	11
Sixth Ward	E. P.	374	761	698	107
	W. P.	22	11	22	...
Seventh Ward	E. P.	449	357	610	35
	W. P.	123	55	106	6
Eighth Ward	E. P.	881	377	784	30
	W. P.	424	54	264	3
Ninth Ward	E. P.	313	231	734	17
	W. P.	468	77	707	10
Tenth Ward	S. P.	823	431	506	15
	N. P.	405	130	270	10
John Bray's		71	64	43	3
Bartold's		30	57	88	3
Rinkle's		12	16	25	3
Bogeholt's		30	9	23	...
Politz'		37	59	106	2
Bridgeton		22	45	77	15
Powell Link's		7	39	26	1
Manchester		59	93	79	4
Lake House		13	7	20	1
Fenton		3	17	44	14
City Hall		310	23	226	12
Mehl's Store		97	3	24	...
Sappington's		13	20	23	9
Ossensmith's		48	55	34	2
Allenton		49	46	18	...
Six-Mile House		5	24	53	2
Abbey		52	11	54	4
Gravois		25	6	59	...
Lowell		37	2	20	...
Neill's Toll-Gate		63	15	26	...
		9946	4931	9275	609

The news of the operations of Montgomery, the abolitionist leader from Kansas, on the southwestern border of Missouri having been authenticated, Governor Stewart at once issued orders calling out the militia "to prevent the threatened depredations upon the lives and property of Missourians." The military ordered to report for duty under command of Brig.-Gen. D. M. Frost, with Col. J. S. Bowen as assistant adjutant-general, were Col. A. R. Easton's regiment of infantry, Maj. Schaeffer's battalion of cavalry, Capt. Jackson's battery of artillery (four pieces), and Maj. Pritchard's battalion of engineers. Lieut.-Col. John Knapp commanded the First Regiment of Infantry.

At the State election of 1860 the vote for Governor was as follows: Claiborne F. Jackson, Douglas Democrat, 74,446; Sample Orr, American, 64,583; Hancock Jackson, Breckenridge Democrat, 11,415; James B. Gardenhire, Republican, 6135. Jackson's majority over Orr, 9863. Thomas C. Reynolds was chosen Lieutenant-Governor. The popular vote for President was: Stephen A. Douglas, Democrat, 58,801; John Bell, Union, 58,372; John C. Breckenridge, Democrat, 31,317; Abraham Lincoln, Republican, 17,028. Douglas' majority over Bell 429, and over Breckenridge 27,484.[1]

appointment of surveyor of the roads, etc., in St. Louis County against Mr. Solomon. I and other gentlemen advocated Grant's claim. Solomon was appointed by the vote of Taussig, Lightner, and Farrar, and Tippet and Easton voted for Grant. Consequently Belt and Lanham were not on the bench, and never voted upon any application for appointment by U. S. Grant. The records of the St. Louis County commissioners' court show this."

[1] Mr. William Hyde, of the *Missouri Republican*, relates the following interesting reminiscences of the political campaign of 1860 in Missouri:

Nathaniel Paschall, the editor of the *Republican*, had been the warm friend and advocate of a liberal policy on the part of the State towards the railroad enterprises then in progress,—the North Missouri, the Missouri Pacific, the Iron Mountain, and the Southwest Branch,—to all of which State aid had been extended by guaranteeing the interest on their bonds. The question of the completion of these roads through the State or, on the other hand, the sale of them for forfeiture was a vital one to the commerce of St. Louis and to the people at large. Claiborne F. Jackson was the recognized anti-railroad candidate for Governor. He also belonged to the extreme Southern school, and was, besides, bitterly opposed to Douglas, to whom Mr. Paschall was warmly attached personally, and whose (Douglas') aspirations for the Presidency were strongly supported by the *Republican*.

Previous to the State Democratic Convention, which was held early in April, for the purpose of nominating candidates for Governor and State officers and of sending delegates to the Charleston Convention, Mr. Paschall had declared boldly that his paper would support no gubernatorial candidate in favor of the sell-out policy respecting railroads, or who, as Governor Stewart had done would veto or use his influence to withdraw from them the State's loan of its credit.

The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, to which the State had loaned three millions, was the only completed road in Missouri, and it was used as a feeder to the trade of Chicago. Its agents were abroad in all sections, and it was charged that they were "setting up the press" for Jackson. At all events, Maj. Jackson was nominated for Governor, and the convention placed a plank in its platform quite equivocal, and non-asserting relative to internal improvements. Of course the *Republican* promptly "kicked the platform overboard," to use Mr. Paschall's expression. Moreover, it had not a word to say

The General Assembly met at Jefferson City, Dec. 31, 1860, under peculiarly embarrassing circumstances. South Carolina had seceded from the Union, and Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia were contemplating the same action immediately. Four political parties were represented in the General Assembly. The Senate, consisting of thirty-three members, was divided into Breckenridge Democrats, 15; Douglas Democrats, 10; Union, or Bell and Everett Whigs, 7; Republicans, 1. The House, consisting of 132 members, stood: Breckenridge Democrats, 47; Douglas Democrats, 36; Union, or Bell and Everett Whigs, 37; Republicans, 12. Great bitterness of feeling was developed between the Union and Southern elements, and many exciting episodes occurred.

John F. Mc[illegible] Shelby, a decided pro-slavery Democrat, was [illegible]ed Speaker of the House, and Claiborne F. Jackson, elected Governor at the preceding election, was inaugurated Jan. 4, 1861. As chairman of the committee which reported the famous "Jackson resolutions" of 1849, Governor Jackson was not expected to abandon the issue, now imminent, which he had so boldly invited when looming up in the distance. In his inaugural message he insisted that the destiny of Missouri was identical with that of the Southern States, that her fate could not be separated from theirs, that in the event of a failure to reconcile the conflict of opinions which threatened the destruction of the Union, interest and sympathy

relative to Jackson's nomination. There was no love lost between Paschall and Jackson. Paschall disliked Jackson, and Jackson hated Paschall.

Things went on in this way, no notice being taken of the State campaign, and powerful articles coming from Paschall's pen every morning for the nomination of Douglas, until the 1st of May. On that day there appeared in the leading editorial column a statement of the position of Maj. Jackson—that he would not veto any measure of State aid to the railroads passed by the Legislature, but would use his best endeavors to keep the control of the roads within the State—concluding, "These declarations of Maj. Jackson are satisfactory to us." And on that day the full Democratic ticket was swung to the breeze at the *Republican's* editorial mast-head. That circumstance told the story: Jackson had surrendered.

From the adjournment of the Charleston Convention till the reassembling at Baltimore in June the *Republican*, still battling vigorously for Douglas, poured hot shot into the secessionists. Jackson had been making a thorough canvass of the southwest, and had returned to Central Missouri when the news was received of the nomination of Douglas and the subsequent nomination of Breckenridge by the seceders. Jackson was in sore distress. His heart was with Breckenridge. The whole State was in commotion. Senators Green and Polk at once took the ground that neither Douglas nor Breckenridge was the regular nominee, and that Democrats were at liberty to support either without disloyalty to the party. In St. Louis steps were taken without delay to induce Maj. Jackson to espouse the cause of Breckenridge, accompanied with the threat that in case of refusal his friends would bring out another Democratic State ticket. At Washington the Missouri senators, together with Wm. A. Price, Peter S. Wilkes, Wm. Harris, and John S. Phelps, issued a circular, addressed to Missouri Democrats, recommending a convention at Jefferson City, September 17th, "to adopt measures to insure unity of action,"—all these, except Phelps, having already declared for Breckenridge. But meanwhile Nathaniel Paschall was not idle. He had caused notice to be served upon Jackson and Reynolds (the latter candidate for Lieutenant-Governor) that they must not expect to profit by a hasty nomination in their own cases and at the same time withhold from Mr. Douglas the advantage a nomination was expected to give *him*.

Maj. Jackson was billed to speak at Versailles, June 27th; California, 28th; Boonville, 29th; and Fayette, 30th. He had not opened his mouth on the subject of the Presidency, but devoted his whole time to State issues. Mr. Hyde had been sent out by Mr. Paschall with letters to Jackson, and instructions to follow him up and make confidential reports of the progress of the campaign. At California, Mr. Hyde occupied the same room with Maj. Jackson, and during the night of the 27th of June the gubernatorial candidate was awakened and summoned to "important business outside." The messenger was John M. Loughborough, who had ridden on horseback from the railroad terminus, and who was the bearer of a letter from the administration office-holders of St. Louis and others, imperatively demanding instant and faithful adhesion to Breckenridge. A long conference ensued, and when Maj. Jackson returned to his room he was in a terrible state of excitement. He paced the floor till near morning, uttering bitter imprecations, now upon Paschall and then upon the Breckenridge leaders, for putting him in the dilemma [illegible] having to choose between the warring factions. In his [illegible] the next day at California, Jackson was still silent, [illegible]'s private conversation would be de[illegible] more than depre[illegible]thappy divisions of the party. Mr. Paschall by dispatch authorized him to be notified that in case he did not "come out for Douglas," either at California or Boonville, the *Republican* would take his name down and proceed to organize for a straight-out Douglas ticket. By this time Reynolds had joined his chief, and his efforts were in the direction of a public recognition of Douglas and Johnson as the regular Presidential nominees. Jackson appealed for more time, saying he wished to consult with Gen. Clark at Fayette; Gen. Clark having been a member of the Baltimore Convention, and then at home. Mr. Paschall granted the extension of time, and awaited what might take place after the expected conference. The result was that in their speeches at the Fayette court-house both Jackson and Reynolds unequivocally declared for Douglas. A dispatch to this effect was sent by mounted messenger in hot haste to Boonville, the nearest telegraph station, in time to be transmitted to the *Republican* that night for publication the next morning. It struck consternation into the breasts of the Breckenridge phalanx, who for two days disputed its authenticity, and then, July 3d, by a mass-meeting, launched into the field new candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor in the persons of Gen. Hancock Jackson (United States marshal), and Gen. M. M. Parsons. There were now four candidates for Governor before the people, there being beside the two Jacksons the Bell and Everett candidate (Sample Orr) and the Republican candidate, Gardenhire. The result of the contest was the election of Jackson.

It takes no very fine analysis of the vote to show that the course of the *Republican* carried Missouri for both Douglas and Jackson, and the moving power was Nathaniel Paschall.

alike demanded that she should unite her fortunes with those of the slaveholding States. He urged the Legislature to call a convention of the people of the State to take into consideration the condition of the State and the Union, and to prepare for emergencies which might and probably would arise. In accordance with these suggestions, a bill was introduced Jan. 17, 1861, and subsequently became a law, calling upon the people to elect delegates to a convention to assemble February 28th. The bill provided that no ordinance changing the relation of Missouri to the United States should take effect until submitted to a vote of the people and ratified by a majority at the polls. This proviso was intended to prevent the enforcement of any ordinance of secession that might be passed by the convention severing Missouri's connection with the Union. The Legislature entered heartily into the efforts which were made to prevent a collision between the United States and the Southern States. To this end Waldo P. Johnson, John D. Coalter, N. W. Doniphan, Harrison Hough, and A. H. Buckner were appointed delegates to the "Peace Congress" to assemble in Washington, Feb. 4, 1861. While thus holding out the olive-branch to the Union, the Senate of Missouri also adopted, March 9, 1861, the Dent resolutions, instructing the senators and requesting the representatives in Congress from Missouri to oppose with voice and vote all grants of men and money designed to be used in coercing the Southern States, and providing for the withdrawal from Congress of the members from Missouri if any such laws were passed. These resolutions were not acted upon by the House of Delegates. Waldo P. Johnson,[1] a Breckenridge Democrat, was elected March 15, 1861, to the United States Senate, to succeed James S. Green, whose term had expired.

Hon. James S. Green was born in Fauquier County, Va., Feb. 28, 1817, and in 1836, with no fortune beyond a common school education, removed to Alabama, where he remained one year. He then took up his residence in Missouri, with whose interests he was afterwards identified. He was admitted to the bar in 1840, and soon became a prominent figure in Missouri politics. In 1844 he was chosen Presidential elector, and in 1845 was elected a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention of that year. In 1846 he was elected a member of Congress, and served two terms. By appointment of the Governor of Missouri, he argued a boundary dispute between Missouri and Iowa before the United States Supreme Court, and in 1849 took the stump against Hon. Thomas H. Benton. In 1853, President Pierce appointed him *chargé d'affaires* and afterwards minister resident at Bogota, New Granada. In 1856 he was again elected to Congress, but before taking his seat was chosen United States senator, continuing to serve as such until 1861. He died at St. Louis on the 19th of January, 1870.

As has already been described in the preceding pages of this work, the news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter and its surrender, which soon followed, went through the country like a flame of fire. There had been some expectation of violence, but the actual shock came like a clap of thunder. The people of the towns and cities poured into the streets, and the country folk flocked to the villages to gather the tidings and to comment on the coming conflict. Gray-haired men talked gravely of the deed that was done, and prophesied as to its consequences. Public opinion in both the North and the South was rapidly consolidated. The surrender of Fort Sumter produced in the North a coalescence of the Union and anti-slavery elements; in the South it irresistibly carried whatever Union sentiment existed into secession.

The garrison of Fort Sumter lowered their flag and marched out of the work on Sunday, April 14, 1861. Next morning appeared the proclamation of the President of the United States, calling forth the militia, appealing to the people, and summoning an extra session of Congress.

The Governors of all the Northern States at once responded to the proclamation, and their action infused new energy into the administration. To an eye-witness there was something very impressive in the action of the Union-loving people. A foreign observer remarked, "With them all is sacrifice, devotion, grandeur, and purity of purpose,—with the poor, if possible, even more than the rich." In the large cities great meetings were held, in which men of all parties united. Party lines vanished. There was none of that frantic delirium which was manifested in the extreme Southern States, but a solemn acceptance of what was clearly recognized to be a fearful but unavoidable duty,—"Faint not, falter not; the republic is in peril."

In St. Louis the Union men intuitively saw the true position of affairs, and that the only course to be taken was an energetic support of the government. Under the leadership of Frank P. Blair, Giles F. Filley, James O. Broadhead, O. D. Filley, S. T. Glover, B. Gratz Brown, William McKee, Francis Whittaker, John J. Roe, Edgar Ames, Henry Ames

[1] By resolution of Mr. Foote, of Vermont, Jan. 10, 1862, Mr. Johnson was expelled from the Senate, as well as Trusten Polk. The vacancies were filled by the appointment of Robert Wilson and John B. Henderson.

Henry T. Blow, Hudson E. Bridge, B. G. Farrar, Henry Hitchcock, T. T. Gantt, Charles Gibson, Barton Able, and other patriotic citizens the Union men of St. Louis were roused to resistance, and active preparations were made for the suppression of treason to the government. Arms were purchased by private subscription and troops equipped, and on every side were heard the notes of preparation. Missouri was a slave-holding Commonwealth, but was retained in the Union by the vigilance and activity of its Union-loving citizens. The secessionists, however, were numerous and powerful; the Governor, as we have seen, favored their cause, and the State became a battle-field for the contending parties.

As it is a part of the plan of this work to give brief biographical sketches of leading and representative men, living and dead, who have borne an active part in the various enterprises of life, and who have become closely identified with prominent events in the history of the city and county of St. Louis, we cannot overlook the services of a few of those who were most active in support of the Union during this eventful period. The achievements of the living must not be forgotten, nor must the memories of those who have passed away be allowed to perish. Their deeds are recorded for the benefit of those who follow them,—they, in fact, form part of the history of their communities, and their successful lives add to the glory of their city and State.

Foremost among those in St. Louis who never tired in aiding the government in support of the Union were the Filleys,—Giles F., Oliver D., Chauncey I., E. A., and S. R. Filley.

Giles F. Filley was born Feb. 15, 1815, in what is now called Bloomfield, Conn. His boyhood was spent on a farm, and his early education was rather limited, being restricted to what was known as the common school system of the New England States. He, however, spent three terms at Wilbraham Academy, Massachusetts, where the higher branches were taught. Both his parents were natives of Connecticut.

In 1834 young Filley removed to St. Louis to learn the tinner's trade with his brother, Oliver Dwight Filley, who had preceded him in 1829. After learning the trade he became a partner with his brother, and continued the manufacture of tinware until 1841, when he sold his interest to his brother and went into the crockery business, in which he continued until 1849. In that year he sold out to Edward A. and Samuel R. Filley, his cousins. Both these business ventures were successful.

While in the crockery trade Mr. Filley was induced, from the wonderful abundance of potter's clay of all kinds in Missouri, to believe that earthenware might be profitably manufactured at St. Louis, and in 1844 he went to England and brought out several English workmen and established a pottery. For a season the experiment seemed likely to succeed. Excellent samples of earthenware and some very beautiful specimens of whiteware ("stone china") were produced, but the men gradually drifted away, and as it was impossible to fill their places except at great trouble and expense, the works were abandoned. The experiment, however, was not in one sense a failure, for it lasted three years, long enough to prove that earthenware could be profitably manufactured in St. Louis.

In 1849, Mr. Filley built what were known as the "Excelsior Stove-Works," for the manufacture of stoves. The start was made in rather a small way, the employés numbering twenty-five moulders and about twenty men in other departments. These works have been extended and enlarged from time to time until they now employ two hundred and thirty moulders and about three hundred and twenty men in other departments, five hundred and fifty in all at the works proper, which cover two large blocks in North St. Louis. In 1865 the works were incorporated into what is known as the "Excelsior Manufacturing Company," and the business now includes the furnishing of tinner's supplies as well as the making of stoves, and the whole number of employés is about six hundred and fifty.

In 1851, Mr. Filley invented what is known as the "Charter Oak Cooking Stove," which has since become popular throughout the country. He has also originated and introduced many improvements in the methods of stove-making, and is regarded as one of the most wide awake and successful manufacturers of stoves in the land.

Notwithstanding the successful superintendence of these large works might be thought sufficient to completely occupy the time and attention of one man, Mr. Filley has often engaged in other business enterprises of a nature likely to advance the interests of St. Louis, and has made an enviable record as an enterprising and public-spirited citizen. He furnished the stone for the "great bridge," and is glad to be remembered in connection with that great work. Perhaps his most prominent undertaking was the building of the Kansas Pacific Railroad. Among his colleagues were Adolphus Meier, John D. Perry, Carlos S. Greeley, and others of equal worth and prominence. Only those intimately conversant with the history of that enterprise know amid what giant difficulties Mr. Filley and his friends took hold of the project and pushed it forward, and it cannot be gainsaid that to

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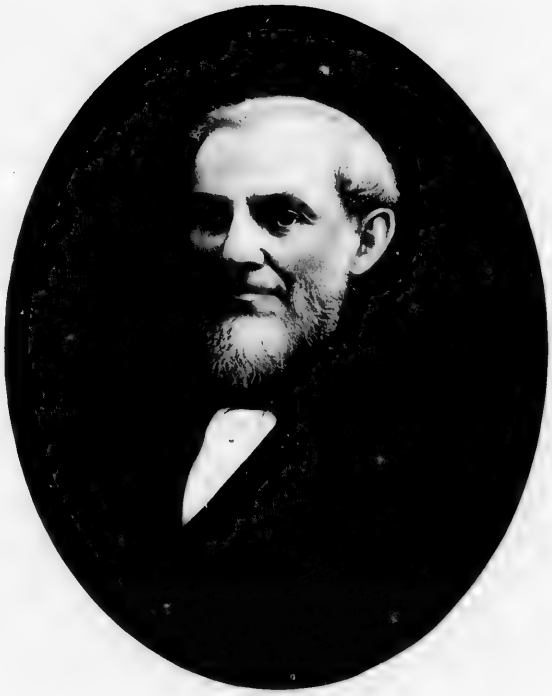
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Filley and his friends took hold of the project and pushed it forward, and it cannot be gainsaid that to



G. F. Filley

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these energetic men the country owes the completion of this great link in the chain that unites the Atlantic and Pacific States.

Mr. Filley has kept aloof from the strife that attends office-seeking, but although never elected to office, he has in his day played quite an interesting *rôle* in the politics of the city. He is a man of intense earnestness of conviction, and in 1848 was one of the adventurous band that formed the "Free-Soil" or "Liberty" party in Missouri, and prominently assisted in establishing the *Barnburner*, yet well remembered as a Free-Soil organ.

Later, Mr. Filley was interested in an association which founded the *Union*, the paper established during the war as a national Union paper to support Mr. Lincoln in opposition to the *Democrat*, which was the "organ" of Gen. Fremont; and he was also for some time interested in the *Dispatch*, which was the lineal successor of the *Union*, and which was ultimately merged into the present *Post-Dispatch*.

Mr. Filley was also prominent in the stirring political agitation that preceded the breaking out of the war. He was intimately associated with Hon. Frank Blair in all his efforts to build up a Free Soil party, and in 1856 he cast one of the four electoral votes which were given by Missouri for Fremont, the Republican candidate for President. When the war came he was, as we have before stated, one of the foremost and most active of the anti-secession party, and armed a company of one hundred of his employés to help Gen. Lyon in defending the arsenal. These were among the first volunteer troops equipped in the whole country for the suppression of the secession movement. Later during the war he served on the commission to assess fines against Southern sympathizers in St. Louis,—a very unpleasant duty, which he performed with reluctance. Only one or two assessments were made, and to his great relief the commission was of short duration. Of late years he has been disposed to act independently in politics.

In September, 1844, Mr. Filley was married in Hartford, Conn., to Maria M. Farrington. Nine children, all boys, sprang from this union, six of whom are living.

Although Mr. Filley is nearing the psalmist's limit of "threescore years and ten," he is still actively at the head of his large and intricate business, with apparently little diminution of the energy of his younger years. The "tinner boy" of 1834 can now look back over a business career of nearly fifty years, which have been eminently characterized by an energy, industry, and rectitude that have not only brought Mr. Filley the satisfying return of a very large competence, but the general esteem of the community as being one of the most upright and honorable citizens of St. Louis. Mr. Filley has given a remarkable proof of high commercial honor, and one that has seldom been equaled in the business annals of the world. During the years ranging from 1864 to 1867 he had been a heavy indorser for a gentleman well known in the city, and whose financial and business character was above suspicion. Mr. Filley, with other friends, lent this gentleman his assistance, and indorsed for him heavily. Finally this well-known citizen failed, and Mr. Filley found, somewhat to his surprise, that his obligation as an indorser closely approached one million dollars. There were no assets applicable to any portion of this indebtedness. Mr. Filley's friends advised him to go into bankruptcy, and promised him such aid as he might require for his re-establishment in business, but he decidedly and energetically resisted every suggestion of this kind, and declared his intention of paying every dollar of this enormous debt if the creditors would only give him reasonable time. This was generally accorded, and for some years he applied himself to his heroic task, one sufficient to unnerve and drive to the wall any man of common mould. In 1881 he had the supreme satisfaction of seeing the last dollar of this mountain of obligation—now, with interest, one million three hundred thousand dollars—lifted from his ledger and from his heart. In all that period Mr. Filley not only kept the business of the company intact but largely extended it. He justly regards this exploit as the crowning triumph of a life distinguished for its successes. On the successful consummation of the heroic struggle his fellows in the National Association of Stove Manufacturers presented him with a bowl of sterling silver as a testimonial of the honor he had reflected upon their branch of trade through his unflinching devotion to principle.

Among those selected as a Committee of Safety in St. Louis, to whom was confided the guidance of all movements in the interest of the Union, was the distinguished lawyer and statesman, Hon. James O. Broadhead. Mr. Broadhead was born in Charlottesville, Albemarle Co., Va., May 29, 1819. His grandfather, Jonathan Broadhead, emigrated from Yorkshire, England, during the Revolutionary war, and settled in Albemarle County. His father, Achilles Broadhead, held many important public offices in Albemarle County, and was captain of a company of volunteer troops from Virginia in the war of 1812, and served during the war. He was a plain, earnest, sensible, religious man, and was trusted in every relation of life.

The mother of James O. Broadhead was Mary Winston Carr. She was of Scottish origin, and her ancestors occupied large estates in Virginia, where they settled at an early day. James was the oldest son; another was the distinguished geologist, Garland C. Broadhead.

The parents belonged to the upper grade of country life, and were distinguished for their piety, staid integrity, and general public usefulness, with other high mental and moral characteristics, which they transmitted to their descendants.

Young Broadhead received a thorough classical training at the hands of his uncle, Dr. Frank Carr, a highly-educated gentleman, and at the age of sixteen entered the University of Virginia, supporting himself a year there wholly by his own exertions, and then was engaged as teacher of a private school in Baltimore. Meanwhile his father had removed to St. Charles County, Mo., and in June, 1837, he followed the family to Missouri, and settled in St. Louis. He first obtained employment as a tutor for the children of the Hon. Edward Bates, and his gentlemanly bearing and excellent attainments secured the confidence and regard of that gentleman, and indeed of all with whom he was associated. While so employed he was the law student of Mr. Bates, and spent three golden years under the guidance of that great lawyer and cultivated man.

In 1842 he was licensed to practice law by Judge Ezra Hunt, of Bowling Green, Mo., and began his practice in that circuit, opposed to a bar of eminent men, to contend with whom required not only extraordinary exertions but extraordinary abilities. The large and lucrative practice, however, which the young lawyer soon enjoyed demonstrated his unusually thorough equipment for the duties of his exacting profession. He also took a prominent part in public affairs, and his popularity and the general appreciation of his ability were shown by his election to the Constitutional Convention of 1845 from the Second Senatorial District. In 1847 he was chosen a member of the Legislature from Pike County, being elected as a Whig, and against a decided opposition majority, over N. P. Minor, a popular and influential Democrat. In 1850 he was chosen to represent his district in the State Senate, after a canvass of unusual warmth. The strength which he exhibited in these struggles confirmed his hold upon the public, and the ability with which he discharged his public duties demonstrated the wisdom of the popular choice. In his legislative career he proved to be an accomplished debater, and established an enviable reputation as a gentleman of character and worth.

In 1859, Mr. Broadhead removed to St. Louis, where he formed a law partnership with F. C. Sharpe, and immediately secured a large and remunerative business. He has continued in legal practice ever since, except when engaged in public service, and when there have devolved upon him responsibilities of unusual importance.

In the winter of 1860–61, in the midst of the agitation preceding the war, Mr. Broadhead was prominent in the vigorous measures then undertaken for the purpose of organizing and consolidating Union sentiment, and to defeat the alleged conspiracy to sweep Missouri into secession. In February, 1861, it was determined that force should be met with force, and to this end steps were taken to organize with arms for the protection of Union men, and to resist, if need be, assaults of Southern sympathizers. At the head of this movement, as previously stated, was placed a "Committee of Safety," and at the suggestion of Hon. Francis P. Blair, Jr., Mr. Broadhead was one of the five persons selected to act in this important capacity, and was made secretary of the committee. When the committee was organized there were but two companies of United States troops west of the Mississippi River, but it acted so promptly and successfully that six full regiments were soon mustered into the service of the United States and a most efficient military organization was perfected. This decisive action, no doubt, saved Missouri to the Union. In this work Mr. Broadhead was conspicuous for his activity; and such was the confidence reposed in his patriotism and judgment that at a public meeting of Union men he was nominated as one of fifteen candidates to represent them in the Constitutional Convention which had been called to determine the attitude of Missouri in the impending struggle. He was elected by nearly six thousand majority. In that convention he strongly advocated prompt and decisive action as the only means of saving the State and the Union. He was chairman of the committee which, in July, 1861, reported in favor of vacating the offices of Governor, etc., on the ground that Governor Jackson and his colleagues had left the State to join the Confederates; and the next day his recommendation was adopted, and a provisional government was established with Governor Gamble at its head.

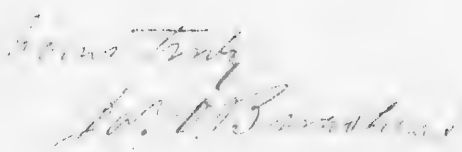
In the same year, and at its most exciting period, Mr. Broadhead was appointed United States district attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Asa Jones, and in the discharge of the duties of this office, it is said, discovered much important evidence, unmasking the plans of Governor Jackson and his associates,

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STEDMAN-BANK NOTE COMPANY

Yours truly
Jas. D. Breathead

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which opened the eyes of the Union men to the deliberate character of the plot to take Missouri from the Union, and caused the lines between loyalists and secessionists to be closely and distinctly drawn. Other duties, however, compelled Mr. Broadhead to resign in a few months, he having been appointed provost-marshal-general of the department embracing Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, the Indian Territory, and the southern part of Iowa. He discharged the delicate and responsible duties of that office with judgment and vigor.

To give any accurate account of the services of Mr. Broadhead during the war would really involve a history of the entire struggle in Missouri. Suffice it to say that he was among the foremost of the energetic men whose patriotism and courage saved the State to the Union when feeble counsels would have lost it, and he will be forever honored, with Blair, Lyon, and others, for his inestimable services at probably the most critical period of the war, when, had Missouri yielded, the border States would have been precipitated into secession, and the Confederacy would probably have been speedily and firmly established.

In 1875, Mr. Broadhead was chosen a member of the Constitutional Convention of that year, and took a prominent part in its deliberations. At its close he resumed the practice of his profession in St. Louis, and for several years was at the head of the well-known law firm of Broadhead, Slayback & Haeussler, one of his associates being the lamented Col. A. W. Slayback, whose tragic death in October, 1882, shocked the community. The extent and variety of his practice afford the best evidence of his ability as a lawyer.

In 1882, in response to a general demand, Mr. Broadhead consented to become the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Ninth District for the Forty-eighth Congress, and also for the vacancy in the old Second District caused by the death of the Hon. Thomas Allen. He was, it is claimed by his friends, elected for the former, after a severe struggle, over a very popular and rich opponent; but his adversary received the certificate for the short term. His friends entertain no doubt that in the larger domain of national legislation he will acquit himself as ably and creditably as he has invariably done in State affairs, and many hope that still higher honors await him. In 1876 he was the choice of the Missouri delegation in the Democratic National Convention for President of the United States, and this circumstance demonstrates his standing among those who have closely watched his career during forty busy years.

In 1847, Mr. Broadhead was married to Miss Mary S. Dorsey, a native of Maryland, and an accomplished and estimable lady, belonging to a well-known and highly-esteemed family. The union resulted in three children,—Charles S. Broadhead, who has selected the profession of the law, under his father's guidance, and two daughters, Mary W. and Nannie D. Broadhead.

Col. Broadhead's industry and energy, his courage, and his fidelity to principle are sufficiently illustrated in the simple record of his career, and seem to require no further comment. His geniality has won for him the universal good will of his professional brethren, and their confidence in his ability, integrity, and fairness is implicit. The clearness and force of his opinions give him a great influence with the courts, and many most important controversies have been settled upon the strength of his judgment as an advocate. His standing among his legal brethren appears from the fact that in August, 1878, he was elected the first president of the American Bar Association, a society comprising the leading lawyers of the country, and organized to advance the science of jurisprudence and uphold the honor of the profession of the law. His treatment of younger attorneys is marked by forbearance and patience. The manly dignity of his presence and the unassuming simplicity of his manners are remarkably illustrative of his character, which is strong, direct, straightforward, candid, and truthful. As a speaker, he is severely logical, yet often graceful and eloquent, as well as forcible. He possesses a fine fund of humor, and is full of sympathy for the unfortunate and the suffering, is of inexhaustible kindness of heart, is stanchly faithful to his friends, is intensely fond of nature, and is of simple tastes.

Conspicuous among those who not only lent the government their moral support and approval, but contributed their personal services without stint and with little thought of the sacrifices involved was Capt. Barton Able. When hostilities began Capt. Able promptly placed himself on the side of the Union, and his experience at critical times was of acknowledged advantage to the authorities. Such was the confidence of Gen. Lyon, who was in command at St. Louis, that Capt. Able was placed in charge of the transportation department in the city, and had sole charge of the expedition that conveyed Lyon and Blair to Boonville. He also had charge of transportation for the troops dispatched south by river, and commanded the fleet that left St. Louis with Gen. Fremont and the expeditionary forces to Cairo, in August, 1861. He co-operated with the leading Union men in all measures for the support of the goveru-

ment, and headed a committee to visit President Lincoln in the interest of Western measures.

But when the Southern soldiers laid down their arms, he was among the first to welcome them back and extend the fraternal hand; and with the olive-branch of peace, he was a member of the conservative delegation to the Baltimore Convention in 1864, and the chairman of the delegation to the Philadelphia Convention in 1866, to consider the state of the country, where he was most prominent.

A famous dispatch, showing the warmth of his feelings, was sent home by Capt. Able at the time, in about these words:

"The delegates from Massachusetts and South Carolina have just entered the convention arm in arm. Glory to God!"

Barton Able was born in Trinity, Alexander Co., Ill., six miles above Cairo, on July 31, 1823. His father was of Irish descent, and settled about the year 1810 in Cape Girardeau, Mo., from which place he moved to Illinois in 1820. He was a soldier of the war of 1812, and from 1830 to 1840 served with credit in the Illinois Legislature, among his colleagues being such men as Lincoln, Douglas, John Hogan, Jesse K. Dubois, Governor French, Col. J. T. Hardin, and James Shields. His mother was of Scotch parentage, bearing the name of the Camerons. Both parents died in 1840, and Barton at the age of seventeen, with few advantages of early education, was left to seek his fortune. In 1845 he left the old homestead and removed to St. Louis, where he arrived with one hundred dollars in money as his sole capital with which to start in life. After various efforts to obtain employment he at length shipped on board the Keokuk packet "Ocean Wave" as receiving clerk at a salary of thirty dollars per month, holding the position two years, when he was chosen by the owners as captain at a salary of one hundred dollars per month, in place of Capt. Whitney, who retired. He continued in charge of the "Ocean Wave" two years, when he assumed command of the steamers "Time and Tide" and "Cataract," running them in the Illinois River trade until 1854, when he was transferred to the Missouri River trade, taking command of the steamers "Cataract" and "Edinburgh."

He remained in this business until 1858, when, retiring from the river, he engaged in commercial enterprises, and conducted until 1864 a large commission-house on the corner of Pine and Commercial Streets.

Capt. Able, although in early life a Democrat, became identified with the Free-Soil ticket, upon which he was elected to the Legislature in 1850. While in this position he put Col. Thomas H. Benton in nomination for the United States Senate, and cast the first vote ever given for emancipation in Missouri.

Capt. Able was an admirer of Benton to the extent almost of hero-worship. As a statesman, he was his model in the elements of haughty, defiant courage towards his enemies and congeniality and condescension to friends. In his intimate association with this great man, Capt. Able listened with appreciation to his writhing invectives in rhetorical periods, and the contemptuous scorn with which he rebuked pretentious opponents, and these masterpieces of his oratory Capt. Able could repeat with an imitation so perfect that those who heard the original pronounced it to be absolutely Bentonian, as regards voice, gesture, and even the very language.

He was a Benton delegate to the Cincinnati Convention in 1856, which nominated Buchanan for President, and a delegate to the Chicago Convention in 1860, which nominated Lincoln, though the Missouri delegation was instructed for Edward Bates. He also accompanied Francis P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown to the Cincinnati Convention, which nominated Greeley in 1872. He was always a warm personal friend of President Andrew Johnson, from whom, unsolicited, he received the appointment of collector of internal revenue at St. Louis. In 1865, Capt. Able was elected president of the Merchants' Exchange, in which position he acquitted himself with credit, his experience in commercial matters and skill as a parliamentarian being of a decided advantage to the mercantile community. He was also a member of the National Board of Trade for some years, and frequently represented that and the Merchants' Exchange at Washington and in various conventions in the interests of Western trade and commerce.

Capt. Able was married in 1847 at Prairie du Rocher, Ill., to Miss Mary Ann Hailmon, daughter of Dr. David Hailmon, of Kaskaskia, who survived him, together with an adopted daughter. A brother, Capt. Daniel Able, of St. Louis, and a sister, the wife of Capt. N. S. Green, of Memphis, were the only relatives that survived of his father's family.

Capt. Able's death occurred on the 6th of May, 1877, and elicited general and earnest expressions of regret throughout the community. Personally, he was the friend or acquaintance of thousands of people, and by reputation was known not to St. Louisans alone, but throughout the entire West. So thoroughly identified, up to the time when his illness robbed him of his physical power, had Capt. Able been with all great movements in which St. Louis was interested, that to be familiar with the growth and progress of the city was to know him well. No man

was more prompt to take the lead in the promotion of new enterprises, and his genial face and dignified presence had long been familiar to everybody from the frequency with which he was called upon to preside at public meetings, political or otherwise, and the prominent place he always occupied as a matter of course among those giving weight to any popular movement. Aside from his sound judgment and broad views, Capt. Able was peculiarly fitted by nature for the prominence he always acquired on such occasions. Few men showed such tact as a presiding officer, and few were readier with an apt address whenever occasion required. Personally popular, the regard entertained for him was strengthened by a confidence in his judgment certain to be justified. In everything that tended to the commercial advantage of St. Louis and the city's material progress, he was among the first and most energetic movers, and his advice and good judgment were always sought for and heeded, particularly on committees. In the many railroad, bridge, and other enterprises he took part in the incipient stages, and if the object was successful, he joined heart and hand in celebration of their completion; and in all philanthropic objects, when a sister city was devastated by fire or stricken down with pestilence, Barton Able was among the first to enlist sympathy and urge material assistance. More could not be said of his earnestness of purpose and goodness of heart.

Another warm supporter of the Union at the outbreak of the civil war, and who did as much, perhaps, as any citizen of St. Louis to aid the government during that terrible period, was Hudson E. Bridge. At the beginning of the war Mr. Bridge was among the first to announce his position as one of unqualified devotion to the Union cause, and was elected a member of the convention of 1861, whose prompt action in establishing a provisional government for the State secured the position of Missouri in the Union. He was a liberal contributor in the organization of the earlier regiments, when no assistance could be had from the government at Washington, and he was at all times a generous donor to all the sanitary and other associations growing out of the war. His membership in the convention of 1861, however, was the only political trust he ever consented to accept.

Hudson E. Bridge was born at Walpole, N. H., whither his parents had removed a short time before from Worcester, Mass., on the 17th of May, 1810. He was descended from that old Puritan stock which found its way from the shores of the Old World and settled in the vicinity of Boston about the middle of the seventeenth century. In his early childhood his parents removed to Bennington County, Vt., where, under the shadows of the Green Mountains, he grew up in the life of the ordinary New England boy, spending the greater part of the year in the labors of the farm, and eagerly availing himself of the limited facilities for education which were provided during the winter months. In the very month in which he was twenty-one, against the protest of his friends, he turned his face towards the West, full of confidence that in its boundless resources there was a wider field for what he considered his own capacity for business success. Mr. Bridge left the parental roof with only six dollars in his pocket, to save which he walked to Troy, N. Y., and there entered a store, where he remained some six months, accumulating sufficient to take him to Columbus, Ohio, the place he had originally selected as his destination. Arriving at Columbus in the autumn of 1831, his first care was to survey the field before him, and while so doing he opened a school for the winter months, in which he was so successful that he was urged to continue it. But teaching was but a temporary expedient, not at all congenial to his tastes or disposition, and at the earliest opportunity he entered the employment of a firm there doing, for the place and period, an extensive business. While connected with this house as salesman he made trips covering the whole West, from Detroit to Nashville, and from Columbus to St. Louis. To his knowledge of the West and Western people, acquired at this time, Mr. Bridge attributed much of his later success. He was a man of great enterprise, always adventurous, and to do something which had not been done before—to extend the facilities for business, to cheapen the cost of manufacture, to make at home something that others thought necessary to bring from abroad—was always with him an object to be attained. It was with this view that, in 1835, he left Columbus and went to Springfield, Ill., and, in connection with Jewett, Matther & Lamb, inaugurated the manufacture of plows in that city, which up to that time had been brought from Cincinnati. The Jewett plow manufactured by them became the leading plow of the time, and the business of the firm was one of uninterrupted success.

It was during one of Mr. Bridge's trips to the Cumberland River for iron that his attention was attracted to St. Louis as a promising point for business, and after endeavoring without success to interest his partners at Springfield in the proposed new location, he removed in 1837 to St. Louis, and in company with Hale & Reyburn established the business in this city. Mr. Hale dying soon after, the business was continued by Bridge & Reyburn, and the de-

partment of stoves and hollow-ware was added. At this period all manufactures of this character were brought from the Ohio River. Mr. Bridge, however, conceived that the cost might be lessened by having the plates manufactured on the Tennessee River and put together in his own shop, and this was the first innovation. But this did not satisfy him. With only the experience in iron manufacture acquired in Springfield, he determined to make the plates in St. Louis, and in 1838 a little foundry was established in connection with his store. Old stove dealers warned the young man, then only twenty-eight years of age, of his folly in endeavoring to compete with the older manufacturers of Cincinnati, and of the failure that must inevitably follow. But Mr. Bridge soon found that by careful economy the cost of manufacture was less than the cost of bringing from the East. At this time he was his own foreman and salesman by day and his own book-keeper at night, and though of very humble pretensions in comparison with the establishment of to-day, the foundation was thus laid of the Empire Stove-Works, which was destined to become one of the largest and best-known manufacturing enterprises of the Mississippi valley.

Before 1840 he had gathered into his own family circle his parents and brothers, all of whom have passed away under his own roof, leaving himself alone to rest with them at last in the family lot at Bellefontaine.

In the year 1842, Mr. Bridge associated with him his younger brother, Harrison Bridge, and the firm of Bridge & Brother was established. His brother's death in 1850 left him again alone for several years. In 1857, John H. Beach, who had been for several years connected with the house, was admitted as an associate, and the firm of Bridge, Beach & Co. has continued to the present time. Mr. Bridge's relation as founder to the great manufacturing interest with which his name has been so long and honorably associated is but a small portion of his public history, and while his name is enrolled high on the list of the merchants and manufacturers of St. Louis, he stands higher still as the pure-minded, public-spirited, and honored citizen. It is not stating the case too strongly to say that there are few left who command in an equal degree, not merely the esteem and confidence, but the affection of the citizens of St. Louis. Of singular purity and simplicity in his private life, during the thirty-eight years of his residence in St. Louis no breath of reproach was ever heard against his good name. Honorable in all his dealings, rigorously just even against himself, his delicate sense of public and private duty made his name in the community the synonyme of mercantile rectitude and honor. A successful business career did not separate him from his fellow-men, but to all alike, the highest and the lowest, he preserved the simplicity of character and frank, cordial manner which those who knew him will long remember.

For the entire period of his residence in St. Louis he was a part of its business life and activity. So far from retiring from business pursuits on achieving success, increased wealth only opened new avenues for investment in business enterprises. He was a constant and generous contributor, and for many years an active worker, in every new public enterprise that could conduce to the growth and prosperity of the city. He was an original subscriber and worker in the inauguration of the Missouri Pacific, the North Missouri, the Iron Mountain, and Ohio and Mississippi Railroads, the St. Louis and Illinois Bridge Company, and many kindred enterprises, and was one of the original incorporators of Washington University, the Polytechnic Institute, and Mary Institute. In all of these institutions he was a trustee, and contributed generously to their support. During portions of his residence in St. Louis he was a director in the Boatmen's Saving Institution, the Merchants' Bank, the Pacific Railroad for fifteen years, and twice president, and one of the founders of Bellefontaine cemetery, dedicated upon his fortieth birthday, of which he was the first president, continuing as such through many years. He was also one of the founders and managers of the Institution for the Education of the Blind as a private institution, before it was conveyed to the State, a director and twice president of the Mercantile Library Association, whose present edifice was erected during his administration, and was due largely to his influence and energy, and a director in the St. Louis and Illinois Bridge Company, and other institutions with which his connection was less conspicuous. It was one of his business maxims that no citizen should allow his name to be used as a director in any corporation, or in connection with any public trust, to which he was unable or unwilling to devote his personal attention, and on this ground he frequently declined the use of his name as a responsible manager even when he was largely interested as a stockholder.

Extensive as were his connections with business interests up to the day of his death, he did not allow such connections to rule his life or to absorb his mind. Having passed the years of his boyhood in the country, he always retained a strong inclination to rural pursuits. About thirteen years before his death he purchased a considerable estate a few miles west of the city, and devoted much of his time to improving it

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Wm. C. Bradley

beautifying his residence and grounds, bringing to it the same practiced method and personal supervision that characterized all his relations. With rarely an exception, he returned from the city to his house every day at noon. There at Glendale, in the midst of delightful surroundings, and in the enjoyment of the society of his children, to whom he was devotedly attached, and of friends, he passed one half of every day, dispensing a hospitality not less warm and generous than it was simple and unostentatious.

The first indications of ill health occurred in the winter of 1873, from which he apparently fully recovered, and it was the hope of his family that his strong constitution, preserved as it had been by an exceedingly simple and temperate life, would conquer. A recurrence, however, ensued in a few months, subsequent to which, with intervals of improvement and relapse, his well-preserved physical constitution contended with that inexorable malady, Bright's disease. Throughout the entire period his cheerfulness never forsook him, but looking death calmly in the face, he continually advised about the business and personal affairs, giving directions for enlargement and extension in certain departments after his death. To a member of his family but a short time before his death, which occurred Feb. 25, 1875, he stated that he regarded his life's work as complete perhaps as it would ever be, and though he would have preferred living three or four years longer, on account of his younger children, he felt perfectly resigned to God's will in the matter, thankful for so much as had been given him.

Mr. Bridge had been a member of the Church of the Messiah (Unitarian) since his arrival in St. Louis. In his benefactions during his lifetime Mr. Bridge was unostentatious, and it is difficult to estimate their amount. They will, however, largely exceed a quarter of a million dollars, chiefly to educational institutions, in which he was greatly interested.

His gifts to Washington University alone, including its several departments, amounted to one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, the whole of which was bestowed without solicitation, and without conditions annexed. He gave freely wherever he thought good could be accomplished, but never wished his name to appear if it could be avoided.

The secret of Mr. Bridge's success may be found in his scrupulous performance of every engagement and in his abhorrence of debt. He was ready to excuse almost any fault except the want of business integrity, and could not be tempted by the largest hope of profit into trading upon borrowed capital. His progress was, therefore, sure and steady, and although at the first slow, it ultimately became rapid, even to the accumulation of great wealth. There was no department of business life in St. Louis which did not feel his loss, and he left the enviable record of a good citizen, a practical philanthropist, and a faithful business man. Mr. Bridge left six children,—Isabella, the wife of Col. George E. Leighton; Emma, wife of J. G. Chapman; Mary, wife of N. C. Chapman; and Hudson Eliot, Harrison, and Amy, unmarried.

The country has produced few men who possessed the variety of virtues and accomplishments embodied in the person of Henry Taylor Blow. As a business man, legislator, diplomatist, and private individual, his merits were of the most superior character, and throughout his busy and useful life he was one of the most prominent figures in the commercial, political, and social circles of St. Louis, and one of their most conspicuous ornaments. Mr. Blow was the second son of Peter Blow, a planter of Southampton County, Va., and was born July 15, 1817. The family was of English descent, tracing its lineage to the days of Charles I., and tradition has always assigned it a good position in English society. The Blows came to St. Louis in 1830, and Mr. Blow engaged in business as keeper of what was then known as the Jefferson Hotel. Both the parents soon died, leaving seven children out of a family of twelve, all of whom were young and had comparatively small means of support. Their career proves Mr. and Mrs. Blow to have been persons of remarkable strength of character and mind. There were three daughters. One died unmarried, and one became the wife of the Hon. Charles D. Drake, a well-known lawyer of St. Louis, who subsequently became United States senator, and is now a judge of the United States Court of Claims at Washington. The other daughter became the wife of Joseph Charless, son of the founder of the *Missouri Gazette*, the first paper published in St. Louis, and who for many years was an honored and useful citizen. There were four sons,—Peter E., Henry T., Taylor,[1] and William T., all of whom became active and well-known business men of St. Louis, and are now dead.

Upon settling in St. Louis, Henry Taylor Blow entered the St. Louis University, an institution of extended reputation throughout the West, and then the only place in the city where the higher branches of education were taught. It would appear that his

[1] Taylor Blow was born in Huntsville, Ala., and was forty-nine years of age at the time of his death, which occurred August 20, 1869. Mr. Blow was one of the most influential citizens of St. Louis, and was a member of the firms of Blow, Curd & Co., Peter E. Blow, and Charless, Blow & Co.

father had determined that his sons should have a good education, even though he could leave them no great moneyed legacy.

Young Blow graduated with distinction at the St. Louis University, and for some time thereafter pursued the study of law, his father having designed him for that profession (for which he also seemed by nature to be fitted); but the purpose was abandoned, and in 1836 (when nineteen years old) he became a partner with his brother-in-law, Joseph Charless, in the sale of drugs, paints, oils, etc. The nature of the business suggested the manufacture of some of the articles in which they dealt, and they set up small mills and made castor and linseed oil and white lead. The establishment of oil-mills was truly a pioneer experiment, for little flax was raised in Missouri at that time. At first its culture was entirely unknown, and Mr. Blow having acquainted himself with the details, taught the farmers how to raise it. By following his advice they succeeded, and thus was begun an important industry.

In 1844 the partnership with Mr. Charless was dissolved, Mr. Blow retaining the manufacturing business, which he successfully conducted and enlarged until it finally became "The Collier White Lead and Oil Company" (of which for many years he was president), one of the largest manufacturing concerns in the city.

The manufacture of white lead directed Mr. Blow's attention to the manufacture of metallic lead from the ores. For some years before the war his brother, Peter E. Blow, had mined and smelted lead in Washington County, and just before the war had removed to Newton County, and there started very large mining and smelting works, in connection with Hon. Ferdinand Kennett. Henry T. Blow had an interest in these operations, and when Mr. Kennett died the brothers bought his interest. During the war the prosecution of the business was rendered impracticable, but when peace was declared the Blows associated others with them in "The Granby Mining and Smelting Company," and resumed work in Newton County, under Peter E. Blow's management. When Peter E. Blow died, Henry T. Blow, who had always been president of the company, assumed the chief care and responsibility of the business, and successfully managed it.

These two enterprises—the "Collier Lead-Works" and the "Granby Mining and Smelting Company"—were the most important in which Mr. Blow was engaged, and yielded him a handsome fortune. He participated actively, however, in many other enterprises disconnected from business. In the government of the city, and especially in the moral and social improvement of the community, he took a lively interest throughout his career. Mr. Blow was also prominently identified with the educational interests of St. Louis, and one of the public schools of the city bears his name. He also founded an association for the encouragement of art and to promote the love of it. He heartily co-operated with the merchants (often as a leader) for the advancement of commerce, and labored energetically for the improvement of river navigation. He was an earnest advocate of railroad development, and was once president of the Iron Mountain Railroad Company. In short, there was no enterprise that promised to advance the interests of St. Louis to which he did not lend his cheerful and untiring support, and few men ever had the prosperity of the city more genuinely at heart.

It is now our province to speak of Mr. Blow as a public man. In early years he was a Whig, and when that party was disbanded he became a Republican. This choice indicates an uncommonly tenacious adherence to principle, for in Missouri no hope of Republican success could then (in 1854) be entertained; and so great was the distrust in which that party was regarded, that to adhere to it was to endanger one's business and to jeopardize one's social relations. But

> "They are slaves who dare not be
> In the right with two or three;"

and Henry Taylor Blow did not hesitate to follow the dictates of conscience. In 1854 he was elected to the State Senate, and served for four years. At the beginning of his term he still regarded himself as a Whig, and held the important position of chairman of the Committee on Banks, the duties of which he discharged with ability.

Among his associates in that Legislature were Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, formerly Democrats, but then "Free-Soilers." Mr. Blow finally identified himself openly with the Republicans, and though he belonged to a party that was in an apparently hopeless minority, his personal worth commanded respect, and enabled him to do much for the good of the Commonwealth. In 1860 he was a delegate to the Chicago Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency.

Mr. Blow adhered to the Republican party as long as he lived, and assisted prominently in building it up in Missouri. His espousal of the principles and candidates of this party was the more noteworthy because by birth, education, and associations he was essentially a Southern man. Although such, yet when the war commenced he became an earnest advocate of Union-

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ism, and by his course did much to check the torrent of secession which threatened to sweep Missouri with the South, and by his influence and his stirring speeches no doubt averted much trouble that would otherwise have befallen St. Louis. His cool, clear-headed advice was a contribution to the Union cause that could not have been dispensed with. He participated prominently in the counsels of the Union men of Missouri, and assisted in raising and equipping troops. Later in that year President Lincoln appointed him Minister to Venezuela, and Mr. Blow, not realizing the magnitude of the coming struggle, and thinking he might be able to accomplish something of advantage to the commerce of the Mississippi valley, accepted the position; but as the war progressed and its dreadful character became apparent, he felt too deeply concerned to remain in a foreign country, and after about a year's service resigned the mission and returned to St. Louis. The next fall (1862) he was elected to the House of Representatives as a member of the Thirty-seventh Congress, and two years later was chosen to the Thirty-eighth Congress.

Upon these two Congresses devolved duties and responsibilities unprecedented in the history of the country. A war of unexampled magnitude had to be prosecuted, and when it was ended provision had to be made for the restoration of the seceding States to the Union, and for the revival of domestic industry. In each of these bodies Mr. Blow occupied responsible positions. In the first he was a member of the Ways and Means Committee,—a position seldom accorded to a new congressman,—and in the second he was a member of the Committees on Appropriations and Reconstruction. The importance of the duties of these committees in that trying period cannot be too highly estimated, as they had to deal with all the weighty and perplexing problems arising from the war. Mr. Blow performed his share of those labors with recognized usefulness to the country and with credit to himself.

Upon the expiration of his second term there was a general desire to continue him in the position, but he declined to become a candidate for re-election, hoping thus to be enabled to give his attention to his much neglected private business. But in 1869 President Grant appointed him Minister to Brazil, an honor he did not feel at liberty to decline. He spent two years at Rio Janeiro, and exerted himself there with considerable success to stimulate commercial relations between the two governments. In 1871 he returned home, with the hope and expectation of remaining in private life, but in 1872 he was called to the chairmanship of the Republican State Central Committee, and ably directed the movements of the party through the critical campaign of that year.

His last public service was performed in 1874. At that time the affairs of the District of Columbia were in a very unfortunate shape. In the belief that frauds of an alarming character had been committed, Congress had abolished the Territorial government ("Boss" Shepherd's), and had established a government by a board of commissioners, of whom Mr. Blow was appointed one. He held the position but a few months, but contributed much during that period to the production of order out of chaos, and to the restoration of public confidence. Upon his death a year later the board of commissioners of the District of Columbia adopted resolutions of respect to his memory which recited, among other things, that "he was highly intelligent, enterprising, and patriotic, and faithfully performed every private and public trust committed to his hands."

Mr. Blow was married in 1840 to Minerva, daughter of Col. Thornton Grimsley, one of the most prominent and influential citizens of St. Louis. She was in every way worthy to be the wife of such a man, a sympathetic assistant in the struggles of early life, and a happy participant in his later triumphs; his cheerful associate in numberless acts of benevolence to relieve the needy, comfort the distressed, enlighten the ignorant, and encourage the unfortunate; his valued counselor in all the troubles of life as well as the partaker of all its joys, dividing his griefs by making them her own, and doubling his pleasures by rejoicing in them also. She died on the 28th of June, 1875, and he very suddenly September 11th following at Saratoga, after an hour's illness, of congestion.

Of Mr. Blow in private life it is difficult to speak too warmly. He was possessed of such charming social qualities, such courteous manners, dignified bearing, exuberant spirits, and generosity of heart as endeared him to his friends. In manners he was quiet, but was sometimes impulsive, though never rude. He was cordial and kind to his friends, and often very tender to those dear to him.

His Southern parentage and associations contributed to make him hospitable to a princely degree. He was a liberal man, giving money freely for patriotic, scientific, artistic, religious, and benevolent purposes, and was charitable in the original sense of the expression, for his charity was of the kind that "thinketh no evil," but placed the most liberal construction upon the character, conduct, and motives of others. Thus, during the war, while no man could exceed him in love for the Union or in the determination to coerce the seceding States, he was utterly

without personal acrimony, and probably no man ever exerted himself more actively and successfully to relieve the distresses of public enemies. Very much of his valuable time was employed in examining the cases of individual "rebels" of whose sufferings he had heard, and procuring relief for them, often in the form of pardon and release from imprisonment.

Religion was a part of his nature; it pervaded his being; it was not worn as an outer garment, to be laid aside upon occasion, but accompanied him in his business transactions, and governed all his dealings with his fellows. Never obtrusive, it tempered his opinions and acts with a mellow radiance, and imparted a kindly tone to what might have appeared his harsh and inflexible justice. His religion was one of love and joyousness; it neither made him sad nor caused sadness in others. For many years he was a member of the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. Blow possessed a rugged constitution, and up to the close of his life had experienced scarcely a day's illness for many years. His sudden death, therefore, shocked the community to a peculiar degree. His body was borne to its last resting-place, by the side of his wife, amid such demonstrations of public and private grief as are seldom seen. The press and the various bodies to which Mr. Blow belonged joined in celebrating his virtues in strains of unexampled eulogy. He was widely known throughout Missouri, and many of the municipal assemblies placed on record their sense of the great loss occasioned by his death. A resolution of the St. Louis Board of Trade declared that "he possessed all the attributes of God's noblest work, an honest man." A gentleman of the Granby Mining and Smelting Company, in moving resolutions of respect, said,—

"He brought to the service of the company zealous activity, unflagging industry, large experience of business, broad and comprehensive intelligence, and a policy bold without rashness, cautious without timidity, liberal without waste, and economical without penuriousness, and, what was probably of greatest value, pure honor and truth, which exacted of all with whom he dealt corresponding trust and confidence. We were the frequent witnesses of his generous impulses, his scorn of meanness, his love of truth, his devotion to honor, his reverence for religion, his princely hospitality, his courageous defense of the right,—in short, we recognized in his character each and every one of those noble attributes which constitute a man without fear and without reproach."

But perhaps the most accurate and discriminating estimate of Mr. Blow was that which appeared in the *Globe-Democrat* the morning after his death, and which affords a graceful termination to this memoir:

"No death among the many whose names are intimately linked with the social and material history and progress of this community could occasion a more profound sorrow than that of Hon. Henry T. Blow, which occurred at Saratoga yesterday. Sad is the event of death at all times is, it is infinitely more sad when so entirely unexpected. . . . The malady which smote him was one against which the safeguards are few, and for which the remedies are uncertain. It has rarely made a conquest that will be more regretfully recorded."

The writer then refers to a sketch of Mr. Blow's life, published elsewhere in the paper; and after remarking that such a biography (necessarily hurried and unstudied) leaves the best and most important untold of that which most concerns us, the man, the eulogy proceeds:

"To know Mr. Blow only as one who held important public trusts and discharged important public duties was to know comparatively little of him; but to know him as a friend, an associate, and a companion was to be acquainted with one in whom all the best elements of human nature were developed to the highest degree. He was truthful, he was honest, he was honorable, and he was generous, in the broadest sense in which these terms can be used. He had a nature which seemed to attract without repelling any, and hence it was his rare good fortune to enjoy the warmest friendships without incurring the slightest enmities.

"In his public career Mr. Blow illustrated the best and most hopeful phase of American political life. He never sought office, and when he accepted a trust, the sense of responsibility incurred was greater than the sense of honor conferred. No man ever labored more faithfully to discharge a public duty to the credit of himself and the benefit of his constituents. He was a politician in the higher and better meaning of the term, and not in the selfish and sordid sense in which the word is properly applied to many. To him politics was a field of public usefulness, and not of private gain.

"He possessed a well-matured mind, a sound judgment, and a discriminating intelligence which enabled him to stand upon a higher plane as congressman and minister than many who were his superiors in the details of special study and information. He was a partisan only because he believed that under a government like ours the patriot must necessarily crystallize in the partisan; and he had lived to see it put to the test that the strongest partisan is the best pa-

triot. He was little of an orator, and yet his public utterances were always thoughtful and convincing, and were rarely surpassed in effect by the more brilliant and more ornate speeches of his contemporaries.

"Hastily-recorded thoughts like these, however, form but a very imperfect estimate of our departed friend and fellow-citizen. The feeling which shadows the community to-day is not easily voiced or written. It is with no simulated sorrow that the sad event will be learned and spoken of, but with a genuine and heartfelt regret for one whose death is a positive loss to the community, and a positive grief to all who enjoyed the pleasure of his personal acquaintance. And to the mournful story of to-day a tragic pathos will be added by the recollection of a death and a burial two months ago, when the generous heart, now mute and still, was bowed in sorrow at the tomb of a life's affection. When, a few days hence, the husband and father is laid to rest near the new-made grave of the wife and mother, who that knew them both will fail to repeat the beautiful language of David's matchless lament:

"'They were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in death they were not divided.'"

At the breaking out of the civil war Hon. Charles Gibson, now one of the most distinguished and talented members of the St. Louis bar, took decided and active ground in favor of preserving the unity of the national government. He was willing to accord to the South the full measure of her claims under the Constitution, but regarded the preservation of the Union as of paramount importance. In the winter of 1860–61 he issued a patriotic and inspiring address to the people of Missouri, which provided a rallying-point for the Unionists of the State, and enabled them, by securing the election of a Union State Convention, to checkmate Governor Jackson's attempt to take Missouri out of the Union. Mr. Gibson was an acknowledged leader in that agitation, and among his able coadjutors were Gen. Francis P. Blair, Col. Jas. O. Broadhead, Hon. B. Gratz Brown, and men of equal calibre.

Mr. Gibson was born in Montgomery County, Va., in 1825. His ancestors were among the early settlers in that part of the State, and both his grandfathers were wounded in the Revolutionary war. His father, Capt. Hugh Gibson, moved to Missouri in 1836, and having the means to enable him to do so led the life of a quiet country gentleman. His mother was descended from the Rutledge family of South Carolina.

The schools of Missouri in those pioneer days afforded very meagre educational advantages, but young Gibson mastered all the branches taught, and was noted for his precocity. He read and studied with avidity what books he could obtain, and probably the lack of early tuition was to a great extent compensated for by the independence of thought and originality engendered by self-instruction. He was for a brief period a student at the University of Missouri, and his examination when admitted showed him to be perfect in all that he had studied.

In 1843, Mr. Gibson came to St. Louis, friendless and unknown, to hew out his own fortune. He brought a general letter of introduction from influential friends, but his only capital was a self-reliant and hardy spirit. His first acquaintance was with the Hon. Edward Bates, and a friendship sprang up between them which lasted until that eminent man's death, twenty-five years later.

Mr. Gibson spent much time in the office of Mr. Bates during the three years he was studying law with Josiah Spaulding, one of the most learned and upright lawyers of that period. He was also the first librarian of the Law Library. While reading law he applied himself to the study of French and German, and acquired sufficient proficiency in both to be able to transact legal business in either tongue.

In 1844, Mr. Gibson entered the political field, and made speeches in behalf of Henry Clay. In 1848 he advocated Gen. Taylor's election; in 1852 he was nominated an elector on the Scott ticket; in 1856 he supported the Old-Line Whig ticket, and he strove earnestly to secure the Presidential nomination for his old friend, Edward Bates. In 1860 the Whig party had ceased to maintain a national organization, and Mr. Gibson originated a movement to bring out Mr. Bates as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, although he did not belong to the Republican party; Mr. Gibson believing that the election of a Southern man who was opposed to slavery, but who was in all respects conservative, would avert the political crisis which otherwise seemed inevitable. But this scheme, which was supported by Horace Greeley, the Blairs, and others, fell through, and Mr. Gibson supported Mr. Bell on the "Constitutional Union" ticket.

In 1861, President Lincoln made Edward Bates his attorney-general, and the latter urged Mr. Gibson as a patriotic duty to give up his law practice and go to Washington, where he was needed, appointed him assistant attorney-general, and tendered him any office he might designate. Mr. Gibson complied with Mr. Bates' request and went to Washington, where he accepted the office of solicitor of the Court of Claims (now solicitor-general). At President Lincoln's request he wrote an opinion favoring the elevation of the Court of Claims from a mere commission

to a regular court of justice, and Mr. Lincoln embodied the paper in one of his messages, with the alteration of but a single word. Mr. Gibson then wrote the bill which was passed by Congress reorganizing the court. Mr. Gibson was thrown into friendly and even intimate relations with Mr. Lincoln and most of the great men of that period. Among those who specially confided in him was Mr. Stanton, "the great war secretary." Mr. Gibson strenuously exerted himself against many of the harsh and repressive measures of the war, especially those pertaining to Missouri, for he was the official agent of the State of Missouri at the national capital, and performed efficient service in regulating the affairs of the State with the Federal government. Mr. Bates and himself were the only representatives of four million "Border State" people in the administration, and therefore when Mr. Gibson found that the Lincoln administration was hopelessly given over to a radical policy, he resigned the office of solicitor-general and declared himself a Democrat. In 1864 he supported Gen. McClellan for the Presidency, and in 1866–67 sustained President Johnson in his contest with Congress. In 1868 he advocated Governor Seymour's election to the Presidency; in 1870 favored the Liberal Republican and Democratic coalition in Missouri which elected B. Gratz Brown Governor, and prepared the way for the revision of the ironclad Drake Constitution; and in 1872 warmly supported Mr. Greeley's election, although he do.bted the policy of his nomination by the Democratic National Convention, of which body he was a delegate-at-large from Missouri.

He supported Governor Tilden for the Presidency in 1876, and during the exciting controversy which arose in the following winter as to the result of the election, he was selected by the Democratic National Committee to visit Louisiana, in connection with other eminent gentlemen, to insure a fair count in behalf of Mr. Tilden. While there he was commissioned to go to Florida on a similar service, and took an important part in the proceedings which afterwards became so familiar to the country in connection with the Florida electoral case, creating a most favorable impression as a learned and modest gentleman. He was an old personal friend of Gen. Hancock, whom he supported in 1880 for the Presidency, and at his request delivered several speeches and performed other important services in Indiana in his interest. After the loss to the Democrats of Indiana in October, he took a very active and effective part in the election of Hon. Thomas Allen to Congress from the city of St. Louis.

Upon returning to St. Louis from Washington, in 1864, he became in a measure disengaged from the regular practice of the law, but has always been more or less actively employed in important litigation. From the outset of his career he always obtained his full share of business, especially in matters pertaining to land titles. He drew up the act creating the St. Louis Land Court, and when that tribunal was established, became one of the leading practitioners before it. As a lawyer he has been eminently successful. Without aiming at oratorical effects, his general reputation is that of a brilliant speaker in cases in which he is deeply interested and which are of a nature to draw out his powers.

As a business man, Mr. Gibson has been very successful, and a handsome fortune is the result of his exertions. Some of the finest enterprises in the city have been organized and perfected by him, and often these have been attended by protracted and delicate negotiations, in which Mr. Gibson's tact and ingenuity were exerted to the utmost to bring about a successful issue. Of this character were the circumstances preceding the erection of the old Southern Hotel (since burned) and of its successor, the present fine structure. The importance and effectiveness of his labors in the building and rebuilding of this hotel are universally acknowledged; and all was done by him without compensation, and after large and liberal contributions of his own money. In fact, the bargain concluded between Col. Robert Campbell and the Hon. Thomas Allen was brought about by him, and without it the building would not have been erected.

Our limited space forbids more than a reference to other public works in which he took a leading part. Mr. Gibson has always manifested a deep interest in matters tending to promote the welfare and happiness of the community, and has always been zealous in aiding the purchase and improvement of parks and other grounds for public resort. He aided very materially in the establishment and improvement of Lafayette Park, and, without injustice to others, might perhaps be called the originator of that beautiful resort. He drew up the first act establishing Forest Park, and when it was declared unconstitutional he was foremost in procuring the passage of another act which was declared valid, and it is not too much to say that St. Louis owes this fine park to his legal ability, good business sense, and untiring persistence. He is a man of large views, and some of his ideas have been far in advance of the people. Of these may be mentioned his proposition, advanced in 1853, to open Jefferson Avenue two hundred feet wide from St. Louis Place to the "Wild Hunter," and Grand Avenue three



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Yours Sincerely
L. Gibson

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hundred feet wide from the river on the north to the river on the south; and also, in 1868, his plan for a park of one thousand acres just east of the present Forest Park.

Some years ago Mr. Gibson organized the Laclede Gas Company. Its right to do business and supply the public with gas was contested by the old company, which claimed a monopoly of the city; but on Mr. Gibson's advice the new company proceeded to expend one million five hundred thousand dollars in works in the northern part of the city, and the result was a complete vindication of the soundness of his advice.

His career as a lawyer has been distinguished by several episodes of a singularly interesting character. In 1849 he served as junior counsel for the defense in the celebrated case against Counts Gonzalve and Raymond de Montesquieu, indicted for the murder of Kirby Barnum and Albert Jones, in the City Hotel of St. Louis. After two mistrials Mr. Gibson alone procured the pardon of Gonzalve (who was insane) and the "exoneration" of Raymond by the Governor. The incidents of the trial were romantic in the extreme. The defendants belonged to the highest and oldest of the nobles of France, and were cousins of Napoleon III. No case in Missouri has ever attracted so much attention as this one. The counts and their kinsman, Viscount de Cessac, expressed their regard and gratitude for Mr. Gibson's services by presenting him with a curious and valuable watch-chain and a splendid diamond ring, which he still owns. A few years ago he read an account of this trial before the Historical Society of Missouri, which was widely published both in this country and in France.

In 1858 he was retained as sole counsel in another celebrated case brought by the king of Prussia, and involving the nature and power of the kings of that country. He obtained from the Supreme Court of Missouri a decision establishing the autocracy of the government, in the same manner as recently claimed in the rescript of the emperor. The prince regent who is now the Emperor William) was so well pleased with his conduct that he ordered two large and splendid porcelain vases to be made at the royal porcelain manufactory in Berlin, embellished with enameled pictures of Sans Souci, the new palace at Potsdam, the old royal palace, and the monument to Frederick the Great in Berlin, and covered with the richest gilding and other devices, which were presented to Mr. Gibson, with the royal thanks, in due form. Each vase bears the following inscription: "The Prince Regent of Prussia to the Counselor Charles Gibson, the unselfish advocate of justice." The inscription was written by Baron Alexander von Humboldt. The vases are nearly four feet high, and far surpass anything of the kind in this country.

In 1882, twenty-three years after this, the same sovereign, who had then become king and emperor, and had achieved world-wide fame, and founded a great empire, tendered to Mr. Gibson, through the imperial consul at St. Louis, the appointment of his son Preston as a cadet officer in the imperial army, and offered to waive, by a special order from the emperor himself, any disabilities to his entry into the service. The young gentleman concluded to remain in his own country, but the incident shows the estimation in which Mr. Gibson is held in Berlin.

In 1881, Mr. Gibson was engaged as counsel to represent the Austrian government in the prosecution of Baron von Bechtolsheim, formerly Austro-Hungarian consul at St. Louis, who was charged with embezzlement. The baron had abandoned his title and his office, fled the State, and changed his name; but he was arrested, brought back to St. Louis, and incarcerated in jail for many months. He finally escaped, however, by pleading the consular immunity as a technical defense, although it was waived by his government. But although Mr. Gibson lost this case, he displayed such learning, fidelity, and ability that he received from the Austrian emperor the imperial thanks as a warm expression of approval. Mr. Gibson is perhaps the only member of the American bar who has received the high honor of the official thanks of two of the great powers of Europe on account of his professional conduct at the bar.

It is certainly a strange coincidence that a plain, unostentatious Missouri lawyer should have had three such extraordinary cases.

In 1851, Mr. Gibson married Miss Virginia, daughter of Archibald Gamble, one of the oldest and most widely known of the early settlers of Missouri. He has a large family, which has always lived in the same house.

In 1881, Mr. Gibson met with the great misfortune of his life. His son Archibald was a cadet at West Point, and while on parade a spider crawled into his ear. By the rules of the Military Academy, and still more by the spirit of the corps of cadets, it was a high offense to move in the ranks, and the boy remained unmoved for over an hour with the venomous insect working in and poisoning his vitals. When parade was over the ear was found full of blood, and the spider was not gotten out for two days. Archibald remained at the academy, was graduated with high honor, and was appointed lieutenant of the Seventh Cavalry, Custer's regiment. After remaining several months

at home under medical treatment, he joined his regiment and went to the field, where he remained campaigning until his captain and surgeon both ordered him to apply for sick-leave. Utterly broken down, he then returned home and died of brain fever. The singular circumstances of his death, his endurance and fortitude, his purity of character and great learning for one so young, caused a sensation in the city where he was born, raised, and died, and called forth letters of praise and sympathy from Gens. Sherman and Hancock, and many other distinguished men throughout the country. His funeral was attended by the chancellor and professors of Washington University (where he had been a student), all the army officers in the city or at the barracks, a company of regulars from the barracks, and a very large concourse of citizens.

Mr. Gibson enjoys a well-earned reputation as one of the most useful citizens St. Louis has ever had. Early thrown upon his own resources, without money or friends, he has made for himself an honorable name as a jurist, citizen, and neighbor, and has done much to make St. Louis a great city. During the past forty years few men have exercised a greater or more beneficial influence upon the material, legal, and political history of the city and State, and he is one of the best types of the self-made and progressive men of that eventful period.

When the civil war came on the packing-house of Francis Whittaker & Co. was recognized as being perhaps the leading one of the kind in the Southwest, and it was enabled to render the country a most important service.

St. Louis was, as we have seen, an important commercial and strategic point, and the centre of immense military preparations. The government, however, was without money or credit, and its representatives in St. Louis found themselves in the midst of a population which strongly sympathized with the South. The crisis was very grave, the fate of St. Louis and of Missouri trembled in the balance. At this juncture three firms whose courage and patriotism deserve to be held in especial remembrance and honor came to the rescue and lent their credit to the government, staking their chances upon the success of the Union arms for the ultimate repayment of their loans, and for furnishing supplies to the newly-organized Union regiments or "Home Guards." Repeatedly during the war they fed the troops quartered at St. Louis, and furnished food and other supplies in immense quantities to be forwarded to other fields. Thus they not only rendered the authorities priceless assistance and contributed materially to the success of the national cause in the Southwest, but retained for St. Louis the trade which otherwise would have been swept away, and enabled it to emerge from the war as the great metropolis of the Mississippi valley. The names of these patriotic pork-packers were Henry & Edgar Ames & Co., John J. Roe & Co., and Francis Whittaker & Co.

Francis Whittaker, the senior member of the firm of Francis Whittaker & Co., was born at Manor Hamilton, County Leitrim, Ireland, in 1810. He was a gentleman by birth, his father, John Whittaker, being sheriff of the county. The latter married quite young (his wife was Margaret Henderson, a lady of like station), and from the union a large family resulted, several of whom received a professional education at Trinity College, Dublin, the cradle of so many of the brightest geniuses of the Emerald Isle.

When old enough to enter upon the active duties of life, Francis Whittaker was apprenticed to Andrew Britton, a packer and provision merchant at Sligo, and upon the completion of his term was appointed an officer in the Sligo Branch of the Bank of Ireland. After several years' service as such he moved to the south of Ireland to establish a series of banks outside of those controlled by the government, a scheme suggested by his superior in the bank, which did not succeed.

Francis Whittaker then removed to Dublin, where resided his brother-in-law, John Motherwell, one of the leading lights of the then famous Dublin bar. In Dublin he engaged in the paper manufacturing business, and while visiting the scenes of his boyhood at Ballymote he married his only wife, Anne, daughter of John Motherwell, a disabled officer of the queen's army. He continued to live in Dublin, but in the course of years a growing family and the increasing discontent and destitution in the country compelled him to emigrate. He found it difficult to choose between the urgent solicitations of brothers in Melbourne and New York, but finally chose America, and in April, 1848, sailed for this country, the voyage lasting five weeks. At New York he was heartily welcomed by his brother, Dr. John H. Whittaker, who was then president of the New York Medical College.

After settling his family in Brooklyn, Francis Whittaker visited the West, with letters to the old and substantial house of James Hewitt & Co., of Louisville, Liverpool, New York, and St. Louis. In New York he had made the acquaintance of R. M. W. Kercheval, upon whose advice he accepted the position of general director of the packing-house of John Sigerson at St. Louis, and here he spent some months





Francis Whittaker

familiarizing himself with the situation. He was accustomed to relate that on his first Sunday, after attending Dr. Potts' Presbyterian Church, he walked out on the then wooded heights of St. Louis, and as he looked the town over, felt convinced that he could establish a footing here. Consequently, in the fall of 1849 he brought his family West, and then began his work in good earnest.

At first he was in business alone, but afterwards had John J. Roe for a partner. Mr. Roe was a congenial associate, and the connection continued until about the close of the war. The early years of his business experience in St. Louis were arduous and trying. His son relates that often he not only had to act as his own foreman, but frequently was compelled to work at the "cutter's table;" and when he came home and seated himself at the table to eat he could hardly ply the knife and fork, so great was his fatigue. A business laid on such solid foundations of personal industry could not but prosper.

After the war the business was conducted by Francis Whittaker & Sons, but Mr. Whittaker remained its directing and inspiring mind. He established branch houses in New York and New Orleans, but ultimately withdrew from them. At last he died, June 14, 1871, aged sixty-two years, leaving a large and lucrative business.

One of his favorite projects was the direct shipment of the products of his house to Europe. The experiment proved successful, and in later years the business in which he was a pioneer assumed immense proportions. He was also an advocate and one of the early stockholders of the Mississippi valley barge transportation system, which he supported as being an enterprise of great importance to St. Louis. He was not, however, permitted to witness the success of this movement.

Mr. Whittaker was interested in other public enterprises, and chiefly through his exertions the Bank of Commerce, one of the most important financial institutions of St. Louis, was firmly established. He was also a director in the old Merchants' Bank, and in the old St. Louis Insurance Company.

In private life, in the family and the church, Mr. Whittaker left a legacy of precious recollections. He and his wife were nurtured in the Church of England, but before leaving Ireland embraced the faith of the Dissenters, who find their closest affiliations in America among the Congregationalists. In St. Louis they became members of the First Congregational Church, under Dr. Post's ministry, and were soon recognized and esteemed as among the most devoted and useful members of that body.

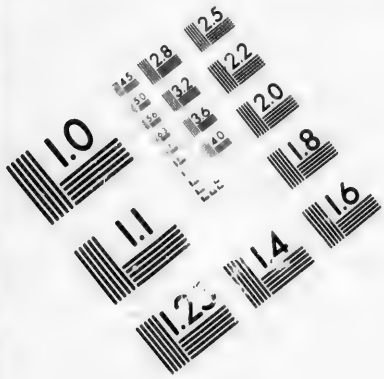
In this connection mention may properly be made of Mr. Whittaker's charities, for with him systematic giving was a Christian duty. He bestowed his benefactions without regard to church or creed, and to several of the public institutions he made generous gifts annually. He was one of the founders of the Good Samaritan Hospital, and left it a handsome bequest. His will directed the payment of legacies amounting to sixty thousand dollars.

In 1852, Mrs. Whittaker died. She was a woman of great strength of mind, and Mr. Whittaker was wont to ascribe all his success to her calm and judicious advice. Her character was singularly amiable and gentle, and her marked influence for good was exerted steadily throughout her busy and energetic life.

From this time Mr. Whittaker's energies were devoted to the care of his family of seven young children, and to educate them properly and leave them in easy circumstances was his chief ambition. He was never so happy as when with them, and was often heard to say that while in their company life had no other charm for him. Next to his love of family was his love for his adopted country. It was his pride that he was an American, and that he had been privileged to live under free institutions, where class distinctions were unknown, and where all were permitted to contend for fortune on equal terms.

In 1869 his son Francis, the youngest of the family, died very suddenly. From that day Mr. Whittaker declined in health, and it may be said that the boy's death literally broke his heart. He passed away sustained by implicit faith in the religion that had inspired him throughout almost his entire lifetime, and died as he had lived, a Christian gentleman, leaving to a sorrowing circle of friends the fragrant memory of one of the most upright, active, and energetic men St. Louis ever knew. Mr. Whittaker left two sons and three daughters. Of the former only the elder, John Whittaker, is now living. He is the efficient head of the house of Francis Whittaker & Sons, and the father's mantle seems to have fallen on worthy shoulders.

Associated with Mr. Whittaker during the exciting period of the civil war was John J. Roe, who was largely interested with him in furnishing supplies to the military authorities in St. Louis at a critical time, when the government, as already stated, had neither money nor credit. Mr. Roe was a strong and active Union man when the war began, although originally of a conservative disposition, and at one time a slaveholder. Believing slavery, however, to be wrong, he had set his slaves free. For many years Mr. Roe was



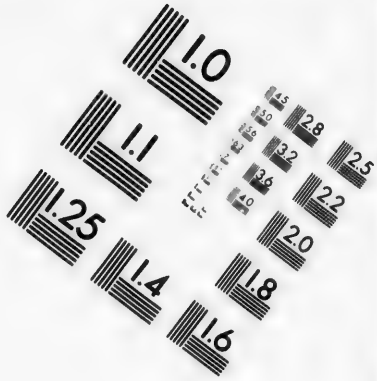
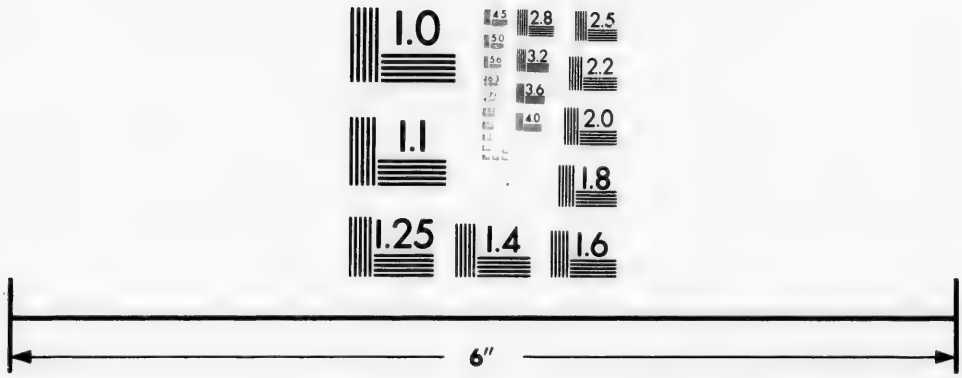
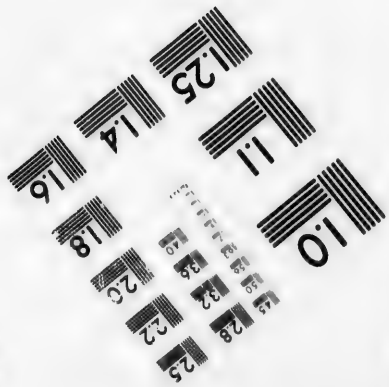


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one of the most prominent, if not *the* most prominent merchant-prince of St. Louis. His name, in fact, headed every large undertaking which was thought likely to advance St. Louis to the position of one of the chief mercantile cities of the Union, and it was his unceasing and untiring energy that gave an impetus towards certain success to every enterprise with which he was connected.

Like most of the indomitable wills that have left their impress upon the history of the city, he was emphatically a self-made man, and every dollar of the vast sums which he accumulated was the product of his calculating energy. His parents were plain farm people, living near Buffalo, N. Y., and here, April 18, 1809, John J. Roe was born. When he was six years old the family, having caught the Western fever, removed to Cincinnati, thence to Kentucky, and finally settled at Rising Sun, Ind., where the father bought a farm and owned a ferry, dying there in 1834.

Schools were few and far between in Indiana at that time, but young Roe made as much use of them as he could without interfering with the duty of helping his father on the farm and at the ferry. The latter employment seems to have given him his first taste for steamboating, the occupation which he was subsequently to follow so successfully; for already, in 1832 (two years before his father's death), he had left home and was engaged at Cincinnati in some humble capacity on a steamboat. From this position he rose by successive promotions until he became captain of the vessel, and at the very outset of his career he brilliantly demonstrated his wonderful business ability. By judicious trading he made such large profits jointly for himself and the owners of the vessel that in less than two years from the time he engaged on the boat, a poor boy with but a few dollars in his pocket, he was the captain and sole owner.

After such an auspicious beginning his success was uniform, and in a very few years he had built and was operating a fleet of the finest vessels on the Ohio River and its tributaries.

In 1837 he married Miss Martha A. Wright, daughter of Thomas Wright, of Cincinnati.

In 1840, Capt. Roe started from Cincinnati with a boat-load of merchandise for the upper Missouri River, and stopping at St. Louis, became so favorably impressed with its advantages from a commercial standpoint that he determined to make it in future the base of his operations. His first venture here was the establishment of a commission-house, which he personally took charge of, leaving his boats to be run by salaried captains. From this enterprise grew the firm of Hewitt, Roe & Co., which soon became widely known, then Hewitt, Roe & Kercheval, which developed a large business in packing pork for the English market.

A fire which occurred during this period left Capt. Roe, after paying all obligations, with nothing but a small interest which he had in several boats, but he began, with his wonted cheerfulness and courage, to repair his shattered fortunes, and soon had the firm of John J. Roe & Co., the successors of Hewitt, Roe & Kercheval, established on a solid basis, and maintained its high standing and credit to the day of his death.

During his business career Capt. Roe was one of the largest pork operators in the United States, and was often associated with the Ameses (Henry and Edgar), the Whittakers, the Ashbrooks, and others in transactions of very great magnitude. He was also a special partner in the houses of J. Eager & Co., of New York, and D. W. C. Sanford, of New Orleans, and for years was connected in business with Capt. "Nick" Wall in Montana, the Diamond "R" Transportation Line being one of the important interests of the Territory to this day.

Capt. Roe took a deep interest in all that pertained to the prosperity of St. Louis, and the great bridge especially received his hearty approval and support. At a critical moment, when the stockholders were disposed to abandon the project as hopeless, and refused to advance any more money, he infused new life into the project by pledging one hundred thousand dollars in cash, for when it was known that the enterprise was approved by his judgment it did not henceforth lack for supporters. As an evidence of the weight which justly attached to his opinion, it is related that at this dark hour in the history of the bridge he hastened to New York, had a meeting of the stockholders hastily called, and in thirty minutes from the time of assembling one million two hundred thousand dollars had been subscribed.

Among the great corporations with which Mr. Roe was connected and the offices he held may be mentioned the following: President of the Merchants' Exchange, president of the Atlantic and Mississippi Steamship Company, once the most powerful company on the river, director in the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Company, director in the Illinois and St. Louis Bridge Company, the St. Charles Bridge Company, the Illinois and St. Louis Railroad and Coal Company, the North Missouri Railroad, and in several street railroad companies, and president and one of the organizers of the Life Association of America, at that time one of the largest and most successful life insurance companies in the United States. To

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John F. Roe

all of these he gave his personal attention, and died literally in harness, for while he was attending a meeting of the Memphis Packet Company, on the afternoon of Feb. 14, 1870, and chatting pleasantly with his friends, his head fell on one side, he gasped for breath, and suddenly expired.

His death, so sudden and unexpected, shocked the community and elicited the most poignant expressions of sorrow and regret, and his obsequies were the occasion of a general suspension of business by direction of the mayor.

What was the secret of this extraordinary popularity? For throughout his career he enjoyed the unbounded affection of his friends, and was endeared to the hearts of the people of St. Louis. The answer is readily found in the uniform kindliness and impulsive generosity of his character.

"What makes you look so blue?" said the captain to a young merchant he met on the street. "I have two thousand barrels of pork to deliver to-morrow, and the railroads inform me that they cannot reach here for three days, and pork has advanced two dollars per barrel." "I'll loan them to you," said the captain, immediately writing out the order.

"By the by, you said some two weeks ago that you wanted to get a book-keeper's situation: have you succeeded?" said the captain to a young man he had almost passed on the street. "No, captain." "Well, go up to ——, and tell Mr. —— that you are the young man I spoke about several days ago; if the place suits you he will give it to you."

"The bank does not seem to like this paper," said a business acquaintance as the captain was passing into one of the large banks in which he was not interested. "Why, what is the matter with it, Dick? If they don't want it I'll take it." The cashier overheard the conversation; his opinion changed, and the bank took the paper.

Thousands of incidents like these might be related illustrating his kind and helpful spirit, and his generous acts towards the embarrassed and struggling, acts which endeared him to all with whom he came in contact, and caused his death to be mourned as a public calamity. The poor found in him a generous and gentle benefactor, but his charities, although innumerable, were bestowed in quiet, and we may be sure they went up before him as a memorial to God. Though not a member of any church (for his views were too broad and liberal to be confined within the limits of a creed), he was a constant attendant at the Second Presbyterian Church (where his wife was a member), and no man had more reverence for the teachings of the Divine Master or wove them more visibly into the business of his life. He was not merely an honest man, as the world esteems honesty, but his private life was as unspotted as was his public career. He was a pure man in all that the word implies.

In disposition Capt. Roe was cheerful and genial. He was easily approached, even by the humblest, and lent a willing ear to their wants. A keen judge of character, when once he confided in a man his faith was implicit. This is illustrated in the following anecdote: An agent who was about starting into the country on a mission involving the disbursement of probably half a million dollars for pork called for his instructions, expecting to receive the twenty or thirty pages of foolscap usual in such cases. The captain succinctly answered, "All you have to do is to take care of your money, and see that you get all the property you pay for." The trust reposed in the agent put him on his mettle and made him doubly watchful.

Capt. Roe established a beautiful home at Lafayette and Compton Avenues, then in the suburbs, the grounds containing ten acres. Here he pleasantly welcomed his friends, threw off the cares of business, and became the simple gentleman that nature made him. Here his widow still lives amid memories too precious to be more than mentioned.

Henry Ames was born in Oneida County, N. Y., March 4, 1818. His father, who was an agriculturist, removed with his family to Cincinnati in 1828, and engaged in the pork-packing business. There his two sons, Henry and Edgar, received thorough instruction in all the branches of an English education, and were then taken into their father's establishment and carefully trained in all the details of his business. Henry, indeed, manifested a precocious aptitude for business, and was associated with his father as early as 1833, when but fifteen years old, and while yet a boy frequently went down the river on flatboats laden for the New Orleans markets. At that period navigation was most perilous, and on several occasions young Ames narrowly escaped with his life. Although but a boy, he was looked upon by the business men who knew him as possessing rare qualifications for mercantile life, and the foremost place was assigned him, a prediction which his subsequent career fully justified.

In 1841, Nathan Ames, the father, became convinced that St. Louis, from her geographical position, would in time become the great metropolis of the West, and established himself in the growing town, still pursuing the business of pork-packing, which he conducted with great success. Mr. Ames died in 1852, universally respected. After his death Henry Ames continued the business with his brother Edgar, and with such

signal success that the house ultimately ranked as one of the largest pork-packing establishments in the Union, and during the war its operations were of colossal magnitude. Besides the conduct of this immense business, other important enterprises engaged his attention. He was president of the Chamber of Commerce for two years, was vice-president of the State Savings Institution, and a director in the Merchants' Insurance Company and many other institutions. In 1864 the Ames brothers built the Lindell Hotel, and for many years owned and managed much other valuable property.

Henry Ames was also one of the original directors in the Belcher Sugar Refinery, Atlantic and Mississippi Steamship Company, United States Insurance Company, St. Louis Elevator Company, State Savings Association, and the Memphis and St. Louis Packet Company.

His devotion to the city of his adoption was proverbial, and he was foremost in whatever it was thought might conduce to its welfare. His energy and vigor of mind were remarkable, as was evinced in his latest years, when, prostrated by paralysis and totally unable to walk, he was driven to his place of business, and was carried into the office, where he personally dictated the management of a large and intricate establishment. Thus for several years he lived, manifesting amid the decay of his physical strength the most extraordinary intellectual powers and the keenest business capacity. During his illness he visited South America, California, Canada, and Cuba in search of health, but fruitlessly, and died Aug. 14, 1866, at Minneapolis, Minn., while on a tour of this character. In St. Louis his death occasioned universal regret, for during a quarter of a century his activity in the commercial walks of St. Louis had been daily before the public eye, and his integrity and openness of character had been the constant subject of popular admiration. His candor, frankness, and rugged truthfulness, his hearty devotion to the interests of St. Louis and the Mississippi valley, and his princely way of aiding those interests made him one of the most remarkable men of a period distinguished for great men. Upon his death the Chamber of Commerce voiced the public sentiment in the adoption of the following resolutions:

"The death of our fellow-citizen, Henry Ames, who at one time presided over this body with the intelligence, ability, and justice which characterized him most eminently in all the relations of life, makes it fitting and proper that we should obey the dictates of our feelings, and take this occasion to place upon our records and before the world an expression of our love and esteem for him as a friend and most honorable merchant, and our sincere sympathy with his bereaved family; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That in the death of Henry Ames this Exchange has lost one of its brightest ornaments, a man recognized by us all as a model merchant, sagacious, prudent, and liberal, and that the community is deprived of one of the soundest minds that has ever led to commercial success, which was controlled by a nature so genial, benevolent, and kind that those of us who had the good fortune to know him well remember him with as much affection as a friend as we have admiration for him as a business man."

Mr. Ames married Mrs. William E. McCloud, daughter of Dr. Charles Scudder. Mrs. McCloud had one child, Miss Sallie McCloud, now Mrs. J. L. Pearce. Henry Ames left one child, a son, Henry Ames, Jr., who is vice-president of the Lindell Hotel Association, and secretary of the new Lindell Hotel Company.

His widow married again, Col. Vincent Marmaduke, of Saline County, Mo. Mrs. Ames rebuilt the Lindell Hotel in 1874.

Edgar Ames was born in Oneida County, N. Y., Oct. 26, 1824, and was the youngest of a family of three children, his father being Nathan Ames, of English descent, whose ancestors settled in Massachusetts in 1643. When he was four years old his family removed to Cincinnati, where, as stated above, his father resided for several years, engaged extensively in pork-packing, his establishment being one of the largest of the kind in the city. Young Ames enjoyed the advantages of instruction in Cincinnati College, and was thoroughly taught in all the useful branches of an English education. When Nathan Ames removed to St. Louis and resumed the business of pork-packing, Edgar, together with his brother Henry, was admitted to partnership with his father. On the death of their father the two brothers succeeded to the business, and under their management it grew to immense proportions. Their success was not, however, due to wild speculation, but was the result of thoughtful calculation, and the magnitude of their transactions and their remarkable success stamped them as among the great business men of the country. In St. Louis they enjoyed the friendly confidence and cordial personal regard of the leading members of the community.

Henry Ames died in 1866, and on the 9th of December, 1867, Edgar Ames followed him. Both were mourned by the entire community with a sincerity seldom witnessed. Long before their death the two brothers, between whom there existed the strongest ties of fraternal affection, were classed among the foremost business men of the city, not merely on account of their great wealth, but because of the free and generous use they made of it to advance the interests of St. Louis. A conspicuous illustration of the attachment existing between the two brothers is afforded in

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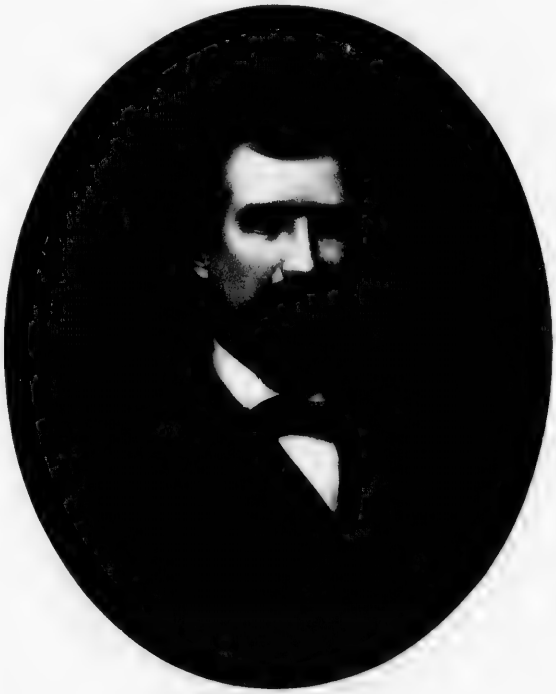
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an act of devotion seldom equaled on the part of Edgar Ames. His brother had been afflicted with gradual paralysis for some years before his death, and medical skill and science seemed powerless to arrest the slow but steady progress of the disease, which finally absorbed all power of physical action. It was advised to administer to him the poison of the *crotalus*, given in doses of increasing strength, with the hope that it might restore vigor and vitality to the powerless limbs. The terrible reptiles were procured and the poison extracted by one of the prominent surgeons of St. Louis, and properly prepared, but before Edgar Ames would permit his brother Henry to take one particle of the ophidian virus, which it was hoped might prove to him a healing remedy, but which was an experiment only, and given as such, he insisted upon first taking it himself, saying that from the effect produced upon him the physicians could argue as to the probable result were his brother to take it; and despite the arguments used by his friends, that the medicine so prepared, which might prove harmless to a man whose whole body was the prey of disease, might act upon him like a deadly poison indeed, he persevered in his design and actually swallowed six doses of the preparation, until nature would bear no more, and violent headache, numbness, and nausea supervened. The poison failed to produce any effect whatever upon Henry Ames, but what more could brother do for brother than this?

Edgar Ames was conspicuously identified with numerous public enterprises and institutions in which the commercial prosperity of St. Louis was involved. He was at one time vice-president of the Merchants' Exchange, and a director in the State Savings Institution, Pacific Insurance Company, Atlantic and Mississippi Steamship Company, United States Insurance Company, Memphis Packet Company, and Belcher Sugar Refinery. Besides these, every public enterprise sought his counsel and aid and commanded his liberal sympathy. As an illustration of this, when it was proposed to rebuild the Lindell Hotel he volunteered to subscribe one hundred thousand dollars to the enterprise.

In commercial circles his ripe wisdom and sound judgment gave value to his views, and made him a trusted example and guide.

The secret of his popularity was based on his high personal worth. Strict integrity characterized all his transactions. He was a pure, large-hearted, large-minded man, and intellectually was a person of broad and liberal culture. He loved wealth, not for itself, but for what it would bring. When asked once why he worked so hard and untiringly to increase his means when already possessed of an amount far beyond his needs, his prompt answer was, "I work to make money to beautify our city." He died suddenly, in the very prime of life, and in the full tide of success, at a time when his energies were engaged in plans from the execution of which it is believed the community in which he lived would have reaped large benefits.

The devotees of literature, art, and science found him a willing friend and patron. His private benefactions were many. His sympathies were quick and active, and often he did not wait for an appeal for help; in numberless instances, if misfortune overtook a friend, or only loomed up threateningly, he proffered both counsel and material assistance, and his timely and energetic action often arrested the imminent disaster. Personally, he was graceful and genial, and was distinguished for his suave and courteous manners; but only those who knew him well were fully aware of his many rare excellencies and virtues.

On June 5, 1860, Mr. Ames was married to Miss Lucy Virginia Semple, second daughter of Judge James Semple, of Illinois, who was also United States senator, and whose memory is cherished as one of the honored men of that State. Four children survive him,—Ada Semple Ames, Henry Semple Ames, Mary Semple Ames, and Edgar Ames.

Among the citizens of St. Louis who obtained great prominence and distinction in the army of the Union was Gen. John Willock Noble, now one of the leading members of the St. Louis bar. Gen. Noble was born in Lancaster, Ohio, Oct. 26, 1831. His father, a Pennsylvanian by birth, was Col. John Noble, an old and highly-esteemed citizen of Ohio, and John was the eighth of nine children. Among his brothers is Henry C. Noble, now a prominent lawyer of Columbus, Ohio. John W. Noble passed his early days in Columbus and Cincinnati, where he enjoyed good educational advantages. He attended Miami University, then presided over by the learned and scholarly Dr. McMasters, during the junior year, and afterwards passed through the junior and senior years at Yale College, graduating with honor in 1851. He here distinguished himself as a writer, carrying off a prize for composition, and becoming editor of the "Yale Literary Magazine."

Upon his graduation he applied himself to the study of law, entering the office of the Hon. Henry Stanberry (subsequently distinguished as attorney-general of the United States under President Johnson), and also the office of his brother, but after some time went West. He visited all the principal cities, and also some now famous which then hardly existed,

but of them all none offered to the observant young lawyer so many opportunities as St. Louis, and therefore, in 1855, he made this city his home, and was admitted to the bar. The Hon. Alexander Hamilton was circuit judge, James R. Lackland was judge of the criminal court, and Henry A. Clover was prosecuting attorney.

Mr. Noble was soon engaged in several very important cases, and in the successful defense of a man named Middleton for killing a person known as "Buffalo Bill" made a bright record as a promising criminal lawyer. His practice, however, not fulfilling his expectations, he removed in the following year (1856) to Keokuk, Iowa, and at once entered upon a most successful career, although brought into competition with many very able men, among them the Hon. S. F. Miller, now one of the justices of the United States Supreme Court. When the war broke out he had probably as extensive a practice as any lawyer in Iowa, and his professional prospects were of the brightest character, but when hostilities between the North and South began the lawyer was lost in the patriot, and leaving his office, Mr. Noble, in August, 1861, enlisted in the Third Iowa Cavalry, having previously, however, been engaged in some skirmishes along the border of Missouri (Athens, etc.) as a member of the Citizens' Guard. He enlisted as a private, but was soon elected first lieutenant, and subsequently became adjutant, devoting himself more particularly to the work of instructing the regiment in tactics, etc. When the regiment was at Benton Barracks, in 1862, Gen. Sherman, who was in command, offered Adjt. Noble a position on his staff, but he obtained permission to decline, preferring to remain with his regiment.

The Third Iowa Cavalry was actively engaged until the close of the war, and distinguished itself most honorably. Lieut. Noble was with it almost constantly, and rose step by step until in 1865 he became colonel. For several months, while Gen. Curtis was commanding the Department of the Missouri, with headquarters at St. Louis, he served as judge-advocate of the department.

Col. Noble participated in many important engagements. He was in the battle at Pea Ridge, the march to Batesville and Helena, Ark., the surrender of Vicksburg, several affairs about Little Rock, several movements in Tennessee and Mississippi against Forrest, and finally, under Gen. James H. Wilson, took part in the great cavalry raid into Alabama and Georgia. Ingersoll's "Iowa and the Rebellion" says, "There was not an engagement during the campaign where the Third Iowa did not behave with great gallantry, and the meritorious services of Col. Noble and his command were universally acknowledged throughout." At the close of the war Col. Noble was promoted to brigadier-general for meritorious and gallant services, and was mustered out in August, 1865.

During the war, and while yet a major, he was married at Northampton, Mass. (in February, 1864), to the daughter of Dr. H. Halstead, formerly of Rochester, N. Y. Two children were born of this marriage, but neither is living.

After the war Gen. Noble settled in St. Louis, and was enjoying a fair practice when, in 1867, upon the recommendation of Attorney-General Stanberry, his former law instructor, he was appointed United States district attorney by President Johnson. This office he retained some three years. As district attorney his services were principally directed to the enforcement of the internal revenue laws, involving the interpretation of new enactments which had been subjected to but little judicial scrutiny; but he also conducted numerous civil cases of much importance, among others that of the government against the Adams Express Company, which attracted great attention and in which he obtained a verdict for fifteen thousand dollars. In this practice he was brought into competition with the best lawyers of the Missouri bar.

After his resignation of the district attorneyship he resumed the general practice of the law, and has been thus steadily engaged ever since. The business of his firm in miscellaneous civil suits is probably larger than that of any other firm in St. Louis, and Gen. Noble has been honored by the confidence of some of the largest corporations and capitalists of the city. Among other important cases, his firm prosecuted the suit of Adolphus Meier & Co. *vs.* the St. Louis Insurance Company, and obtained a verdict for plaintiffs of sixty-four thousand dollars, which was paid without appeal.

This case was followed by others of the first magnitude, probably as large and important as have ever fallen to the lot of a lawyer in the United States. Of these the most conspicuous was the celebrated case of the city of St. Louis *vs.* the St. Louis Gas-Light Company, which involved the right of the city to the property of the company and to a million dollars which the city had collected for gas while the works were in the hands of a receiver. The gas company was defeated in the Circuit Court and the Court of Appeals, but took the matter to the Supreme Court and received a reversal of the judgment. For their services the gas company paid Noble & Orrick thirty-five thousand dollars in a single check. Mr. Noble's firm is also engaged in other suits brought by the gas company

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John W. Noble

against the city and involving nearly one million dollars.

Among other great cases in which Mr. Noble's firm has been successfully engaged, either alone or associated with others, are the following:

National Bank of Commerce of New York *vs.* the National Bank of the State of Missouri. Verdict for plaintiff for four hundred and thirty-four thousand dollars.

Foss & Hunter *vs.* Little Pittsburgh Mining Company, involving title to at least three hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of property.

Adolphus Jacobson, stockholder in the Granby Lead and Mining Company, *vs.* St. Louis and San Francisco Railway Company, involving at least three hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The fees of Mr. Noble's firm in these three cases aggregated over twenty-five thousand dollars. His firm was also signally successful in conducting to a favorable termination, against two adverse decisions, the suit of Swope *vs.* Leffingwell and the Atlas National Bank, of Boston, Mass., involving over fifty thousand dollars.

The defense of the St. Louis Beef-Canning Company against the claims of the Wilson Packing Company *et al.* was another important victory of Mr. Noble's firm. They conducted the case from its commencement until the United States Supreme Court, in May, 1882, decided unhesitatingly in behalf of the defendant.

Gen. Noble has been frequently offered important and lucrative offices by his political friends, but has steadily declined them, preferring the honors and rewards of his profession, which, as has been seen, are great, and which his industry and ability have richly merited. That, however, which he prizes as of more worth than mere professional success is the respect and esteem in which he is held by his legal brethren and his fellow-citizens generally as a thoroughly honest lawyer.

The capture of Camp Jackson by Capt. N. Lyon, of the United States forces, on May 10, 1861, caused the intensest excitement throughout the State. At that time the Legislature was discussing the "Missouri State Guard Bill," but Governor Jackson deeming Jefferson City no longer a safe place for the deliberations of the Legislature, convened that body at Neosho, Sept. 16, 1861.

Finally the Legislature (or that portion of it which adhered to the fortunes of Governor Jackson) severed Missouri's connection with the Union as far as was in its power by an act which, having the sanction of no competent force to sustain its provisions, was of no avail. Governor Jackson appointed Sterling Price major-general, and N. W. Watkins, Thomas A. Harris, John B. Clark, W. Y. Slack, A. E. Steen, M. M. Parsons, J. H. McBride, and James S. Rains brigadier-generals of the Missouri State Guard. The Legislature adjourned Nov. 9, 1861, to meet at New Madrid on the first Monday in March, 1862.

The following titles of acts passed indicate the more conspicuous military legislation effected by that body:

"An Act to provide for the organization, government, and support of the military forces of the State of Missouri."

"An Act to raise money to arm the State, repel invasion, and protect the lives and property of the people of Missouri."

"An Act placing money at the disposal of the Governor for the defense of the State."

"An Act to perpetuate friendly relations with certain Indian tribes."

"An Act to authorize the Governor of the State of Missouri to suppress rebellion and repel invasion."

"An Act to create a special military fund for the use of the Governor."

"An Act prohibiting certain persons from holding office in the State of Missouri."

"An Act concerning railroads and telegraphs in Missouri."

When the President laid before the Senate the following communication from the Governor:

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*

"I have just received information that two regiments of Mr. Blair's are now on their way to the capital.

"C. F. JACKSON."

Senate bill entitled "An Act to raise money to arm the State, repel invasion, and protect the lives and property of the people of Missouri" was taken up and passed.

House bill entitled "An Act to provide for the organization, government, and support of the military forces of the State of Missouri" was also taken up, read a first time, rule suspended, read a second and third time and passed.

The State Convention called under an act of the Legislature passed in January, 1861, assembled in St. Louis in due time, and soon took decisive action in favor of the Union. Governor Jackson and the State Legislature having left Jefferson City, the State capital, the convention declared the offices of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, and members of the General Assembly vacant, and proceeded to elect the executive officers, with the proviso that their successors should be chosen at an election to be held on the first Monday in August, 1862. Accordingly, Governor Jackson was displaced, and H. R. Gamble elected Governor. Lieutenant-Governor Thomas C. Reynolds and Secretary of State Benjamin F. Massey were also ejected from office and their places declared vacant. A full history of the election

for members of the convention and the proceedings of that body is given in the chapter on the civil war.

In 1862 the convention, then in session, by ordinance, districted the States into nine congressional districts. In the election which followed F. P. Blair, Jr., Henry T. Blow, John W. Noel, S. H. Boyd, J. W. McClurg, Austin A. King, B. F. Loan, William A. Hall, and James S. Rollins were declared entitled to seats in the Lower House of the Federal Congress. Mr. Noel having died, John G. Scott obtained his seat.

In 1864 the electoral district system which existed hitherto was abolished by an act making the congressional districts electoral districts, the same number of electors as there were congressional districts to be chosen, one of whom should be a resident of the district, and, in addition, two electors to be chosen by the State at large. This year the following gentlemen were admitted to seats in the Lower House of the Federal Congress: John Hogan, Henry T. Blow, Joseph W. McClurg, B. F. Loan, George W. Anderson, Robert T. Van Horn, John R. Kelso, John F. Benjamin, and John W. Noel. The electoral vote of the State was cast for Lincoln and Johnson.

Thomas C. Fletcher was this year elected Governor by a vote of 71,531, against 30,406 cast for Thomas L. Price; and Abraham Lincoln received of the popular vote 71,676, against 31,626 cast for George B. McClellan.

In 1865 a State Convention to revise the Constitution was held, and the instrument as perfected was submitted to the people. The vote on its adoption stood: For the Constitution, 43,670; against the Constitution, 41,808.

"However the returns," said the *Republican* of June 15, 1865, "may be figured at Jefferson City, there is no escape from the fact that the vile thing has not the sanction of the people. Counting in the ballots of minors, aliens, etc., the vote for the Constitution will not reach much above one-half of that returned for Mr. Lincoln last fall. There is no candid man who will say that a measure declared carried by such an expression reflects the will of the State. The most monstrous expedients were resorted to and used to foist this Constitution upon us. Thousands of votes—the votes of as loyal and good men as any who dare to object to them—were not admitted when presented, or were kept out of the ballot-boxes by a system of high-handed intimidation. Thousands of men were disfranchised by the arbitrary *dicta* of unscrupulous judges. This is not bare assertion. Proofs ample and plentiful can be readily produced to sustain what we have said. We do not concede that the Constitution has been carried. On the contrary, we contend that it has been rejected by the people of the State. Whether the officials at the capital will let it appear so is a matter upon which we do not venture to advance an opinion at present.

"Below will be found an abstract of the result on the 6th, so far as the same has reached us. It is taken from our table, which was made up from the most reliable sources within our reach, and with much greater care than is usually bestowed upon such matters when prepared for the columns of a daily paper. At best, however, that was imperfect. From twenty-nine counties we have no returns whatever. From twenty-nine others we have only partial returns or estimated majorities, while of the returns given from the remaining fifty-six, not over one-half are official. The majority of the citizens' vote, it will be seen, is three thousand and two against the Constitution. After deducting the majority of the soldier vote, it is still four hundred and seventy-one.

	Against.	For.
"Citizens' vote	35,005	32,003
Soldiers' vote	675	3,206
Total	35,680	35,209
Majority against the Constitution		471"

The new Constitution adopted by the above vote abolished slavery, and the fact was announced in the following proclamation:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
"CITY OF JEFFERSON, MO., Jan. 11, 1865.

"It having pleased Divine Providence to inspire to righteous action the sovereigns of Missouri, who, through their delegates in convention assembled, with proper legal authority and solemnity, have this day ordained that hereafter in this State there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free.

"Now, therefore, by authority of the supreme executive power vested in me by the Constitution of Missouri, I, Thomas C. Fletcher, Governor of the State of Missouri, do proclaim that henceforth and forever no person within the jurisdiction of this State shall be subject to any abridgment of liberty, except such as the law shall prescribe for the common good, or know any master but God.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto signed my name, and caused the great seal of the State to be affixed, at the city of Jefferson, this eleventh day of January, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and sixty-five.

"THOMAS C. FLETCHER."

"By the Governor:
"FRANCIS RODMAN, *Secretary of State*."[1]

The following is a list of officers of St. Louis County who were compelled by act of the State Convention to vacate their offices on the 1st of May, 1865:

Justices: Of the County Court, Benjamin Charles, William Taussig, John H. Fisse, Barton Able, John

[1] The event was hailed in St. Louis with general rejoicing, and on the night of the day on which the Governor's proclamation was issued there was a grand illumination. The illumination of parts of Fourth Street was particularly fine, attracting to every square between Market and Washington Avenue great concourses of citizens and ladies and children. The display of fire-works from the dome of the court-house, beside the brilliant light shed far and wide by the full illumination of the Planters' House and other buildings of that neighborhood, made that quarter of the city a great centre of attraction. The appearance of Verandah Row and the buildings on the corner of Washington Avenue and Fourth Street was also very brilliant with flags and lanterns. Many private dwellings were illuminated.

Alf, Samuel James, John E. Yore; Circuit Court, James C. Moody; Common Pleas, Samuel H. Reber; Land Court, Charles B. Lord; law commissioner, Robert J. Rombauer; Criminal Court, Wilson Primm; Probate Court, William F. Ferguson.

Clerks: County Court, Samuel W. Eager; Criminal Court, Fred. Kretschmar; Common Pleas, Leon J. Papin; Circuit Court, F. A. Schneider; Land Court, Robert White; law commissioner, William C. Guffman; sheriff, John C. Vogel; recorder, A. C. Bernoudy; circuit attorney, J. P. Pastime; assistant attorney, W. C. Gantt. The whole number of officers throughout the State thus vacated was about 840. There were three supreme judges, 20 circuit judges, 114 circuit clerks, 114 sheriffs, 114 attorneys, 342 county justices in the State outside of St. Louis.

On the 14th of June, 1865, while the Supreme Court of Missouri was proceeding with its usual business, Gen. Coleman appeared in the court-room with an overpowering force, and by virtue of a military order of Governor Fletcher, arrested, and carried out of the court-room Judges Bay and Dryden, and seized and turned over to the new court the books, records, papers, and seals of the court.

"This act," says the *Republican* of June 15th, "was not only done without law, but after a solemn decision of the Circuit Court of St. Louis County that there was no legal validity in the ousting ordinance under which the new judges claimed seats upon the Supreme bench, and also in the face of an injunction already issued and pending against the very act in question. It was not done in the time of war, for there is no war now existing. There is no pretense of military necessity in the case, because there was no enemy against whom military force could be directed. It was not done by virtue of martial law, for the State of Missouri has never declared martial law, and Governor Fletcher was not the minister of that stern rule of action. The case presented a mere question of controversy between civil powers.

"The court whose authority was stricken down yesterday was a legal, constitutional, and loyal court, in relation to whose fidelity to the duties of its office, to the laws, to the Constitution, to the country no question had ever been made or could be made. This court was elected by the people of Missouri in 1863. Its members were sworn to support the Constitution of Missouri. They not only had the right, but it was their duty to support that Constitution as their best judgment dictated. The late convention passed an ordinance, or what is called an ordinance, turning them out of office. This so-called ordinance was not within the scope of the act calling the convention, and was not within the powers of the convention, and besides was not incorporated into nor made any part of the form of Constitution framed by them and submitted to the people of Missouri at the late election. The offense which the old judges therefore committed was that they were of opinion that this so-called vacating ordinance was not valid. The Governor thought it was; the court thought differently. If the court honestly believed that this vacating ordinance was not valid, it was bound to disregard it. This was done, whereupon the Governor sends a brigadier-general in force to turn the judges out of their places.

"But no sooner did it take effect by its terms than the question of its validity rose before Judge Moody, a member of the same party with the convention. The judge promply held it void. Why? Because he could not do otherwise. It was void, and he had to say so. The same question rose next before the court in Lafayette County. The Circuit Court, Judge Tutt, was then ready to adjudicate the question. The judge was of the same party with the Governor. The Governor had just appointed him. But this lordly tyrant was afraid to trust Judge Tutt to decide on the so-called vacating ordinance. He knew that every honest and intelligent lawyer would hold it void, so he sent a file of soldiers, who decided the question of law, held the ordinance perfectly constitutional, perfectly valid. These jurists had no difficulty in settling the knotty point.

"Not long after the same question arose on the validity of the ordinance in Pettis County. The Circuit Court of that county was compelled to rule the case and ready to do it. Why were not the rights of Mr. Lowe left to the very judge whom the Governor had so recently appointed? Why? Because the Governor was afraid to trust him, and because the narrow-minded and reckless fanatics who advise and govern him knew there was no certainty in sustaining the ordinance, so called, save by the soldiery. The same motive governed him here. It is not two months since Governor Fletcher appointed Judge Moody to his present office, and yet on yesterday he (Governor Fletcher), by an act of arbitrary lawlessness, has trampled upon the authority of Judge Moody, disregarding the injunction issued by him Tuesday morning, and overthrowing his court."

On the evening of Saturday, June 17th, an immense public meeting was held in the Court-House Square, St. Louis, to protest against the forcible removal of the judges by Governor Fletcher. Capt. George A. McGuire called the meeting to order, and on his motion Hon. John Riggin was elected chairman.

On motion of the Hon. James O. Broadhead, D. M. Grissom and Fred. M. Kretschmar were appointed secretaries, and on motion of Capt. Barton Able, A. G. Braun, John Finn, Benjamin Spellbrink, Charles Kintzing, and Bernard Stein were chosen vice-presidents. Addresses were made by Col. James O. Broadhead and Hon. Samuel T. Glover, after which a committee, appointed by the chairman and consisting of T. T. Gantt, Charles Gibson, Peter L. Foy, D. M. Grissom, and A. W. Alexander, reported a series of resolutions protesting in strong terms against the course of Governor Fletcher and advocating his impeachment. Col. T. T. Gantt and Maj. James S. Rollins also delivered addresses. The popular excitement on the subject was intensified by the fact that prior to the meeting orders were issued by Col. Blood, commanding the Second Militia District, requiring a general muster of certain militia organizations at half-past seven o'clock in the evening, an act which the opponents of Governor Fletcher claimed was designed to intimidate them.

The vote on the adoption of the new Constitution was clouded with uncertainty as to what oath should

be taken by voters prior to casting their ballots. Some persons were of the opinion that the oath prescribed by the old Constitution was the proper oath, while others were of opinion that the latter was the oath embodied in the new Constitution. The sixth section of the article providing for the enforcement of the Constitution contained the following provisions:

"At said election no person shall be allowed to vote who would not be a qualified voter, according to the terms of this Constitution, if the second article thereof was then in force. The judges of election shall administer to every person offering to vote, in *lieu of the oath now required to be taken by voters*, under the ordinance of June 10, 1862, the following oath, to wit:

"I, A. B., do solemnly swear that I am well acquainted with the terms of the third section of the second article of the Constitution of the State of Missouri, adopted by the convention which assembled in the city of St. Louis on the 6th day of January, 1865, and have carefully considered the same; that I have never, directly or indirectly, done any of the acts in said section specified; that I have always been truly and loyally on the side of the United States against all enemies thereof, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States, and will support the Constitution and laws thereof as the supreme law of the land, any law or ordinance of any State to the contrary notwithstanding; that I will, to the best of my ability, protect and defend the Union of the United States, and not allow the same to be broken up and dissolved, or the government itself to be destroyed or overthrown under any circumstances if in my power to prevent it; and that I make this oath without any mental reservation or evasion, and hold it to be binding on me."

Notwithstanding these "ironclad" features, it was further provided that should any one decline to take said oath he could not vote; but the taking of said oath was not to be deemed conclusive evidence of his right to vote, but such right might be disputed and disproved.

In St. Louis City and County the vote on the adoption of the new Constitution was: For, 5272; against, 11,239; majority against, 5967.

There were grave doubts existing in the public mind whether the new Constitution had been adopted. An extraordinary reticence was observed by all State officials for weeks after the vote was taken, and a dispatch was printed in the *Republican* of June 26th stating that "the Secretary of State positively denies all access to the poll-books, and refuses to allow any publicity until after the 1st of July to the returns received at his office." The following dispatch would seem to indicate a purpose to count in the Constitution whether rejected or adopted by the people:

"JEFFERSON CITY, June 24, 1865.

"BART. ABLE, ESQ.:

"The Secretary of State, Rodman, refuses to permit me to examine the returns now or hereafter. He says that after July 2d he will give me copies at fifteen cents per folio.

"A. W ALEXANDER."

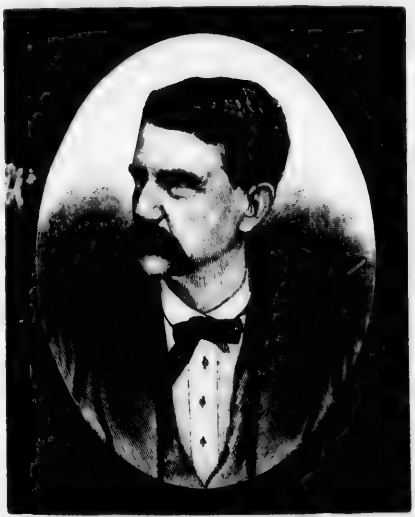
In 1866 the following persons received certificates of election as members of Congress: W. A. Pile, C. A. Newcomb, T. E. Noel, J. J. Gowelly, J. W. McClurg, R. T. Van Horn, B. F. Loan, J. F. Benjamin, and George W. Anderson. Although the vote cast for Anderson was only 5039, and the vote for W. F. Switzler, his competitor, was 6161, Anderson received the certificate which admitted him to the seat. Callaway County gave Switzler 1463 votes and Anderson 163, and was not counted, and 240 of the votes of Pike County for Switzler were not counted. Callaway was not represented in the Federal Congress, in the State Senate, nor in the House of Representatives, and obtained thereby the title of "Kingdom," now in almost general use. Mr. Noel died before the expiration of his term, and was succeeded by James R. McCormick (war Democrat), and J. H. Stover took the place of McClurg, elected Governor by a vote of 82,107 against 40,958 cast for John S. Phelps, Democrat.

In St. Louis the Democratic ticket received a majority of 3000, electing Steger for street railroad commissioner and Cady for recorder, with eight out of ten aldermen, and sixteen out of twenty delegates, and all seven school commissioners. The suffrage amendments of the Constitution, striking out the word "white" from the Constitution, was defeated by a vote of 74,053 against to 55,236 in favor.

In 1867 the "oath of loyalty" received a severe blow from the Supreme Court of Missouri in the case of the Rev. D. H. Murphy, of Cape Girardeau, who was arrested for preaching the gospel without having taken the oath. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred dollars. The case of Father Cummings, of Pike County, sentenced by Judge Fagg to pay a fine of five hundred dollars for preaching without taking the oath, went to the Supreme Court of Missouri, where the judgment of the Pike County Circuit Court was sustained. Thence it went to the Supreme Court of the United States and was reversed, that tribunal deciding that the provisions of the Constitution of Missouri enforcing the "test oath" partook of the elements both of an *ex post facto* law and a bill of pains and penalties, and was prohibited by the Constitution of the United States. The case of Rev. Mr. Murphy rested upon precisely the same grounds as that of Father Cummings. The Supreme Court of Missouri not merely yielded to the binding authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, but by elaborate argument proved that the decision of that court was sound law.

Prominent among the able lawyers who lent their

energies and talents to the work of restoring to the disfranchised citizens of Missouri their rights and liberties was Francis Preston Blair, Jr. Mr. Blair's course in this crisis was all the more significant and creditable from the fact that he had been among the earliest and most uncompromising advocates of those principles the practical enforcement of which had led, incidentally, to the enactment of the laws he now sought to have repealed. Francis P. Blair, Jr., was the son of Francis Preston Blair, who was born at Washington, Abingdon Co., Va., on the 12th of April, 1791, and whose father, James Blair, a Virginia lawyer, became attorney-general of Kentucky. Francis P. Blair, Sr., was a noted journalist, and one of the ablest political writers of his day. He was educated at Transylvania University, Kentucky, and studied law, but never practiced. He began at an early age to take an active part in politics, and in 1824 supported Henry Clay for the Presidency. In 1829, Mr. Blair published an article against the nullification movement, which attracted the attention of Gen. Jackson, and he was invited to become the editor of the administration organ, the *Globe*, then about to be established in Washington. That paper was issued for the first time in November, 1830, and continued to be the organ of Democratic administrations, with Mr. Blair as editor, until 1845, when President Polk, thinking a change in its control desirable in the interests of the party, offered him the position of minister to Spain, which he declined. Thereupon Mr. Blair retired to his farm in Montgomery County, Md., and in 1848 withdrew from the Democratic party and supported Mr. Van Buren for the Presidency. Upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise he took a prominent part in the organization of the Republican party, and in 1856 supported Gen. Fremont for the Presidency.



Francis P. Blair

Francis Preston Blair, Jr., was born at Lexington, Ky., on the 19th of February, 1821. He graduated at Princeton College in 1841, and studied law with Lewis Marshall, and at the Transylvania Law School, and about 1842 removed to St. Louis, becoming partner of his brother Montgomery, who was already in possession of a considerable practice. Montgomery subsequently became Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and Francis opened an office of his own. In 1845 he journeyed with St. Vrain and Bent to New Mexico, and when the troubles with Mexico began volunteered as a private, and served with much credit. Two years later he married Miss Appoline Alexander, of Kentucky, and resumed the practice of law in St. Louis, investing in real estate and becoming interested in political affairs. He had all the magnetism and fascination of a born leader of men, combining in a rare degree the qualities which awaken enthusiasm and defy opposition. Generous, hearty in speech and manner, gifted with a memory that never forgot a face nor a name, he was soon one of the spokesmen of his party. In 1848 he joined the Free-Soil wing of the Democratic party and indorsed the Van Buren ticket, and in 1849 supported Benton in his appeal to the people on the slavery issue. In 1852 he was sent to the Lower House of the Missouri Assembly, and re-elected in 1854. He also purchased an interest in the *St. Louis Democrat*, the organ of the anti-slavery leaders, and contributed many able articles to that journal.

Mr. Blair was not originally an abolitionist, but was strongly in favor of getting rid of the negro population of Missouri, and of preventing the extension of slavery to those Territories in which the institution had not been established. He believed that if Missouri became a free State her prosperity would rapidly increase, and he pronounced himself in favor of getting rid of negroes, as well as negro slavery, on the ground that negro labor could be utilized to better advantage elsewhere, and that Missouri would be better off without it. His position was, however, misinterpreted and misrepresented by his opponents,

who persistently denounced him as an abolitionist. In this connection Mr. Blair is said to have remarked upon one occasion,—

"Those fellows know very well how false the charge is, and therefore there is no good in trying to put them right. But what they do *not* see is that by calling *me* an abolitionist, who am not to be scared at such things, they are inuring those who secretly sympathize with me, but who are not as thick-skinned, to hear themselves also called by foul names without being terrified out of their senses. Let them go on. They will make the name of abolitionist respectable sooner than they dream."

In 1856 he was elected to Congress from Missouri as a Republican, and delivered a speech in favor of the colonization of negroes in Central America. He was again a candidate in 1858, but his Democratic opponent, J. Richard Barret, was elected. Mr. Blair, however, contested his seat, which was awarded to Blair by the House of Representatives. All that Mr. Blair had asked in making the appeal was a new election, and upon the awarding of the seat to him he declined it, and referred the controversy with his rival back to the people. In the summer of 1860 the election was held for the unexpired term, beginning with the first Monday of December, 1859, and the full term, beginning with the first Monday of December, 1861. Mr. Barrett, whom many believed to have been treated unfairly by the Committee on Elections, was chosen for the broken term, but Gen. Blair was, on the same day by a large majority, successful over him in the contest for the full term. Mr. Blair took high rank in the House of Representatives, not only as a ready, forcible debater, but as a persistent and successful worker, and a man of great personal influence and power. Among the early abolitionists of Missouri he was justly regarded as the ablest and most fearless of the leaders of the anti-slavery party, and his course throughout the critical period preceding the civil war was conspicuously strong and fearless. After his death *Harper's Weekly* printed an account of some of the scenes at the Chicago Republican Convention of 1860, when his ready wit reconciled the Giddings party, then about to withdraw, and "saved to the platform the consecrating phrases of the Declaration." But the greatest of his services to the Union was rendered when the whole weight of his influence was thrown against secession. In 1861 he was the heart and soul of the Union element, the adviser of Gen. Lyon, the first citizen of the State to appreciate the greatness of the inevitable conflict, and the most active spirit in the organization of volunteer troops for the defense of the Union. He telegraphed to the War Department for permission, raised two regiments, planned the capture of Camp Jackson, and on May 10th, with the aid of Gen. Lyon, accomplished that work. He was offered an appointment as brigadier-general, but declined in behalf of Capt. Lyon. For more than a year he sat in the National Congress. In 1862 he accepted a commission as major-general, raised a brigade of troops in St. Louis, and having resigned his seat in Congress, to which he had been elected in the fall of 1862, took the field under Grant, commanding the Second Division of Sherman's corps in the gigantic battles of the Vicksburg campaign, and leading some of the most desperate assaults of that eventful summer. In 1864, as the general commanding the Seventeenth Corps, he followed Sherman in his brilliant march and bore his full part therein. At this time he was in full accord with the Republican party. From 1848 he had been a "free-soiler;" slavery he thought a curse, an incubus, and his advocacy of these tenets had time and time again kindled the fiercest fires of political animosity. With tact, courage, tenacity, and independence, he had won regard, awakened admiration, fought his way to political leadership, shown his splendid loyalty on the battle-field, and might justly have claimed the highest political honors from the nation.

In 1866 he was appointed by President Johnson collector of customs for the port of St. Louis, but the nomination was rejected by the Senate. He was also a delegate to the Soldiers' Convention of 1866, and in December of that year was appointed a commissioner of the Pacific Railroad. In the mean time Gen. Blair's allegiance to the Republican party, which for years had been so ardent and unquestioning, had been considerably modified by the course of the leaders of that party on the subject of reconstruction at the South. When in 1865 he returned to St. Louis and found that thousands of those who had been his fiercest political foes were disfranchised, almost his first public act was to protest, and to begin in the courts a litigation to prove the illegality of that disfranchisement. His efforts never ceased until he had carried this point, to accomplish which he made common cause with his late opponents, and turned his back upon Republicanism. The step was regarded as almost treason, but this savage condemnation has been greatly modified. He was the first distinguished Republican to break with his party on reconstruction doctrines, but Greeley, Sumner, Schurz, Trumbull, and other men of note afterwards expressed similar views, and the party at large has long ago recognized the enormous blunders of that era. Blair was emphatic by nature, and when he broke with his associates he could not remain neutral. In 1866 he canvassed the State in opposition to the "proscription provisions" of the new Constitution, and incurred per-

sonal danger over and over again. He refused in person to take the oath of purgation required by the Drake Constitution of all voters, and brought an action against the judges of election who rejected his vote unaccompanied by that preliminary. The judgment of the Circuit Court was against him, but by a divided bench; he appealed to the Supreme Court, which again by a divided bench affirmed the judgment, and on a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States the judgment was again affirmed by an equal division (four to four) of the members of that tribunal. Great was the popular approval throughout Missouri of the course taken in this memorable "constitutional campaign" by Blair, Glover, Garesche, and their allies, and the success which finally crowned their efforts was a noble tribute to their courage, ability, and tact.

In 1868, Mr. Blair having been nominated with Horatio Seymour on the Democratic ticket, the country was soon after electrified by the noted "Broadhead" letter, which was characteristically defiant, and aided largely in his defeat. But whether or not Gen. Blair was wholly answerable for this production is a secret buried with him. In 1870 the people of Missouri declared in favor of ending the disfranchisement of so many citizens, and Gen. Blair re-entered public life as a member of the Assembly, and in January, 1871, was chosen to the United States Senate to fill the balance of the term of C. D. Drake, who had resigned.[1] In 1872 he aided in Greeley's nomination at Cincinnati, his popularity in Missouri meanwhile increasing steadily, and his re-election as senator being assured. But in November of that year came a stroke of paralysis from which he never permanently recovered, and he died in St. Louis, July 11, 1875, his wife, five sons, and three daughters surviving him. Mr. Blair left public life far poorer than when he entered it; his thoughts, time, and means had always been at the service of his friends and the public, and having lost a large portion of his estate by suretyships he died a poor man, bequeathing to his family, however, the imperishable heritage of a lofty reputation and a spotless name.

When the news that Francis Preston Blair was dead swept over the State a torrent of grief was evoked. Everywhere it was felt that a great man had fallen, and that pure-minded patriot was no more. The city was draped in mourning; the vessels in the harbor displayed their flags at half-mast; everything betokened an outburst of popular affection never surpassed. It was a grand tribute to the memory of the faithful statesman. The survivors of the First Regiment of Missouri volunteers (which he had commanded) met, passed resolutions, and attended the funeral in a body. The ex-Confederate soldiers of Missouri also met to honor the memory of the man who fought them bravely, and yet helped to re-enfranchise them. The Constitutional Convention was then in session, and Hon. J. S. Rollins and Col. T. T. Gantt delivered eloquent eulogies before that body, which appointed representatives to attend the funeral. Numerous public meetings were also held, and the bench and bar and numbers of fraternal societies passed appropriate resolutions.

The funeral services at the First Congregational Church were peculiarly impressive. Rev. Drs. Post and Brookes officiated, and delivered eulogies on the dedeceased. The pall-bearers were Hon. James S. Rollins, of Columbia, Mo.; Col. T. T. Gantt, Benjamin Farrar, Gerard B. Allen, Giles F. Filley, Samuel Simmons, Col. James O. Broadhead, and Maj. Arden R. Smith.

Sufficient has been said to give the reader some conception of the rank that this ardent, impetuous, and heroic man, whose errors were never of the heart, who attracted men of the most diverse views and established himself in their friendship, must rightfully hold in the history of Missouri. He was a sturdy figure, as full of vitality as an old Crusader or a free lance of the fifteenth century. Western politics have seldom been illuminated by more original, characteristic, and honorable principles than those which Frank P. Blair possessed and battled for to the end of his eventful life.[2]

Montgomery Blair, elder brother of Francis P. Blair, Jr., has also played a conspicuous part in national politics. He was born in Franklin County, Ky., on the 10th of May, 1813, and graduated at West Point in 1835. Entering the Second Artillery he served in the Florida war, but resigned his commission on the 20th of May, 1836. He studied law,

[1] At this time the St. Louis *Republican* said, "The cry had been that no one could be loyal without being a radical, that a Democrat could not in his heart be a Union man. Here was a soldier, who was one of the earliest in the field against rebellion, —a gallant Union commander,—who gave the lie to this declaration, and followed it up with an emphatic and unreserved avowal that he was thenceforth that despised and odious thing, a Democrat. In 1866, Frank Blair boldly made the fight in this State, with Phelps, Glover, Woodson, and other leaders, against the tyrannical registration law, going from point to point and organizing the Democracy. The considerable number of Liberal Republicans acting with the Democracy almost takes the contest out of the sphere of party politics."

[2] In 1848, Mr. Blair published the "Life and Public Services of Gen. William A. Butler."

and began the practice of his profession in St. Louis in 1837. He served as United States district attorney for Missouri from 1839 to 1844, resigning the position early in the latter year to accept that of judge of the St. Louis Court of Common Pleas. In 1852 he removed to Maryland, and in 1855 was appointed United States solicitor in the Court of Claims.

Prior to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise he had been a Democrat, but having subsequently joined the Republican party, was removed from his office by President Buchanan in 1858. In 1857 he acted as counsel for the plaintiff in the Dred Scott case, and in 1860 presided over the Republican Convention of Maryland, and was sent as a delegate to the Chicago Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency. He took an active and prominent part in the campaign of that year, and in March, 1861, was appointed Postmaster-General by Mr. Lincoln, continuing to serve as such until Sept. 23, 1864. Mr. Blair was the only member of the cabinet who opposed the surrender of Fort Sumter in 1861, and throughout the war was the consistent advocate of an energetic policy. He strenuously opposed, however, the arrest of private citizens and other obnoxious measures, and in 1865 organized the movement that restored self-government to the people of Maryland, doing for that State what his brother, Gen. Frank Blair, did for Missouri. Mr. Blair was an earnest and powerful supporter of President Andrew Johnson, and threw the whole weight of his influence against the reconstruction measures of the Republican party. In the great political campaign of 1876 he espoused the cause of Mr. Tilden, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and in 1877 was elected a member of the Maryland Legislature. In 1882 he was the Democratic candidate for Congress from the Sixth District of Maryland, but was defeated. Mr. Blair now resides at the old Blair homestead at Silver Spring, Montgomery Co., Md. He is regarded as one of the ablest lawyers and political thinkers in the country, and his career has been one of remarkable activity in public affairs.

In 1868 the candidates for Congress were Erastus Wells and William A. Pile in the First District; J. J. Lindley and G. A. Finkelnburg in the Second; James R. McCormack and John F. Bush in the Third; Charles B. McAfee, John R. Kelso, and S. H. Boyd in the Fourth; John F. Phillips and Samuel S. Burdett in the Fifth; James Shields and R. T. Van Horn in the Sixth; M. Oliver and Joel F. Asper in the Seventh; John F. Williams and John F. Benjamin in the Eighth, and W. F. Switzler and David P. Dyer in the Ninth. Wells, Finkelnburg, McCormack, Boyd, Phillips, Van Horn (by not counting the vote of Platte and Jackson Counties), Asper, Benjamin, and Dyer (by not counting the vote of the county of Monroe) obtained the certificates admitting them to seats. The electoral vote of the State was cast for Grant and Colfax, with a popular vote of 85,671 for the Republican electors and 59,788 for the Democratic electors.

Erastus Wells, who was thus chosen to represent Missouri in the national House of Representatives for the first time, is conspicuously one of the self-made men of St. Louis. He was born in Jefferson County, N. Y., Dec. 2, 1823, of humble parentage. When a boy old enough to labor he worked on a farm, and during this period—from his twelfth to his sixteenth year—he enjoyed the only school privileges he ever had. These were obtained at a common country log-house school which he walked two miles in winter to attend.

When sixteen he struck out for himself, and, his father having died, he acted as clerk for a while in a store at Watertown, N. Y., at eight dollars per month, and is next heard of as being similarly employed at Lockport, N. Y., in a store in which ex-Governor Washington Hunt was a partner. The salary was but from eight to twelve dollars a month, but he managed with such thrift that in three or four years he had saved one hundred and forty dollars,—a large sum in those days for a boy in his station.

Glowing accounts of St. Louis as an enterprising frontier town were current throughout the East, and young Wells having caught the Western fever determined to settle here. He arrived in September, 1843, and at once began business aggressively. St. Louis was already a large city, and in passing from one business portion to another much walking was involved and a wasteful expenditure of time. Wells reasoned that a speedier mode of travel must soon be adopted. At that time the "upper ferry landing" at North Market Street was a prominent locality, and acting upon his conclusions, he formed in November of the same year a partnership with Calvin Case and started the first omnibus line west of the Mississippi. The rolling-stock comprised but one "'bus," built in the city, and Wells was proprietor, driver, fare-taker, etc. Business opened slowly, but the people gradually realizing that "time was money," began to patronize the new enterprise more freely, and additional vehicles were procured. Eventually Mr. Wells sold out favorably, and then for some years was variously employed, a white-lead factory and a saw-mill being among his enterprises. Finally, returning to his original business, he established a partnership in 1850 with Ca

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Charles Wells

vin Case, Robert O'Blennus, and Lawrence Matthews, bought up all the "'bus" lines in the city, and for some years managed a very large and paying business. At one period one of the most profitable features of the enterprise was the running of a line of coaches to Belleville, Ill. In 1855, Mr. Case was killed in the bridge disaster at the Gasconade River, and the partnership was then dissolved. Mr. Wells is the only survivor of the four partners.

Another system of locomotion was about this time beginning to be discussed, and Mr. Wells was quick to foresee its popularity, magnitude, and profit. In 1859 he was prominent in organizing the Missouri Railway Company, and started the first car on the Olive Street line July 4th of that year. He was president of this company until 1881, when he sold out his interest and retired from street railroad management, having seen the system grow from small and doubtful beginnings to its existing magnitude.

Foremost in carrying out enterprises involving the city's welfare and prosperity, Mr. Wells has been prominent in many public undertakings. He is president of the Narrow-Gauge Railway, from Grand Avenue, West St. Louis, to Florissant; for several years was director in the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad; was president of the Accommodation Bank for six years, and was also a director and vice-president of the Commercial Bank; and is now president of the Laclede Gas-Light Company. He also contributed to the erection of the Southern Hotel.

As early as 1848, Mr. Wells' aggressive and energetic qualities had begun to attract attention, and in that year he was elected to the City Council. In 1854 he was again chosen, and for a period of fourteen years retained his seat in that body, relinquishing it only when he took his seat in Congress in 1869. During this long period, so eventful in the history of St. Louis, his voice and vote were always in favor of every judicious and timely measure that seemed calculated to advance the interests of the city. He was energetic in securing the adoption of sanitary measures and a better supply of water, and it was largely through his exertions that the Council was brought to the point of requesting the Legislature to authorize the three-million loan for adequate water-works for the growing city. Being strongly impressed with the inadequacy of the police organization of that period, he urged the adoption of the metropolitan police system, and it was mainly through his tireless and persistent labors against a combination of extraordinary strength that the Council was persuaded to recommend the Legislature to give St. Louis such a measure of reform, and the Legislature was prevailed upon to enact the law.

Having been thus faithful and capable in the City Council, the people chose him to represent them in a higher sphere, and in 1868 elected him to the national House of Representatives in the Forty-first Congress, returning him to the Forty-second, Forty-third, Forty-fourth, and Forty-sixth Congresses by majorities which indicate the confidence and esteem in which he was held. He brought to his new duties the same energy and industry he had exhibited in his own affairs and in the City Council. It was said that he really accomplished more for St. Louis in a practical way than any of his predecessors had done. He secured the first appropriation for the custom-house, and was instrumental in having the work inaugurated on a scale commensurate with the importance of St. Louis and the growing needs of the district. He procured the first money for the improvement, systematically and intelligently, of the Mississippi, was an ardent advocate of Eads' jetty system, and performed most valuable service, by his speeches and intercourse with public men, in directing attention to the importance of the Mississippi as the great water-way of the North American continent. His liberal views, unquestioned honesty, and rugged common sense gave him an influence at Washington far beyond that possessed by many more pretentious and prominent men. Since leaving Congress he has led the life of a private citizen.

In 1850, Mr. Wells married a daughter of John F. Henry, by whom he had three children, two sons and a daughter. Of the former, Rolla has been superintendent of the Missouri Railroad Company, and is now superintendent of the Robert G. Brown Oil Company. He is twenty-five years old, and has already shown exceptional business capacity. His wife having died, Mr. Wells in 1869 married Mrs. Eleanor P. Bell, widow of David W. Bell.

Mr. Wells possesses a large fortune, the fruit of his indomitable energy and industry. Success was won through great hardships and severe toil, but the unbefriended and penniless boy who boldly struck out into the virgin West to create for himself a sphere of action and a home, brought such physical and mental resources into action that fortune relented and freely showered her gifts upon him. With all his wealth, however, he is the same unostentatious, genial, and kindly "man of the people" as in the days of his struggling adversity, and is justly regarded as one of the most prominent of the self-reliant and hardy class of men of whom St. Louis has been so conspicuously fruitful.

J. J. Lindley, who, as the Democratic candidate for Congress from the Second District in 1868 against

G. A. Finkelnburg, was a conspicuous figure of the campaign, was born at Mansfield, Ohio, Jan. 1, 1822, but removed with his parents when but a boy to Cynthiana, Ky., where he lived several years. His education in good part was received at Woodville College, Ohio. Upon leaving that institution he began the study of law, and mastering the rudiments, he located in 1846 at Monticello, the county-seat of Lewis County, Mo., where he at once entered upon an active career in his profession. So marked was his success and so popular did he become that in less than two years he was elected State's attorney in a circuit embracing eight counties. To this office he was re-elected in 1852. Before his term expired he was in 1853 elected as a Whig in the Thirty-third Congress from the then newly-formed Third District of Missouri, defeating Claiborne F. Jackson, his majority being 152 in a total vote of over 13,000. In 1854 he was re-elected to Congress over Flourney by a majority of 767. Two years afterwards he was again a candidate, but the Whig party was then in its decadence, and he was beaten by James S. Green, afterwards chosen United States senator.

The record of the lives of successful men who influence and mould and in a degree control public affairs is always interesting and instructive, but it becomes more so when such lives present in combined view the elements of material success blended with the completeness of moral attribute and the attractions of unselfish public service. Such characters stand out as the proofs of human progress, the illustrations of human dignity and worth, and as the beacon-lights to guide the generations which follow.

In looking through the list of citizens of whom St. Louis may well be proud, to no one can such reflections apply with more force than to E. O. Stanard. His familiar and striking form, so often seen on the marts of business, and his name, associated so conspicuously with the material progress of St. Louis, as well as with the advancement of her moral and benevolent interests, have for many years marked him as a distinguished citizen. With such antecedents and a history such as his it is not remarkable that it should be so.

Governor Stanard comes of an ancient and honored ancestry, yet illustrating in his life the poet's thought, "'Tis only noble to be good." Past midway of the last century his family settled in the town of Newport, N. H., to which it removed from the older settlements in Connecticut. As a part of the ante-Revolutionary history, the name of his great-grandfather is found in the older records of settlement, and on the 20th of June, 1776, two weeks before the Declaration of Independence, signed to the following articles with the names of thirty-four other citizens:

"We, the subscribers, do hereby solemnly engage and promise that we will to the utmost of our power, at the risque of our lives and fortunes, with arms, oppose the hostile proceedings of the British Fleets and Armies against the United Colonies." This patriotic action was in conformity with the action of Congress, and of the New Hampshire Committee of Safety.

The grandfather of Governor Stanard, William Stanard, Jr., was born in that same eventful year of declared independence, and in later life moved to the State of Iowa. His son Obed, the father of the Governor, remained on the old homestead, married Elizabeth Ann Webster, the maternal branch dating back to 1795, and in 1836 moved also to Iowa, when the subject of this sketch was four years old. Thus, with a brief intermediate stay in Illinois on the way to the Western home, the early life of Governor Stanard was passed upon a farm and in farm labor, amid trials, privations, and hardships which only those know of who have experienced the vicissitudes of frontier settlements. From such experiences have come among the best, the truest, and most useful men of the times.

In 1852, when twenty years of age, he came to St. Louis to obtain the advantages of education, then but meagerly afforded in the frontier States, and here for four years he attended the schools, and became himself a teacher in order to defray his necessary expenses. At that time Alton was a thriving place of business, and the assumed rival of St. Louis, and thither he removed, spending a year most profitably as a clerk in a produce-store.

But his clear business perceptions saw in St. Louis the city of future progress and eminence, and thither he returned in 1857, opening a commission house, his first business venture. It was a success from the beginning, and very soon was enlarged by branches in Chicago and New Orleans. In 1868 he sold out his interest to his partners, embarking in the business of flour manufacture, in which he has achieved a great success, running large mills at St. Louis and Alton.

It was not to be expected that such talents and a business experience so eminently successful would remain in private station. In 1866 his fellow-merchants honored him with the bestowal of the presidency of their Exchange, a position only awarded to merit and experience, and he was also made vice-president of the National Board of Trade.

For fourteen years he was president of the Citizen's

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Fire Insurance Company, that corporation under his administration becoming one of the most substantial and successful in the city.

In 1868 he was called into public life, being elected to the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri. He filled the position with fairness, judgment, and dignity, became a master of parliamentary law, and proved himself one of the ablest presiding officers the Senate of Missouri ever had.

Thence he was called into the wider arena of national politics, being elected from St. Louis to the Forty-third Congress, where his valuable services as a legislator enlarged the measure of his national reputation. His appearance there was most opportune for Western interests. The question of cheap transportation by the river route was pressed with faithful industry and consummate ability, and it may be truly said that no voice ever raised in Congress was more potential in securing the favorable consideration by the government of the great water route, resulting directly in the establishment of the jetty system, and the liberal appropriations which after such an advocacy the government could not withhold. This line of comprehensive thought he actively followed up, being connected as presiding officer or in the executive handling of all the great conventions since held in the interest of river improvement, the very head and front, as it were, of the most vital commercial movement of the day.

Since his term in Congress, Governor Stanard has declined repeated invitations from his old friends and constituents to return to public life, preferring to devote his time to his large and constantly increasing business.

Governor Stanard inherits from his New England ancestry not only a stalwart frame, but a nature eminently regardful of moral obligations and well-defined religious convictions. He has been from his youth a consistent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was selected by the Missouri Conference as a delegate to the great ecumenical gathering in London in 1881, a trust which he discharged most faithfully and acceptably.

Thus if the question is asked what he is and what he has done, it finds a ready response in the exhibition of a record to which any one can point. As a patriot, he stood by his country bravely and loyally in its dark hours of trial, sharing its disasters and rejoicing in its triumphs, and when the war was over contributed his part towards the new progress which peace and restored relations have brought.

As a public speaker, he has few equals. His large store of knowledge, his experience in public assemblages, his clear judgment and powers of reasoning, combined with a splendid physique, a voice of peculiar range and power, and a temperament full of ardor and enthusiasm in all good directions, make his appearance in public always a source of pleasure and profitable instruction. He is a true specimen of New England birth grafted on the vigorous stock of Western strength,—one of those rounded and complete characters, combining with capabilities of business success the high attributes of truth and humanity, and most endeared to those who know him best in the social and domestic circles. He is the firm and steadfast friend of the producing, manufacturing, and industrial classes, with whom his interests are closely linked, and brings to affairs, whether public or private, the worth of correct practical judgment, the grasp of statesmanlike thought, and an earnest sympathy for what is just and true.

Amid the decay of virtue and integrity in high stations, the country under weak and inefficient guidance, "to hastening ills a prey," it would be a day to be marked in white in the national calendar if men like Governor Stanard could be induced to assume the duties and responsibilities of civic career. In the prime of a vigorous manhood, with the backing of a large and well-earned fortune, and comprehensive views on all great questions of national polity, he is needed in the gathering emergencies of our national progress.

At the registration of voters for the election of 1868, Charles P. Chouteau, one of the most esteemed and highly respected citizens of St. Louis, was rejected as a qualified voter. During the war, said the *Republican*, he had faithfully supported the government of the United States, and "when Gen. Allen, of the quartermaster's department, had not a dollar to pay the women who had been engaged in making clothing for the Federal troops, he applied to Charles P. Chouteau for aid in the emergency, asking for twenty thousand dollars. Without one moment's hesitation the amount was advanced, at a time when scarcely a capitalist in St. Louis felt ready to advance money because of the uncertainty of the time when the government would refund. At the same time, when the credit of the government was low here, Charles P. Chouteau periled the credit of his own house to the extent of three quarters of a million of dollars in purchasing clothing, boots and shoes, and other supplies required by the War Department, charging for the same not one cent of profit nor one cent of commissions. When the commission ordered by the government, composed of Holt, Davis, and Campbell, to examine and audit accounts came here,

bills were presented exceeding in the aggregate millions of dollars, and while the accounts of some were cut down by the commission scores of thousands, the bills of P. Chouteau & Co. passed without a discount. It was noticed at the time as a surprising circumstance that this patriotic house presented no commission or interest claim for the heavy burdens they had assumed, offering as their vouchers simply the bills of the houses from which they had made their purchases. One of the Minnesota regiments stationed up the Missouri River, without pay far many months, received from the house of Charles P. Chouteau such supplies as the privates of that regiment required, and in gratitude for his liberality they, at the close of the war, sent to him a testimonial, which he cherished among his valuable records. The government placed at his disposal soldiers and arms for the protection of his warehouses and boats, in which were military stores. And yet this honored citizen and patriot, whose wealth has been used for the benefit of the government and for the prosperity of St. Louis, was by a board of registration officers refused the privilege of being registered as a qualified voter."

On the 15th of January, 1867, Charles D. Drake, Republican, was elected to the United States Senate from the 4th of March ensuing, the vote being: Senate, Drake, 23; F. P. Blair, 6; N. Holmes, 3. House, Charles D. Drake, 86; F. P. Blair, 33; Ben. Loan, 3; Henry T. Blow, 3; H. M. Voorhees, 1; John S. Phelps, 1.[1]

At this session of the Legislature it was decided to submit a constitutional amendment to the people to strike the word "white" from the second article, thus establishing negro suffrage in Missouri. At the election in the fall of 1868 the proposed amendment was defeated, the vote being: Against striking out, 74,053; for striking out, 55,236; majority against, 18,817.

At the session of the Legislature which began on the 7th of January, 1868, a new registry law more stringent than the old one was enacted. Under it the Governor was authorized to appoint a superintendent of registration in every senatorial district, with the view of providing for a still more rigorous enforcement of the law of 1865, which disfranchised many citizens who had sympathized with the Southern cause. As that law had been pronounced unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, this action of the Legislature created intense dissatisfaction throughout the State. A large Republican majority, however, was returned to the Legislature of 1869, which, on the 19th of January of that year, elected Carl Schurz United States senator, the vote being: Schurz, Republican, 114; John S. Phelps, Democrat, 44. But dissensions now arose in the Republican ranks, owing to the opposition developed within the party by the very measures which had been adopted with the view of insuring its continued ascendency. Under the leadership of Carl Schurz, B. Gratz Brown, and other prominent men, a new "wing," known as Liberal Republicans, in contradistinction to the more radical element, was organized for the purpose of securing the repeal of the ironclad oath of 1865 and the registration amendment of 1868. In this crisis the Democrats adopted the "passive" policy,—that is, the party organization as such took no part in the canvass, but the members individually allied themselves with the Liberal Republicans. On the 31st of August, 1870, the Republican State Convention met at Jefferson City, and, as chairman of the committee on resolutions, Carl Schurz made a majority report which proved obnoxious to the anti-Liberal members. It strongly recommended the removal of all political disabilities and "the extension of equal political rights and privileges to all classes of citizens." The minority report of the committee, on the other hand, declared in favor of "re-franchising those justly disfranchised for participation in the late Rebellion as soon as it can be done with safety to the State," and recommended that "the Legislature submit to the whole people of the State the question whether such time has now arrived." The report of the minority was adopted by a vote of 349 ayes and 342 noes, and immediately after this action had been taken about two hundred and fifty delegates of those who had voted for the majority report withdrew, headed by Mr. Schurz, organized a separate convention, and nominated a full State ticket with B. Gratz Brown for Governor. The regular convention nominated Joseph W. McClurg. At the election in the following November the vote was: B. Gratz Brown, Liberal, 104,374; Joseph W. McClurg, Republican, 63,336.

[1] Charles D. Drake was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 11th of April, 1811, and was the son of Dr. Daniel Drake. He received an academical education, and entered the navy as a midshipman in 1827. In 1830 he left the navy, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1833. In 1834 he removed to St. Louis, where he engaged in the practice of his profession, and in 1859 was elected to the Legislature. During the early portion of the civil war he took an active and conspicuous part against the secession movement; in 1863 was elected a delegate to the Missouri State Convention, and in 1864 was chosen presidential elector on the Republican ticket. In 1865 he served as a member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of that year, of which he was vice-president. In 1867 he was elected United States senator, and in 1871 was appointed chief justice of the United States Court of Claims. He is the author of a "Treatise on the Law of Suits by Attachment in the United States," and of a "Life of Daniel Drake."

Brown's majority over McClurg, 41,038. At the same election a new Legislature was chosen, which was found to be strongly "Liberal," and which at its session in the ensuing winter elected as the successor in the United States Senate of the Hon. Charles D. Drake, who had been appointed chief justice of the United States Court of Claims, Hon. Francis P. Blair, Jr.

A number of amendments to the Constitution were submitted to the people at the same time, among which were those abolishing the oaths of loyalty for jurors and voters, and "certain disqualifications to hold office on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and on account of former acts of disloyalty." These amendments were adopted by majorities ranging from over one hundred and five thousand to over one hundred and twenty-two thousand votes. The success of this movement prepared the way for the national Liberal Republican "bolt" of 1872.

B. Gratz Brown, who was thus elected Governor of Missouri on the re-franchisement platform, was born at Lexington, Ky., May 28, 1826. His grandfather, John, son of Rev. J. Brown, was born in Staunton, Va., in 1757, and died in Frankfort, Ky., in 1837, widely known and everywhere respected. He had been a member of the Congress of 1787–88 from Virginia), and had served three times as senator from Kentucky in the national councils. His grandmother, Margaretta, daughter of Rev. John Mason and Catharine Van Wyck, was born in New York City in 1772, and died in Frankfort, Ky., in 1838. She organized the first Sabbath-school in the Mississippi valley.

Mason Brown, father of B. Gratz Brown, was a prominent judge. His son, B. Gratz, graduated at Transylvania University in 1845, and at Yale College in 1847, studied law at Louisville, removed to Missouri in 1849, and settled at St. Louis. Here he practiced law with great success, and in 1852 was elected to the Legislature, serving therein by successive re-elections until 1858. Mr. Brown entered public life as a Democrat and a follower of Benton, became identified at once with the large German population of St. Louis, and was put forward as their special representative among the public men of American birth. Though a Southerner by birth and extensive family associations, he proclaimed from the first his Free-Soil sympathies. To him belongs the distinction of having made the first speech in behalf of emancipation in a Southern Legislature. That speech, delivered in the Missouri House of Representatives, at the almost certain sacrifice of all hope of political preferment, was the rallying-cry of the little band of emancipationists who finally organized the Republican party of Missouri. The Germans, who had settled in large numbers in St. Louis, rallied to the support of Gratz Brown, and returned him to the Legislature after a bitter contest. About this time he became involved in a duel with Hon. Thomas C. Reynolds, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri, and received a wound in the knee from the effects of which he suffered for several years.

From this time on his efforts were unceasing in the anti-slavery cause. He assisted in founding the *St. Louis Democrat*, as the organ of the Free-Soil party, and, as the fearless and brilliant editor of the only anti-slavery journal in a slave State, soon won a national reputation. In all these efforts he faced the most determined opposition. Both the great parties denounced and proscribed him, but opposition, threats, and proscription only intensified his devotion to the great principles of human freedom. Into the Kansas war he entered with all the power and fire of his nature. His editorials in the *Democrat*, incisive and eloquent, excited the whole country. He early foresaw that the Kansas trouble would extend to a broader field, and with his clear perception he warned the people of the magnitude of the coming struggle. In 1860 he called the first Republican Convention held in a slave State, and, in conjunction with the veteran Muench and Emil Preetorius, the latter afterwards associate editor with Carl Schurz in the *Westliche Post* and now editor of that paper, organized the Republican party of Missouri. At the outbreak of the war he promptly raised a regiment, took decided ground for immediate emancipation, and at once became the acknowledged leader of the advanced element of the Republican party in opposition to the conservative element, and was put forward as their candidate for United States senator. The contest was bitter and protracted, but the Germans throughout the State rallied to the support of Brown, and after a struggle in the Legislature of 1862–63 for several months he was elected. His course in the Senate was in harmony with his previous career. He was one of the very first to recognize impartial suffrage as the necessary corollary to emancipation, and protested against any form of reconstruction which failed to recognize this principle. His health failing, and large private interests demanding his attention, he declined, in 1866, a re-election, and until 1870, though an interested observer, did not actively participate in any of the political movements. The Constitution of the State, as has been indicated, was intensely proscriptive, and having opposed it in its inception, his views, whenever occasion called for

their expression, were in opposition to a continuance of a policy which it legalized. The oppressions under it finally became unendurable, when the Liberals, under the head of Brown and Schurz, with the same German element which had contributed such valuable service in the foundation of the Republican party, now demanded that the party recognize and declare the new order of things and remove all political proscription from the law. The result has been stated. Overpowered in the convention, the Liberals appealed to the people, with Gratz Brown as their standard-bearer. Seldom has a campaign been entered upon under more unfavorable auspices. The whole power of the State and national administration was invoked to crush the Liberal movement. But the Federal interference only strengthened the cause, and Governor Brown was elected by the unprecedented majority of forty-one thousand, receiving the support of about one-third of the Republicans of the State, including nearly all the Germans and all of the old leaders in the cause of freedom.

In 1872, Mr. Brown was nominated as the candidate for Vice-President on the Liberal Republican ticket with Horace Greeley, and Mr. Greeley having died he received eighteen electoral votes for President.

At the congressional election of 1870, Wells, Finkelnburg, and McCormick were re-elected. The other members elected were H. E. Havens, S. S. Burdett, A. Comingo, I. C. Parker, James G. Blair, and Andrew King.

Under the census of 1870 the State became entitled in 1872 under the congressional apportionment bill to two additional members of Congress, and thereby to two additional Presidential electors. The Legislature having adjourned before this fact became known, and Governor Brown having grave doubts as to his authority under existing laws to divide the State into electoral districts for the next Presidential election, called a special session of the Legislature for this purpose by proclamation on June 19, 1872. The authority to district the State into electoral districts was discussed. The conclusion having been reached that the most feasible way to get at the matter under existing laws was to divide the State into congressional districts, a resolution was passed on the fifth day looking to an adjournment, and for the reconvening of the Legislature to re-district the State. On the 24th the Legislature adjourned, and was immediately reconvened by proclamation of the Governor for that purpose. On the 27th it adjourned after having divided the State into congressional districts, as follows: the First, Second, and Third, composed of the county of St. Louis; the Fourth, of Dunklin, Pemiscot, New Madrid, Mississippi, Stoddard, Butler, Ripley, Scott, Wayne, Reynolds, Cape Girardeau, Bollinger, Madison, Iron, Perry, Ste. Genevieve, St. François, Washington, Carter, and Oregon; Fifth, Jefferson, Franklin, Gasconade, Osage, Maries, Crawford, Phelps, Pulaski, Wright, Douglas, Ozark, Howell, Texas, Dent, Shannon, and Laclede; Sixth, Jasper, Barton, Newton, McDonald, Cedar, Dade, Lawrence, Barry, Stone, Taney, Christian, Webster, Greene, Polk, and Vernon; Seventh, Johnson, Pettis, Cooper, Moniteau, Morgan, Cole, Miller, Camden, Hickory, Benton, Henry, Dallas, and St. Clair; Eighth, Platte, Clay, Jackson, Cass, and Bates; Ninth, Atchison, Andrew, Nodaway, Holt, Buchanan, Clinton, DeKalb, Gentry, and Worth; Tenth, Harrison, Daviess, Caldwell, Livingston, Grundy, Mercer, Putnam, Sullivan, Linn, and Chariton; Eleventh, Randolph, Howard, Saline, Lafayette, Ray, Carroll, and Boone; Twelfth, Schuyler, Adair, Macon, Shelby, Knox, Scotland, Clarke, Lewis, and Marion; Thirteenth, Monroe, Callaway, Audrain, Pike, Lincoln, Montgomery, Warren, St. Charles, and Ralls. At the election following E. O. Stanard, Erastus Wells, W. H. Stone, Robert A. Hatcher, Richard P. Bland, H. E. Havens, T. T. Crittenden, A. Comingo, Isaac C. Parker, Ira B. Hyde, John B. Clark, Jr., John M. Glover, and A. H. Buckner were elected to Congress, and the State carried for Greeley and Brown. The vote cast by the electors for President was six for Thomas A. Hendricks, eight for B. G. Brown, one for Jeff. Davis; for Vice-President, six for Brown, five for Julian, three for Palmer, and one for Groesbeck. Mr. Greeley died before the electoral college met. The popular vote of the State was 151,434 for Greeley, 119,096 for Grant, and 2439 for Charles O'Conor. Silas Woodson, Democrat, received for Governor 156,714 votes, to 122,272 cast for John B. Henderson, Republican.

Among those who took a leading part in the National Liberal Republican campaign in Missouri in 1872 was Charles P. Johnson, now an eminent member of the St. Louis bar. Mr. Johnson was born in Lebanon, St. Clair Co., Ill., Jan. 18, 1836. His father, Henry Johnson, was a native of Pennsylvania, and his mother, whose maiden name was Elvira Foulke, was born in Kaskaskia, Ill., and saw much of frontier life. Her ancestors were among the early pioneers of Illinois, and many of them filled high and honorable positions. Young Johnson received all the advantages offered in the public schools of the neighboring town of Belleville, but to the culture of his intelligent mother is due to a very great extent the excellences of his mental as well as moral character.



Second, and Third, composed of the county of [illegible] excellencies of his mental as well as moral [illegible]



Chas. P. Johnson

Mrs. Johnson is still living, and adds to the charms of her son's family circle.

The best part of Mr. Johnson's education (in his own estimation) was derived at "the case;" and having learned the printer's trade, he published in his eighteenth year a paper at Sparta, Ill. He disposed of this enterprise in 1854, and for one year attended McEndree College at Lebanon, Ill., where he pursued a course of study suited to his probable future profession. In 1855 he removed to St. Louis, and studied law, and in 1857 was admitted to the bar. Party spirit ran high at this period in Missouri, and in St. Louis the political contests were exceedingly bitter. The teachings of Mr. Benton in opposition to Calhounism had culminated in the formation of a definite anti-slavery party, which, however, was almost entirely confined to St. Louis, and which had to meet the combined power and influence of the pro-slavery party in the entire State. Mr. Johnson's political bias threw him into the ranks of the Free-Soil party, of which he became a recognized leader, in company with Francis P. Blair and other intrepid men. Blair recognized in the eloquent young lawyer a promising adherent to the Free-Soil cause. In 1859, Mr. Johnson was elected to the office of city attorney. In 1860 he advocated the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, and in 1861, when the war broke out, promptly espoused the cause of the Union, and by his eloquence and influence greatly strengthened the hands of the anti-secession leaders in St. Louis. He enlisted under the first call for troops, but was elected lieutenant, and served for three months in the Third Missouri Regiment. He then assisted in raising the Eighth Missouri Regiment, and personally tendered the services of that organization to President Lincoln. While bearer of dispatches from Gen. Lyon to the President, the majorship of the regiment was tendered him, but he declined it because of his delicate health and lack of military knowledge.

In 1862 a division occurred in the ranks of the Republican party in St. Louis, one wing favoring prompt and vigorous measures for the coercion of the Southern States and the emancipation of the slaves, and the other a more moderate policy. Mr. Johnson placed himself firmly on the radical platform, and soon became a recognized leader in the advanced emancipation ranks. He was nominated for Congress against Francis P. Blair, but declined in favor of a more experienced standard-bearer. He, however, accepted a candidacy on the legislative ticket, and was elected. In the Legislature he was assigned to what at that time was the most important position in the body, the chairmanship of the Committee on Emancipation. In this capacity his zeal, energy, and ability as a debater gave him the leadership of the House. Failing to secure an acceptance of Mr. Lincoln's proposition to pay the loyal slave-owners for their property, he took the advanced stand for immediate emancipation without compensation, and presented the bill for the calling of a State Convention, which became a law at the adjourned session next year.

In the fall of 1864, Mr. Johnson was again nominated for Congress, but there was a split in the party on the war question, and he was defeated.

In January, 1865, the State Convention assembled at St. Louis. Its first act was the passage of an emancipation ordinance. It then framed and submitted to the people the celebrated "Drake Constitution," which was so harsh and intolerant that Mr. Johnson was constrained to oppose it. He canvassed the State on that issue, and ran for the Legislature again from St. Louis County at large, and was elected by a large majority. The Constitution was ratified by a very small majority, but was subsequently shorn of its despotic features on the grounds so ably urged by Mr. Johnson in this canvass.

Mr. Johnson served one winter in the Legislature, and in 1866 accepted the appointment of State's attorney for the city and county of St. Louis, and for six years filled this position in a manner that gained for him universal approbation, and laid the foundation for his subsequent brilliant career at the bar.

During the war Mr. Johnson favored immediate emancipation, because he recognized in slavery the only real danger to the perpetuity of the Union; but when the war was over and its cause forever removed, he offered his hand to every man who was disposed to live in peace with the government. Consequently, when (in 1870) the Liberal Republican movement was inaugurated in Missouri, he supported it with his usual zeal and determination, and strenuously advocated the re-enfranchisement of those who, on account of their adhesion to the South, had lost their citizenship. In the same year he was again nominated to Congress on the Liberal Republican ticket, but there being three tickets in the field he was defeated. In 1872 he earnestly favored the National Liberal Republican movement which culminated in the nomination of Greeley and Brown, and in the selection of the joint Democratic and Liberal Republican State ticket of that year was presented as a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. He was elected, and during the two years he served became noted for his marked ability as a parliamentarian and presiding officer, being one of the few presidents from whose decision no appeal was ever taken.

It was during this session that Governor Johnson made a reformatory fight which attracted wide attention. An unsuspecting Legislature had given St. Louis a charter in which a power was granted to regulate houses of ill-repute. Under this grant was passed the celebrated social evil ordinance, which was simply a copy of the European system of licensing prostitution. Its establishment and the perceptible evil consequences flowing from it soon aroused the determined antagonism of the moral element of the community, and in the Legislature Governor Johnson successfully led the movement for the repeal of the obnoxious measure. He then retired from office, and resumed the practice of his profession until another moral question enlisted his services. The issue arose from the prevalence of public gambling in St. Louis, and the dangerous fact that the gamblers had become a ruling element in the politics of the city. Governor Johnson determined to lend the weight of his abilities and example to the suppression of this evil, and for that purpose became a member of the Legislature in 1880, and introduced and secured the passage of a bill making gambling a felony. The enforcement of the law was strenuously opposed by those whose interests it assailed, but after running the gauntlet of the courts it was put into operation, and accomplished all that Mr. Johnson had expected of it. No one familiar with the extent of the evil in question will gainsay that he thus effected one of the greatest achievements ever undertaken in this country by the legislator or social reformer.

There now remains the agreeable task of speaking of Mr. Johnson as a lawyer. He has made a specialty of criminal practice, and stands unquestionably at the head of that branch of the profession in Missouri, he having been employed on one side or the other in every criminal case of importance that has engaged the attention of the St. Louis courts for the last ten years, besides having been frequently called to professional engagements in other parts of the State. His reputation as an advocate is not confined to Missouri, but has extended throughout the great West, and in no case of importance has he ever been vanquished.

But his prominence as the head of the criminal bar must not be understood to derogate from his standing in other professional capacities, for years of study and experience have given him a mastery over the principles and authorities on which American jurisprudence rests. His mental attributes, moreover, specially qualify him to be a lawyer of eminence. His memory is remarkable; his judgment strong, sagacious, and vigilant; his cast of thought logical, analytic, and incisive; and his oratory calm, clear, and singularly persuasive. Having in his public career shown himself to be a man of broad and liberal views, and progressive and reformatory in his intellectual development, it may be inferred that he not only keeps abreast with his profession in the decisions, but adds thereto extended and continued culture in every department of literature and philosophy. Psychological studies have closely engaged his attention, and his familiarity with this science gives him remarkable power over a jury in cases involving the causation which lies behind the passions or destroys the mental equilibrium. He has written several valuable papers on this subject.

Governor Johnson, who has been a zealous supporter of every measure looking to the development and advancement of his State, takes great interest in the improvement of its railroad system, and was one of the principal promoters of the great immigration convention which met in St. Louis in May, 1880, and delivered the opening address before that body on the "Valley of the Mississippi."

He is yet young, having barely reached his prime, and though not robust, is active, vigorous, and healthy. He is of engaging manners, yet appears at his best in the family circle. He is fond of the society of his friends, and entertains them with delight. Social, genial, studious, cultivated, temperate, and honest, it may be said that he combines in himself as much of promise as any man of his age in the West, whether in his profession or in the broader arena of reformatory politics.

In 1874, Charles H. Hardin, Democrat, received for Governor 149,566 votes, to 112,104 cast for William Gentres, "people's" candidate. Messrs. Wells, Stone, Hatcher, Bland, Clark, Glover, and Buckner were elected to Congress, and Charles H. Morgan, John F. Philips, Benjamin J. Franklin, David Rea, and R. A. DeBolt elected as new members.

At the session of the Legislature in 1873 Lewis V. Bogy was elected United States senator, and continued as such until his death in 1877.[1]

In 1876 the members of Congress elected were Anthony Ittner, Nathan Cole, R. G. Frost, Robert A. Hatcher, R. P. Bland, Charles H. Morgan, T. T. Crittenden, B. J. Franklin, David Rea, Henry M. Pollard, John B. Clark, Jr., John M. Glover, and A. H. Buckner.

Although the State this year was carried by the Democrats by a majority of fifty-four thousand three

[1] A full sketch of Senator Bogy's life will be found in the chapter on the bench and bar of St. Louis.

hundred and eighty-nine over all, and the congressional districts by a still larger majority, four Republican congressmen secured seats.

The Presidential vote was: For Samuel J. Tilden, 202,687; for R. B. Hayes, 144,398; for Peter Cooper, 3498. For Governor, John S. Phelps, Democrat, received 199,580; G. A. Finkelnburg, Republican, 147,694; J. T. Alexander, Greenback, 2962.

In 1877, the Legislature being largely Democratic, and concluding to redistrict the State, passed an act dividing the State into districts as follows:

The First District, composed of the First, Second, Third, and Thirteenth Wards of the city of St. Louis, as they were constituted on the 1st day of July, 1876, Carondelet township of the county of St. Louis, and the counties of Madison, Jefferson, Washington, St. François, and Ste. Genevieve.

Second, the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Wards of the city of St. Louis, as they were constituted on the 1st day of July, 1876, Central, Bonhomme, and Maramec townships, and all that part of St. Louis township lying south of Page Avenue of the county of St. Louis.

Third, the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Wards of the city of St. Louis, as they were constituted on the 1st day of July, 1876, St. Ferdinand township, and all that part of St. Louis township lying north of Page Avenue of the county of St. Louis.

Fourth, the counties of Iron, Bollinger, Cape Girardeau, Scott, Mississippi, New Madrid, Pemiscot, Dunklin, Stoddard, Butler, Ripley, Oregon, Carter, Reynolds, Wayne, and Perry.

Fifth, Phelps, Franklin, Crawford, Dent, Shannon, Howell, Ozark, Taney, Christian, Douglas, Stone, Wright, Texas, Laclede, Pulaski, and Maries.

Sixth, Greene, Berry, McDonald, Newton, Jasper, Barton, Vernon, St. Clair, Bates, Cedar, Dade, Lawrence, Henry, and Webster.

Seventh, Cole, Miller, Camden, Hickory, Polk, Dallas, Lafayette, Johnson, Pettis, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, and Cooper.

Eighth, Cass, Jackson, Clay, and Platte.

Ninth, Buchanan, Andrew, Holt, Atchison, Nodaway, Worth, Gentry, De Kalb, Clinton, Caldwell, and Ray.

Tenth, Randolph, Chariton, Linn, Sullivan, Mercer, Grundy, Livingston, Daviess, and Harrison.

Eleventh, Callaway, Boone, Howard, Saline, Carroll, Osage, and Gasconade.

Twelfth, Adair, Clarke, Macon, Knox, Lewis, Marion, Shelby, Scotland, Schuyler, and Putnam.

Thirteenth, Audrain, Monroe, Montgomery, Pike, Lincoln, St. Charles, Ralls, and Warren.

In September, 1877, Col. David H. Armstrong was appointed by Governor Phelps United States senator to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Col. Bogy.

David Hartley Armstrong was born in Nova Scotia, Oct. 21, 1812. In 1830 he entered the Wesleyan Seminary at Readfield, Kennebec Co., Me., and received an academic education preparatory to commencing a collegiate career. He sustained himself at school by his own exertions, and intended following the profession of civil engineer, but employment not presenting itself, he embraced an opportunity to teach school in New Bedford, Mass., and was so engaged from 1834 to 1837. In the latter year he drifted on the tidal wave of emigration to the West, and arrived at St. Louis September 16th. An opening not offering immediately, he taught in the Preparatory Department of McKendree College, at Lebanon, Ill., whence he returned to St. Louis to assume the position of principal of the public schools of the city (the first in the State of Missouri) on the first Monday of April, 1838. For four years he was at the head of "School No. 1" (now the "Laclede Primary"), and in 1842 was transferred to "Benton School No. 2," where he taught for five years.

Col. Armstrong looks back upon no portion of his career with more satisfaction than that during which he was employed as a public-school teacher, and he regards it as a high honor to have been associated so prominently with the school system of the city at its inception. He possessed many qualifications of the good teacher, and his counsels were freely drawn upon to aid in the extension of the system as required by the growing needs of the city. As a teacher he was very successful, and among his pupils were many who afterwards became conspicuous, and are now numbered among the representative citizens of St. Louis. These all cherish the highest regard and the warmest affection for their faithful instructor.

Mr. Armstrong resigned the charge of the public schools of the city June 8, 1847, to accept the office of city comptroller, which position he retained three years. In 1853 he was appointed by Governor Sterling Price his aid-de-camp on his military staff, with the rank of colonel. In April, 1854, he was appointed postmaster of St. Louis by President Pierce, and held that office until the spring of 1858. In 1873 he was appointed police commissioner for the city of St. Louis by Governor Woodson, and in 1877 was reappointed to the same office by Governor Phelps. In 1876 he was a member of the board of freeholders, by which the present city charter was framed. As we have before stated, on the death of the Hon. Lewis V. Bogy, in 1877, Col. Armstrong was appointed United States senator, and served as such until the meeting of the Legislature in 1879. All these offices were efficiently filled by him, and with the modest dignity which is his distinguishing characteristic.

Since early manhood Col. Armstrong has taken a deep interest in political affairs, and was always an active worker in the ranks of the Democratic party. He has been content to labor, leaving to others the

fruits of party success, and has never asked for office. For many years he was a member of the Democratic State Central Committee, and for much of the period was chairman of that body and a leader in its deliberations. In this capacity he directed the fusion of Democrats and Liberal Republicans in the memorable campaign of 1870, which resulted in the election of the first Democratic State administration since the war, but which had consequences far more important than the mere victory of a political party, for it led to the revision of the notorious "Drake Constitution" and the reinstatement of the people of Missouri in the full enjoyment of their political rights.

Amid all the changes of a somewhat checkered career Col. Armstrong has maintained a reputation for inviolable integrity, whether his private life or public employments are considered. Of a frank, positive, and somewhat aggressive nature, his is a marked personality, and these characteristics have no doubt secured him his full share of enemies, but they have also won a proportionate number of friends, and no one in St. Louis enjoys the deeper or more deserving regard of a larger circle than does Col. David H. Armstrong.

In 1878 the congressmen elected were Martin L. Clardy, E. Wells, R. G. Frost, L. H. Davis, R. P. Bland, James E. Waddill, Alfred M. Lay, S. L. Sawyer, Nicholas Ford, G. F. Rothwell, John B. Clark, Jr., W. H. Hatch, and A. H. Buckner, all Democrats except Ford, Greenback-Republican, elected by a small majority in a largely Democratic district.

In 1880, M. L. Clardy, Democrat, and Thomas C. Fletcher, Republican, were the candidates for Congress in the First District. Clardy received 11,681 votes; Fletcher, 10,982; scattering, 49. In the Second, Thomas Allen, Democrat, and M. A. Rosenblatt, Republican. Allen received 12,485 votes; Rosenblatt, 10,022. In the Third, R. G. Frost, Democrat, R. Sessinghaus, Republican, and D. O'Connell, Greenback-Democrat. Frost received 9487 votes, Sessinghaus 9290, and O'Connell 256. In the Fourth, L. H. Davis, Democrat, and —— Simpson, Greenback-Democrat. Davis received 19,949 votes, and Simpson 1251. In the Fifth, R. P. Bland, Democrat, and R. B. Palmer, Greenback-Democrat. Bland received 12,977 votes, and Palmer 10,799. In the Sixth, John B. Waddill, Democrat, and I. S. Hazeltine, Greenback-Republican. Waddill received 22,680 votes; Hazeltine, 22,787; scattering, 54. In the Seventh, John F. Philips, Democrat, and T. M. Rice, Greenback-Republican. Philips received 19,146 votes, and Rice 19,744. In the Eighth, D. C. Allen, Democrat; J. T. Crisp, Democrat; R. T. Van Horn, Republican, and —— Clark, Greenback-Democrat. Allen received 7656 votes; Crisp, 7459; Van Horn, 8050; Clark, 1084. In the Ninth, James Craig, Democrat, and Nicholas Ford, Greenback-Republican. Craig received 20,770 votes; Ford, 20,770; scattering, 14. On recount under Supreme Court mandamus two votes were taken from Craig, and thereby Ford was declared elected. In the Tenth, Charles H. Mansur, Democrat, and Joseph H. Barrows, Greenback-Republican. Mansur received 17,219 votes; Burrows, 17,284; scattering, 6. In the Eleventh, John B. Clark, Jr., Democrat, and Herberling, Greenback-Democrat. Clark received 17,921 votes, and Herberling 7370. In the Twelfth, Samuel A. Hatch, Democrat, and J. M. London, Greenback-Republican. Hatch received 17,403 votes, and London 15,236. In the Thirteenth, A. H. Buckner, Democrat, —— Haley, Greenback-Democrat, and —— Thurmond, Independent Democrat. Buckner received 17,233 votes, Haley 7394, and Thurmond 263. In 1880 the total vote for members of Congress was 376,703 and for Governor and State officers, 397,644.

It will be seen from the congressional returns in 1880, that the eminent Hon. Thomas Allen was elected from St. Louis district. Mr. Allen had long been identified with the best interests of Missouri, and no man had a higher claim to the distinguished honor which was conferred upon him.

Thomas Allen was born at Pittsfield, Mass., Aug. 29, 1813, and was a member of a family that had long been prominent in that State. His grandfather was the first minister in Pittsfield, officiating as such from 1764 to 1811, and was also a zealous Revolutionary patriot, taking part with his musket in the battle of Bennington, and serving as chaplain during several campaigns. He was married to Elizabeth Lee, through whom his descendants claim as their ancestors William Bradford, the second Governor of the Plymouth colony, and one of the most distinguished of the Pilgrim fathers. This interesting man, after whom the subject of this sketch was named, had a large family, all persons of exceptional ability. One of his sons, the Rev. William Allen, succeeded him in the Pittsfield pastorate, and subsequently was elected president of Bowdoin College.

Jonathan Allen, another son, and the father of Thomas Allen, was for several terms a member of the Legislature, serving in both branches. He was a prominent agriculturist, and was one of the first to import fine-wool sheep into Massachusetts. At the time of his death he was postmaster of Pittsfield. He was of a fine social disposition, kind and benevolent, of good ability, public-spirited and enterprising

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Thomas Allen was the third of a family of ten children. His mother's maiden name was Eunice Williams Larned, and she was the daughter of Darius Larned, of Pittsfield. Mr. Allen received his early education at the village academy of Pittsfield, assisted on his father's farm, and later attended the Berkshire gymnasium at the same place, being prepared for college under the guidance of Professor Chester Dewey, a distinguished scholar and naturalist. In 1829 he entered Union College, then conducted by the venerable President Nott. His college career was creditable, but not remarkable. In 1832 he graduated, and began the study of law at Albany; but the cholera interrupted that occupation, and compelled him to leave the place. Family misfortunes and the loss of money prevented his returning, but his New England blood, education, character, and indomitable will prevented his giving way to despair, and with only twenty-five dollars (his entire capital) he set out for New York, arriving there in October, 1832, young, poor, and friendless. In answer to an advertisement he secured a position in the office of Cambreling & Hatch, on Wall Street, where, however, at first he received no money for his services, but gave his clerical labor for the privilege of reading the books in the office and receiving such instruction as he might pick up. His poverty compelled him to be very industrious. Ultimately he was regularly installed as clerk, but his salary was only three hundred dollars per year. He remained in this office for three years, spending his leisure hours in hard study, and earning a small income by copying for other lawyers. During this period he began to write for the newspapers, his taste inclining to criticisms upon current events, and in 1834 became editor of the *Family Magazine*, a position he held for eighteen months, attending to its duties in the spare moments from his law practice. The income thus derived, though modest, contributed materially to his support, and the magazine prospered under his management.

Mr. Allen was next employed by a prominent law-publishing house to compile a digest of the decisions of the New York courts, which became a standard work and was several times republished. In 1835 he was admitted to the bar, and during the same year he was made a Master of Arts by his *Alma Mater*, and was also elected an honorary member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of New York, an honor that was bestowed on few persons.

In 1836 he entered the political arena and made several speeches for Martin Van Buren. In that year also he accepted an invitation from an uncle (Gen. Ripley) to remove to Louisiana, and the project, although not carried out, greatly influenced his future course. While in Illinois, in 1837, looking after some property interests of Gen. Ripley, he heard of the suspension of specie payments, and was invited by certain eminent friends to return to Washington and establish a new journal. He did so, and in August, 1837, the *Madisonian* appeared. It took ground against the sub-treasury scheme, and a few weeks later, when President Van Buren's message to Congress favored the idea, Mr. Allen was not daunted at the unexpected opposition of the Executive, but allowed his name to go in as candidate for public printer, and after a three days' contest was successful. He continued in opposition to the President, and in 1840, deeming a separate anti-Van-Buren organization unnecessary, he supported Gen. Harrison for the Presidency, as the representative of true Democratic-Republican principles. During the campaign his office was burned,—the work, presumably, of an incendiary,—but was re-established, and the *Madisonian* attained a very large circulation for those days. Mr. Allen took an active part in the Presidential campaign of 1840, and was warmly thanked by Gen. Harrison when he arrived at Washington. He was consulted by him on his selections for cabinet officers, and when Gen. Harrison expired Mr. Allen was among the number that stood at his bedside.

In the spring of 1842, Mr. Allen removed to St. Louis, and on July 12th following was married to Miss Ann C. Russell, the daughter of William Russell, of that city. Upon arriving here he opened a law-office, but did not continue the practice of his profession. His attention was at once turned to public interests, and through his instrumentality the St. Louis Horticultural Society was organized and established, and he was made its president.

In 1848 his voice began to be heard in favor of internal improvements in Missouri and the neighboring States, his first address being in behalf of the St. Louis and Cincinnati Railroad.

In 1849 a large meeting of citizens was held to take the necessary action towards building a railroad to the Pacific coast, and resolutions which he prepared in favor of this national central highway were not only unanimously passed by the meeting but approved by the Legislature. In October, 1849, he addressed a national convention held in St. Louis to consider the enterprise, and was requested to prepare an address to the people of the United States and a memorial to Congress. At a subsequent meeting he read an address that was so convincing that one hundred and fifty-four thousand dollars of the stock was taken immediately. In 1851, Mr. Allen

having been elected the first president of the company, the work was put under contract. During the same year he was elected State senator for four years, and as chairman of the Committee on Internal Improvements succeeded in securing a loan of the State credit for two millions of dollars to aid the railroad. He also proposed a plan of State aid to several railroad systems, but it was not adopted by the Legislature until some years afterwards, when it was substantially put into operation.

In 1854, Mr. Allen resigned the presidency and directorship of the Pacific Railroad, thirty-eight miles having been finished and one hundred miles more being under contract, and in the same year retired from the Senate, declining a renomination. In 1857 he was chosen president of the Terre Haute, Alton and St. Louis Railway Company, but as that road was then heavily in debt he declined the position.

In 1858 he founded the banking-house of Allen, Copp & Nisbet, furnishing the capital, and about the same time negotiated nine hundred thousand dollars of guaranteed Missouri bonds in aid of the Pacific road, and sold them to advantage and free of expense to the State.

When the civil war broke out Mr. Allen remained a Union man, and in 1862 was a candidate for Congress of the "Unconditional Union men" of the Second Missouri District, but was defeated. In 1865, accompanied by his eldest son and daughter, he visited Great Britain and the Continent.

In 1866 he presented an ingenious plan for the liquidation of the public debt by a grand patriotic subscription in commutation of taxes, and based in part on repayment in public lands.

The war being fully over, Mr. Allen's attention was again turned to great national improvements. In 1867 he purchased the Iron Mountain Railway, which had been surrendered to the State, and of which only eighty-six miles had been completed. In spite of great natural and political obstacles he extended the road to Belmont, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles farther, in 1869, and built a branch from Pilot Knob into Arkansas in 1871–72. He and his associates purchased the Cairo and Fulton Railroad of Arkansas, and completed that line in 1872–73 from Cairo to Texarkana, a distance of three hundred and seventy-five miles. The four railway corporations of which he was then president were consolidated in May, 1874, under the title of the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railway Company, the aggregation then comprising six hundred and eighty-six miles of road. Thus Mr. Allen completed a grand railroad system, spreading over the great commercial empire of the Southwest, and securing to St. Louis a trade of one hundred millions per annum. He retained control of the road until the latter part of 1880, when he sold his controlling interest to Jay Gould for two millions of dollars cash.

Having finished the Iron Mountain road, Mr. Allen concluded to rebuild the Southern Hotel, which had been destroyed by fire in 1877. He engaged in this work not as a pecuniary investment, but as an ornament to the city. The result is the present hotel of that name, costing one million dollars,—a grand and enduring monument to his taste and public spirit.

In 1871, Mr. Allen endowed the Allen professorship of mining and metallurgy in Washington University, and in 1872, upon its organization, was elected president of the University Club, and remained such continuously until his death. In the same year he was chosen president of the Railway Association of America, and established a free library in Pittsfield, Mass., his native town, the building erected for its accommodation costing fifty thousand dollars. In 1875 he obtained a charter for a double-track steel railway in St. Louis, and constructed and equipped the Cass Avenue line within ninety days thereafter. His son, W. R. Allen, was made president of the company. During this year he was appointed president of the Missouri Board of Managers for the Centennial Exposition, and, owing to the lack of State funds, erected a building at his own expense in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, which was used as the Missouri headquarters.

Among other offices which he held and titles that were conferred upon him are the following: President of the Alumni Association of his *Alma Mater*, the degree of LL.D., conferred by Union College, fellow of the American Academy of Design, and of the American Geographical Society, etc.

In 1880, in response to the unanimous desire of the Democratic party, and pursuant also to a general demand on the part of the people regardless of party, Mr. Allen consented to become a candidate for Congress from the Second Congressional District. He was chosen by over two thousand majority over an extremely popular opponent. Great hopes were entertained with regard to his congressional career, but when he reached Washington his health had failed, and he was able only to take the oath of office at the beginning of the term, December, 1881, and to occupy his seat for a few weeks. From a sense of duty, although suffering great pain, and contrary to the advice of his physician, he attended daily the sessions of the House until his strength no longer permitted





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him to do so. He gradually yielded to disease, and died at Washington, April 8, 1882, and was buried in his much-loved native town.

For over thirty years Thomas Allen wielded a pervading and commanding influence in the industrial development of the city of St. Louis and State of Missouri as the originator and manager of many important enterprises. Many of these were undertaken at times when it required strong courage and a sublime faith in the possibilities of the great Mississippi valley. No man in St. Louis ever did so much to convert the Western village into a great central city, extending its arms to both oceans, and laying under tribute the far North and the fruitful tropics. Yet, notwithstanding his great enterprises, he remained the unassuming and scholarly citizen. He was not content to reap a merely personal benefit from his success, but derived a keen pleasure from contributing to the well-being and advancement of his fellow-men. He represented in his own tastes and pursuits that spirit of culture and refinement which opposes with increasing vigor the roughness of society in the crude stages of its development and the asperity of political contests. He was a remarkable combination of the accomplished scholar and gentleman and the hard-working business man, and in him were embodied the patience, the subtlety, the intelligence, the hardihood, the courage, and the magnanimity that are needed to fully win and adorn success. He was a splendid specimen of the true-hearted, strong-minded, courageous American. Broad-viewed, highly gifted, patriotic, generous, and honorable, he was a citizen that St. Louis cannot afford to forget.

Mr. Allen raised a large family to usefulness and honor, and left them a very large fortune. He left them, also, a name which is held in the highest estimation, not only in the city and State, but by the people of the South and Southwest generally, and by his native State, where he sleeps in eternal rest among his ancestors.

In December, 1882, a bust of Thomas Allen was unveiled at the Southern Hotel, and during the ceremonies Charles Gibson, for nearly forty years his close acquaintance, said,—

"It has been my fortune to be acquainted more or less with nearly all the leading men of this State, and many of those of the United States, for twenty-five years past, and I tell you, gentlemen, among them all you could count the equals of Thomas Allen on your fingers' ends. I think I know what it takes to become a great lawyer, and I assure you, gentlemen, that in all my observation for forty years past I have met no man who, if he had spent his energies and life at the bar, would have made a greater lawyer than Thomas Allen. In my judgment he would have ranked with such men as O'Conor, Black, and Curtis. . . . He is the type of man this city needs most and can least afford to lose, and he has not left his like behind him."

After a close and very exciting contest, Dr. J. H. McLean was declared elected at the fall election over Hon. James O. Broadhead to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Allen in Congress, and is now (December, 1882) discharging the duties of his office.

Dr. McLean is of Scottish ancestry, and the records show that he is of eminent lineage in that country. As early as the thirteenth century the McLeans were a very important family, and their services were always loyally at hand to defend the country against the invader. Thus, in 1263, we find Gillise McLean, of Duart Castle, leading his followers at the battle of Largs, and aiding Alexander III. of Scotland to win a brilliant victory over Hocco, king of Norway; this was the last invasion of the Northmen. In 1513, Hector the Swarthy, the fifth of the line, was killed at Flodden Field, and fell intrenched behind the dead bodies of his clansmen, who had formed a wall in his defense. Coming down to later times, Sirs Archibald and Hector McLean were both major-generals in the British army. Archibald conducted the brilliant defense of the castle of Matagorda, in the Spanish invasion by Napoleon, and for his services in that affair was knighted by Spain. Both Hector and Archibald greatly distinguished themselves at Waterloo.

To this heroic branch of the family, known as the "McLeans of Duart Castle," Dr. McLean is allied, his father's grandfather having been the son of James, a brother of Sir Allan McLean, the seventeenth lord of Duart Castle.

Allan McLean, the doctor's father, was a man of energy and skill, as is shown by the fact that he had the management of large mines in Ayrshire, Scotland, where James H. McLean was born, Aug. 13, 1829, the youngest of four sons.

Early in 1830 the family removed to Nova Scotia, Allan McLean having been sent thither as geologist and general superintendent of the Albion Mining Company, which controlled valuable mineral lands in that district. Here the boy grew up amid scenes of activity, and proved a quick-witted student of men and things. His educational advantages were limited, but his application was unbounded, and he very early gave evidence of the "snap" and "push" that characterized his maturer years. The child was "father of the man." It is a striking proof of his precocity that at the age of thirteen, and when most boys are

busy with their kites and marbles, he was contending with his father about starting out for himself, and was entertaining very decided ideas about his future profession. His father thought agriculture safer, if not at once so profitable, as the calling selected by his son, but the boy longed for business and medical pursuits, and his persistence prevailed over the caution of his parent, who forbore to thwart his strong predilections.

The particular bias of the young man was determined by his daily association with the physician of the mining company, an intelligent and observing man, who took much interest in him. Young James determined to become, like him, a doctor, and his father, finding his inclinations fixed, dispatched him on his career with a little money and his blessing.

Young McLean set out for Philadelphia, then, as now, offering exceptional facilities for the study of medicine; but his ocean journey to New York inspired him with a strong predilection for the sea, and he took a trip with the captain of the vessel to Bermuda. This episode somewhat unsettled his views, but he fulfilled his original design of going to Philadelphia, having on the way reduced his patrimony to such an extent that he entered the City of Brotherly Love with only fifty cents in his pockets. It will be remembered that the great Franklin made his entrance into the same city in not much better financial condition.

He at once obtained employment in a drug-store, under an arrangement with the proprietor to maintain him until he was twenty-one and pay for his course of medical lectures in the University of Pennsylvania; and in accordance with this agreement McLean attended one course. His employer then declined to carry out the contract, whereupon he left at once, and though not quite twenty-one years old accepted the managership of a large coal company at Minersville, Pa., the duties of which he performed with the greatest success. But he was not realizing his ambitious dreams; his thoughts continually turned to the West, which then offered glittering prizes to the young, the adventurous, and the courageous; and hither he made his way with the modest capital acquired by his industry and thrift, arriving in St. Louis in the fall of 1849.

Dickens relates that Scrooge had good reason to remember the death of Mr. Marley, his partner, for he solemnized the day of the funeral with an undoubted bargain. Dr. McLean, in like manner, solemnized his coming to St. Louis with a memorable bargain. Cholera was prevailing in the city; hundreds were dying daily, and it was a time of depression and gloom; but the young man, undismayed, began at once to look over the city, and with characteristic confidence in his own judgment, purchased a piece of land on the very day of his arrival, and with equally characteristic enterprise found a customer and sold the property before nightfall at a handsome profit. On the following day he obtained a situation, and in three months became a partner in the firm of Bragg & McLean.

At the end of a year this partnership was dissolved, and Dr. McLean, who received a stock of medicines as his share, went down to New Orleans to dispose of it, but such was his activity that he sold out on the route. He went on to New Orleans, however, and there, availing himself of a chance to buy the only lot of turpentine in that market, he cleared a handsome sum by his investment. His business talent made a decided impression, and he was recommended by his banker as a suitable purveyor for the Cuban Lopez expedition, which was then being fitted out. The failure of that ill-starred enterprise left him with three large cargoes of provisions on his hands, and he was threatened with financial ruin. But, as Shakspeare says, "out of the nettle danger is plucked the flower safety," and the business men whom McLean had impressed so favorably came to his help, advanced him money to make a "corner" and control that class of goods in the market, and in the resulting appreciation of prices he unloaded, throwing in the Lopez cargoes, and realizing enough to meet all drafts and leave a handsome profit. This was a narrow escape for a young man not twenty-two years old, but the business experience was invaluable.

In 1851 he returned to St. Louis, and with a very moderate capital began business for himself as a manufacturer of proprietary medicines. His right to make and sell certain preparations in opposition to the old firm was vigorously contested in the papers and the courts by Bragg, his former partner, and years of tedious and costly litigation followed, taxing the young doctor's resources to the utmost, but he pushed steadily ahead, and in a few years was in full possession of the field. His business, which in the first few years was easily dispatched by one or two hands, now began to assume large proportions.

Meanwhile, in order to thoroughly master his profession, Dr. McLean perfected his medical education by taking a full course in the St. Louis Medical College, where he graduated and received his diploma.

From this time he gave himself with renewed zeal to the manufacture and sale of his family medicines, which have become of world-wide fame, and whose remedial value is clearly indicated by the popularity

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Dr. P. H. McLean

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which they everywhere enjoy, and the wealth which they have brought their inventor. His laboratory in St. Louis is an immense building of castellated architecture, like those occupied in feudal times by his fighting ancestors, wherein over one hundred people are employed. Another army of agents and travelers is on the road, looking after the outside interests of this vast business. In every quarter, almost, of the globe Dr. McLean has his agents stationed, and in America alone there are over seventy-five thousand, necessitating a floating capital of nearly two million dollars in merchandise. These large figures may afford a hint of the present magnitude of the business, but they give no adequate idea of the tremendous energy requisite to bring it to such a majestic volume, or the vigilance which is constantly requisite to maintain it at such a point. An idea of the size of the business may be obtained when it is stated that Dr. McLean edits and publishes a monthly paper called *The Spirit of the Age*, devoted to the advocacy of free schools and also to advertising his medicines, which has a circulation of over five hundred thousand copies per month all over the world. He also edits and prints a semi-annual and annual almanac, the combined editions of which last year were over eight million copies. Everything the doctor does is on the same mammoth scale.

Although the management of so large a business might well serve as an excuse for evading the ordinary responsibilities of the citizen, Dr. McLean has taken an active interest in public affairs, though not to the extent desired by his fellow-citizens. To their requests to allow them the use of his name as candidate for mayor, Congress, etc., he has several times felt constrained to return a decided negative. But upon the death of Hon. Thomas Allen a large number of the leading citizens of St. Louis prevailed upon him to run as a candidate against Hon. James O. Broadhead, at the fall election of 1882, to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Allen in Congress, and also for the regular ensuing term. After a warm and very exciting contest Dr. McLean was declared elected for the short term, and upon the assembling of Congress in December took his seat in that body. The contest for the regular term at this writing (December, 1882) has not been decided. Yet he has been an energetic promoter of several important public enterprises. For two years he was president of the Manufacturers' Savings-Bank; for three years he was president of the Masonic Hall Association, and in 1882 was chosen president of the Citizens' Committee, a body of influential citizens organized for the purpose of securing State, legislative, and municipal reform. He was also first vice-president of the Manufacturers' Exchange.

Dr. McLean has been ready at all times to aid with his means and labor the improvement of the city. In 1874–76 he built the "Grand Tower Block," on the corner of Market and Fourth Streets, one of the most beautiful buildings in St. Louis, at a cost of several hundred thousand dollars. In 1876 he rebuilt his medical laboratory at 312 and 314 Chestnut Street, a mammoth five-story building, nearly all of which is occupied by his immense business, which is carried on there under a very systematic arrangement. This building cost about one hundred thousand dollars. Dr. McLean has also built in various parts of the city some of the most substantial and handsome edifices of which St. Louis can boast, and in so doing has proved himself one of the most progressive of citizens.

As an inventor, Dr. McLean has taken high rank and occupies a conspicuous position before the world. The mining and mechanical knowledge which he acquired when a boy among the mines of Nova Scotia has proved of great value to him in this direction. One of his important inventions is a sand elevator, for raising sand from any depth in the river, thus affording an ample supply of this necessary building material at the almost nominal cost of fifty cents a square yard. Prior to this invention the city builders had to pay over three dollars per square yard, and then the sand was obtainable only when the river was low.

Dr. McLean has also projected an "elevated railroad" along the Levee, a work which has received the emphatic indorsement of the leading men of the city, who admit that it must sooner or later be built, and essentially as the doctor has devised it.

But his most interesting inventions are in a direction not to have been looked for, at first thought, from a life-saving physician,—that wonderful series of death-dealing guns known as "peacemakers." In an exhaustive treatise setting forth their qualities, Dr. McLean takes the ground that war will cease only when made so terrible and devastating as to shock the world. In his judgment the wars of the future will be conducted by cannon, battery-guns, and rifle-pits, for no charge of cavalry or onslaught of infantry could face such terrible weapons as he has devised. Inspired by the idea of making war as horrible as possible, Dr. McLean has invented and constructed several guns capable of being fired with a rapidity infinitely beyond that ever hitherto attained. Some of these deadly implements have been officially tested by the government at Washington, and found fully to substantiate Dr. McLean's claims. The merits of these great in-

ventions have been referred to a commission of the War Department, and Dr. McLean confidently expects a decision in his favor, and the adoption of these guns as the standard ordnance of all governments.

Meanwhile Dr. McLean has sent copies of his book to all the crowned heads of Europe, and everywhere his views concerning the possibility of putting a stop to war by such novel means have attracted great attention. From every court the doctor has received courteous acknowledgments of the receipt of his treatise, and often with the addition that "His Highness" or "His Majesty" (as the case might be) was deeply impressed with the importance of the subject, and with the author's treatment of the same. Among these were communications from the War Department of Germany and from Count Von Beust, Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs. From one of the nations—Turkey—Dr. McLean received the following:

"CONSTANTINOPLE, March 8, 1881.

"His Majesty the Sultan congratulates you on the success of your inventions. Send, exclusively for the Sultan, one gun for cavalry, one for infantry, and two pistols, with one thousand cartridges each. . . .

"R. AGLIB,
"*Secretary of the Sultan.*"

On the 28th of March, 1881, Dr. McLean received the following dispatch from Gen. Longstreet, United States minister to Turkey:

"CONSTANTINOPLE, March 28, 1881.

"The Sultan offers you direction of his artillery-works. If accept, wire conditions and instructions.

"JAMES LONGSTREET."

This offer, if accepted, would have made Dr. McLean second in command in the Turkish army; but, while expressing himself as deeply sensible of the honor, he declined it, because, in addition to his inventions already tested, he was finishing a rifle and shot-gun capable of fifty shots a minute, which he was anxious to complete in order that he might take them with him in his contemplated trip abroad to the governments which had invited him to visit them.

In addition to these death-dealing engines, Dr. McLean has invented a system of "infantry and rifle protection forms," and has devised the construction of floating and absolutely impregnable fortresses, of vessels that cannot be sunk by perforation, and of a peculiarly ingenious and effective torpedo. In urging the adoption of these destructive machines Dr. McLean exposes the fallacy of existing systems of warfare with a minuteness that shows him to have thoroughly studied the subject, and with a completeness of demonstration that produces irresistible conviction.

In April, 1862, Dr. McLean was married to Miss Sarah Lindeman Hart, daughter of John W. Hart, an old and prominent citizen of Alton, Ill. The union proved to be in all respects a suitable and happy one. They have two children,—Hart McLean and Sarah Grace McLean.

The doctor is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; was president of the trustees and one of the stewards of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Louis, and for fifteen years has been choir-leader and musical director. He has been not only an open-handed contributor to the various enterprises of his own communion, but has always felt it his duty to respond liberally to other deserving objects. Churches and educational enterprises have ever found in him a steady defender and warm supporter.

Such is a brief sketch of Dr. McLean's most interesting and instructive career. It needs no eulogy, it is its own commentary. Among the remarkable men of whom St. Louis has been prolific beyond almost any other American city, there is no figure more pronounced or more deservedly conspicuous than Dr. James H. McLean. He is still in the prime of manhood, with a vigorous constitution and an active brain, and with a mind full of projects for the good of his fellow-men and the advancement of St. Louis. Genial, kind-hearted, and popular, he has a just idea of the value of wealth, and is seeking to make such use of it as will justify the application to him of Abou Ben Adhem's beautiful encomium,—

"Write me as one who loves his fellow-men."

A great city like St. Louis plays an important part in all political movements, and often gives shape and life to issues which are felt throughout the Union. The centre of trade, intelligence, and enterprise, the State feels her influence and respects her interests; and though there have been occasions when her vote and influence were not in harmony with those of the State, yet those occasions have been rare and infrequent. The impress of the virtue, intelligence, and energy of her citizens can be distinctly traced throughout the whole course of political affairs in Missouri, and the general direction of her influence has been distinctly in favor of intelligent, liberal, and conservative government.

NATIONAL AND STATE OFFICIALS.

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Date.	President.	Vice-President.	Secretary of State.
April 30, 1789, to March 4, 1793....	George Washington, Va.....	John Adams, Mass.....	Thos. Jefferson, Va., 1789.
March 4, 1793, to March 4, 1797....	George Washington, Va.....	John Adams, Mass.....	Thos. Jefferson, reappointed.
			Edm'd Randolph, Va., 1794.
			T. Pickering, Pa., 1795.
March 4, 1797, to March 4, 1801....	John Adams, Mass.....	Thomas Jefferson, Va.....	T. Pickering, reappointed.
			John Marshall, Va., 1800.
March 4, 1801, to March 4, 1805....	Thomas Jefferson, Va.....	Aaron Burr, N. Y.....	James Madison, Va., 1801.
March 4, 1805, to March 4, 1809....	Thomas Jefferson, Va.....	George Clinton, N. Y.....	Jas. Madison, reappointed.
March 4, 1809, to March 4, 1813....	James Madison, Va.....	*George Clinton, N. Y.....	Robert Smith, Md., 1809.
		†Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.....	James Monroe, Va., 1811.
March 4, 1813, to March 4, 1817....	James Madison, Va.....	*Elbridge Gerry, Mass.....	Jas. Monroe, reappointed.
		†John Gaillord, S. C.	
March 4, 1817, to March 4, 1821....	James Monroe, Va.....	Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y..	John Q. Adams, Mass., 1817.
March 5, 1821, to March 4, 1825....	James Monroe, Va.....	Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y..	John Q. Adams, reappointed.
March 4, 1825, to March 4, 1829....	John Q. Adams, Mass.....	John C. Calhoun, S. C.....	Henry Clay, Ky., 1825.
March 4, 1829, to March 4, 1833....	Andrew Jackson, Tenn.....	John C. Calhoun, S. C.....	M. Van Buren, N. Y., 1829.
			E. Livingston, La., 1831.
March 4, 1833, to March 4, 1837....	Andrew Jackson, Tenn.....	Martin Van Buren, N. Y....	Louis McLane, Del., 1833.
			John Forsyth, Ga., 1834.
March 4, 1837, to March 4, 1841....	Martin Van Buren, N. Y....	Richard M. Johnson, Ky....	John Forsyth, reappointed.
March 4, 1841, to April 4, 1841.....	Wm. H. Harrison, Ohio.....	John Tyler, Va.....	Dan'l Webster, Mass., 1841.
April 4, 1841, to March 4, 1845.....	John Tyler, Va.....	†Samuel L. Southard, N. J..	Hugh S. Legare, S. C., 1843.
		†Willie P. Mangum, N. C...	Abel P. Upshur, Va., 1843.
			J. Nelson, Md. (act.), 1844.
			John C. Calhoun, S. C., 1844.
March 4, 1845, to March 4, 1849....	James K. Polk, Tenn.....	Geo. M. Dallas, Pa.....	Jas. Buchanan, Pa., 1845.
March 5, 1849, to July 9, 1850.....	Zachary Taylor, La.....	Millard Fillmore, N. Y.....	John M. Clayton, Del., 1849.
July 9, 1850, to March 4, 1853.....	Millard Fillmore, N. Y.....	†Wm. R. King, Ala.....	Dan'l Webster, Mass., 1850.
			Edw'd Everett, Mass., 1852.
March 4, 1853, to March 4, 1857....	Franklin Pierce, N. H.....	*Wm. R. King, Ala.....	Wm. L. Marcy, N. Y., 1853.
		†D. R. Atchison.	
		†J. D. Bright.	
March 4, 1857, to March 4, 1861....	James Buchanan, Pa.....	John C. Breckenridge, Ky...	Lewis Cass., Mich., 1857.
			Jere. S. Black, Pa., 1860.
March 4, 1861, to March 4, 1865....	Abraham Lincoln, Ill.....	Hannibal Hamlin, Me.....	Wm. H. Seward, N. Y., 1861.
March 4, 1865, to April 15, 1865....	Abraham Lincoln, Ill.....	Andrew Johnson, Tenn.....	W. H. Seward, reappointed.
April 15, 1865, to March 4, 1869....	Andrew Johnson, Tenn.....	†Lafayette S. Foster, Conn..	W. H. Seward, continued.
		†Benjamin F. Wade, Ohio.	
March 4, 1869, to March 4, 1873....	Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.....	Schuyler Colfax, Ind.....	E. B. Washburn, Ill., 1869.
			Hamilton Fish, N. Y., 1869.
March 4, 1873, to March 4, 1877....	Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.....	*Henry M. Wilson, Mass....	Hamilton Fish, reappointed.
		†Thomas W. Ferry, Mich.	
March 5, 1877, to March 4, 1881....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio..	Wm. A. Wheeler, N. Y.....	Wm. M. Evarts, N. Y., 1877.
March 4, 1881, to Sept. 19, 1881.....	James A. Garfield, Ohio.....	Chester A. Arthur, N. Y.....	James G. Blaine, Me., 1881.
Sept. 19, 1881.....	Chester A. Arthur, N. Y.....	†Thos. F. Bayard, Del.....	T. F. Frelinghuysen, N. J.,
		†David Davis, Ill.	1881.
		†George F. Edmunds, Vt.	

* Died.

† President *pro tem.* of the Senate.

ELECTORS FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT FROM 1821 TO 1873.

1821.—William Shannon, John S. Brickey, William Christy.

1825.—David Todd James Logan, David Musick.

1829.—John Bull, Ralph Dougherty, Benjamin O'Fallon.

1833.—Joel H. Haden, John Hume, William Blackey, Henry Shurkds.

1837.—George F. Bollinger, William Monroe, John Sappington, A. Byrd.

1841.—A. Byrd, James Holman, E. Dobyns, W. G. Merriwether.

1845.—James S. Green, William A. Hall, W. P. Hall, William Shields, W. C. Jones, Franklin Cannon, William L. Sublette.

1849.—J. C. Welborn, G. D. Hall, Abraham McKinney, B. T. Massey, E. B. Ewing, James H. Rolfe, Truston Polk.

1853.—E. D. Bevritt, Alexander Kayser, H. F. Gary, William D. McCracken, C. F. Jackson, J. D. Stevenson, C. F. Holly, J. M. Gatewood, Robert E. Acock.

1857.—J. B. Henderson, J. B. Benjamin, W. Y. Slack, J. N. Burns, J. W. Torbert, J. T. Coffee, F. Kenneth, W. D. McCracken, B. Cooke.

1861.—John B. Henderson, Robert S. Bovier, John B. Hale, James F. V. Thomson, George G. Vest, Mordecai Oliver, E. T. Wingo, Francis Hagan, Richard H. Stevens.

1865.—C. D. Drake, S. O. Scofield, Lucien Eaton, Harrison J. Lindenbower, J. C. Parker, Barnabas Smith, W. Smith Ingham, Joseph C. Killian, G. R. Smith, C. Carpenter, Thomas G. C. Fagg.

1869.—Carl Schurz, J. D. Hines, Chauncey I. Filley, George Husmann, E. S. Waterbury, J. P. Tracy, Thomas E. Bassett, Louis Georgens, Lewis H. Wetherby, William S. Wenz, Theodore Bruere.

1873.—William A. Hatch, George W. Anderson, Henry C. Haastick, Arthur B. Barrett, Warren Chase, Loundes H. Davis, John H. Pugh, William H. Phelps, F. M. Cockrell, R. P. C. Wilson, Adam N. Schuster, Lewis C. Pace, John B. Hale, Felix T. Hughes, John A. Hockaday.

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

1820–51. Thomas H. Benton.
1851–57. Henry S. Geyer.
1857–61. Trusten Polk.
1862–63. Robert Wilson.
1863–67. B. Gratz Brown.
1867–71. Charles D. Drake.
1870–71. Daniel F. Jewett.
1871–73. Francis P. Blair, Jr.
1873–77. Lewis V. Bogy.
1877–79. David H. Armstrong.
1879–85. George G. Vest.

1820–31. David Barton.
1831–33. Alexander Buckner.
1833–43. Lewis F. Linn.
1843–55. D. R. Atchison.
1855–61. James S. Green.
1861. W. P. Johnson.
1862–69. J. B. Henderson.
1869–75. Carl Schurz.
1875–87. Francis M. Cockrell.

REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

1822–26. John Scott.
1828–31. Spencer Pettis.
1833–35. John Bull.
1836–42. John Miller.
1840–42. John C. Edwards.
1842–44. Gus. M. Bower.
1844–46. L. H. Sims.
1844–60. John S. Phelps.
1846–48. John G. Miller.
1848–61. Wm. V. N. Bay.
1846–48. John Jamison.
1852–56. Mordecai Oliver.
1850–57. Gilchrist Porter.
1856–57. James S. Green.
1852–54. Thomas H. Benton.
1852–56. James J. Lindley.
1855–56. Thomas P. Akers.
1856–60. T. L. Anderson.
1857–61. John B. Clark.
1860–67. F. P. Blair.
1862. Thomas L. Price.
1860–61. John W. Reed.
1862–64. W. A. Hall.
1862–66. Henry T. Blow.
1862–69. Benj. F. Loan.
1867. J. H. Stover.
1862–64. Samuel Knox.
1864–71. R. T. Van Horn.
1864–66. J. R. Kelsoe.
1864–67. Thomas E. Noell.
1866–68. C. A. Newcomb.
1866–68. W. A. Pile.
1868–70. Joel F. Asper.
1868–70. S. S. Burdett.
1868–70. D. P. Dyer.
1870–75. Abram Comingo.
1870–72. James G. Blair.
1872–74. Edwin O. Stanard.
1872. Robert A. Hatcher.
1872–74. Thomas T. Crittenden.
1872–76. John B. Clark, Jr.
1872–82. Aylett H. Buckner.
1874–78. Charles H. Morgan.
1874. B. J. Franklin.
1874. Rezin A. De Bost.
1876. Nathan Cole.
1878. L. S. Metcalf.
John M. Glover.
1880. M. L. Clardy.
James R. Waddill.
Alfred M. Lady.
1880. G. P. Rothwell.
W. H. Hatch.
1882. James H. McLean.
Robert T. Van Horn.
John B. Clark, Jr.
1880. J. B. Clark, Jr.
1882. Ira S. Hazeltine.
Theron M. Rice.
Joseph H. Burrows.
William H. Hatch.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF UPPER LOUISIANA.

FRENCH RÉGIME.

Laclede, as proprietor, from February, 1764, to April, 1766.
1st. Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, as acting Lieutenant-Governor, from January, 1766, to May 20, 1770.

SPANISH DOMINATION.

2d. Don Piernas, Lieutenant-Governor, from May 20, 1770, to May 20, 1775.
3d. Francisco Cruzat, Lieutenant-Governor, from May 20, 1775, to June 17, 1778.
4th. Fernando de Leyba,[1] Licutenant-Governor, from June 17, 1778, to June 28, 1780.
5th. Francisco Cruzat, Lieutenant-Governor, from Sept. 24, 1780, to Nov. 25, 1787.
6th. Manuel Perez, from Nov. 25, 1787, to July 21, 1792.
7th. Zeñon Trudeau, from July 21, 1792, to Aug. 29, 1799.
8th. Charles Dehault De Lassus, from Aug. 29, 1799, to March 9, 1804.

GOVERNORS OF LOUISIANA TERRITORY.

Capt. Amos Stoddard, commandant at St. Louis, from March 10 to Sept. 30, 1804.
Col. Samuel Hammond, Deputy Governor, from Oct. 1, 1804, to July 4, 1805; acting under the orders of Gen. William H. Harrison, Governor of the Territory of Indiana.
Gen. James Wilkinson, from July 6, 1805, to 1807, with Joseph Browne and Frederick Bates at times acting as Deputy Governors.
1807–9. Capt. Merriwether Lewis.
1809–13. Gen. Benjamin Howard.
1812–21. Capt. William Clark.

DELEGATES TO CONGRESS.

1813–14. Edward Hempstead.
1814–16. Rufus Easton.
1816–20. John Scott.

GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI.

1820–24. Alex. McNair.
1824–25. Frederick Bates.
1825. A. J. Williams (*ex officio*).
1825–32. John Miller.
1832–36. Daniel Dunklin.
1836–40. Lilburn W. Boggs.
1840–44. Thomas Reynolds.
1844. M. M. Marmaduke (Lieutenant-Governor).
1844–48. J. C. Edwards.
1848–52. Austin A. King.
1852–56. Sterling Price.
1856–57. Trusten Polk.
1857–60. Robert M. Stewart.
1860–61. Claiborne F. Jackson.
1861–64. H. R. Gamble.
1864–68. Thomas C. Fletcher.
1868–70. J. W. McClurg.
1870–72. B. Gratz Brown.
1872–74. Silas Woodson.
1874–76. John S. Phelps.
1876–78. Charles H. Hardin.
1878–81. John S. Phelps.
1881. Thomas T. Crittenden.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

1820–24. William H. Ashley.
1824–28. Benj. H. Reeves.
1828–32. Daniel Dunklin.
1832–36. L. W. Boggs.
1836–40. F. Cannon.
1840–43. M. M. Marmaduke.
1844–48. James Young.
1848–52. Thomas L. Price.

[1] De Leyba died June 28, 1780. After his death his next in rank, Don Silvio Francisco Cartabona, in command at Ste. Genevieve, came up to St. Louis and acted *ad interim* until the reappointment of Cruzat.

J. B. Clark, Jr.
Ira S. Hazeltine.
Theron M. Rice.
Joseph H. Burrows.
William H. Hatch.

UPPER LOUISIANA.
ME.
, 1764, to April, 1766.
ting Lieutenant-Governor,
1770.

TION.
or, from May 20, 1770, to

vernor, from May 20, 1775,

t-Governor, from June 17,

-Governor, from Sept. 24,

787, to July 21, 1792.
1792, to Aug. 29, 1799.
m Aug. 29, 1799, to March

ANA TERRITORY.
t at St. Louis, from March

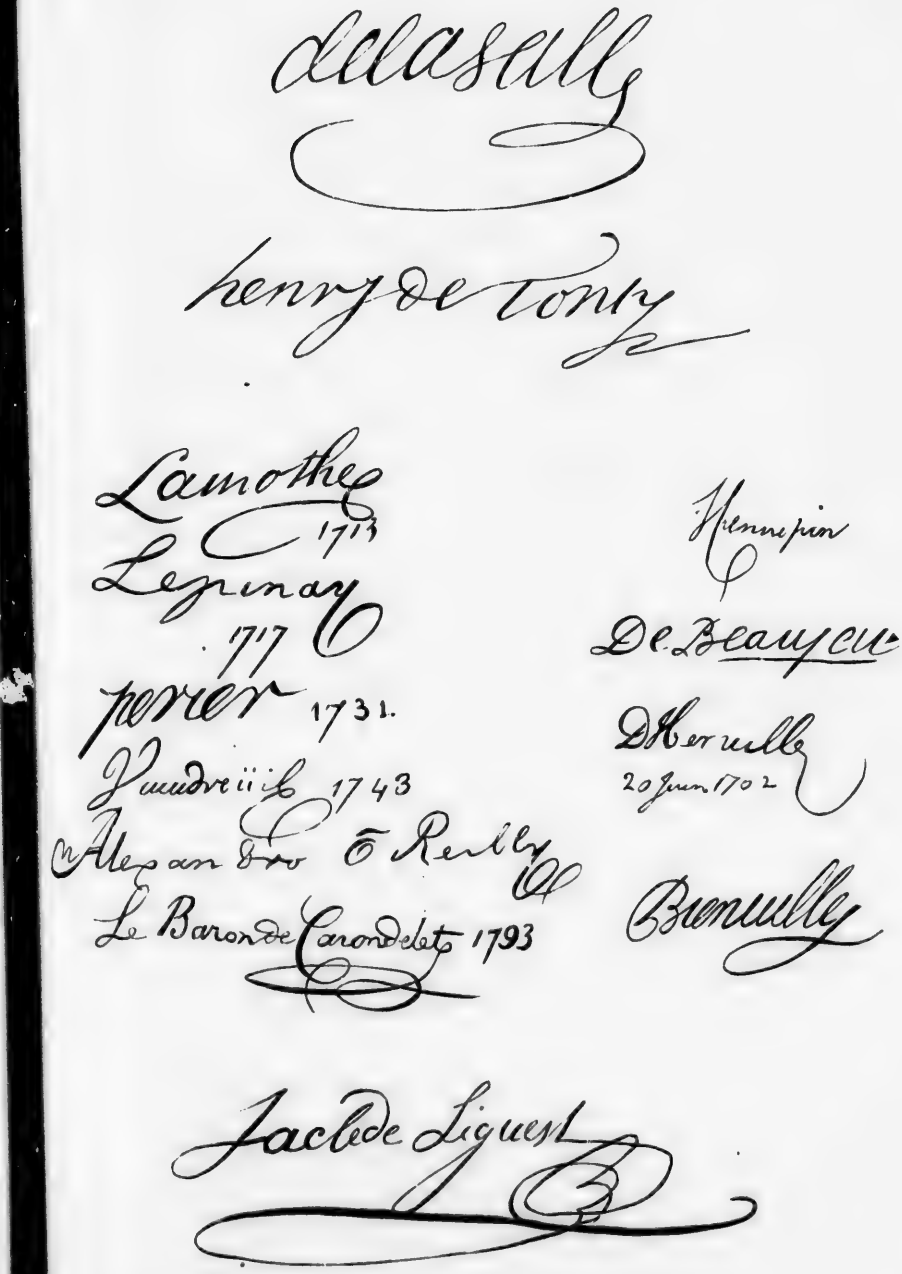
overnor, from Oct. 1, 1804,
the orders of Gen. William
Territory of Indiana.
, 1805, to 1807, with Joseph
at times acting as Deputy

CONGRESS.

ATE OF MISSOURI.
56–57. Trusten Polk.
57–60. Robert M. Stewart.
60–61. Claiborne F. Jackson.
61–64. H. R. Gamble.
64–68. Thomas C. Fletcher.
68–70. J. W. McClurg.
70–72. B. Gratz Brown.
72–74. Silas Woodson.
74–76. John S. Phelps.
76–78. Charles H. Hardin.
78–81. John S. Phelps.
81. Thomas T. Crittenden.

OVERNORS.
836–40. F. Cannon.
840–43. M. M. Marmaduke.
844–48. James Young.
848–52. Thomas L. Price.

After his death his next in
abona, in command at Ste.
nd acted *ad interim* until the



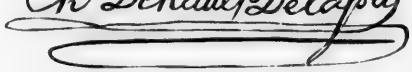
AUTOGRAPHS OF DISTINGUISHED MEN IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF ST. LOUIS.

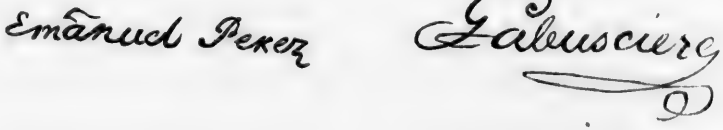












AUTOGRAPHS OF DISTINGUISHED MEN IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF ST. LOUIS.

1852–55. Wilson Brown.
1856–60. Hancock Jackson.
1860–61. T. C. Reynolds.
1861–64. W. P. Hall.
1864–68. George Smith.
1868–70. E. O. Stanard.
1870–72. Joseph J. Gravely.
1872–74. Charles P. Johnson.
1874–76. Norman J. Colman.
1876–78. H. C. Brockmeyer.

SECRETARIES OF STATE FROM ST. LOUIS.

1820. Joshua Barton, resigned September, 1821.
1821. William G. Pettus, resigned Nov. 17, 1824.
1824. Hamilton R. Gamble, resigned July, 1826.
1826. Spencer Pettis, resigned December, 1828.
1870. Eugene F. Weigel, from Nov. 8, 1870, to Nov. 3, 1874.
1874. Michael K. McGrath.

STATE TREASURERS FROM ST. LOUIS.

1820. Peter Didier, from September, 1820, resigned in 1821.
1821. Nathaniel Simonds, to December, 1828.

ATTORNEYS-GENERAL FROM ST. LOUIS.

1820. Edward Bates, from September, 1820, resigned in 1821.
1821. Rufus Easton, appointed December, 1821, died Jan. 21, 1826.
1864. Robert F. Wingate, elected November 8th for four years.

JUDGES OF SUPREME COURT FROM ST. LOUIS.

Robert Wash, from September, 1825, resigned May, 1837.
W. V. N. Bay, appointed Jan. 20, 1862, elected Nov. 3, 1863.

CLERKS OF THE COUNTY COURT UNDER THE FIRST STATE CONSTITUTION.

Silas Bent, appointed in 1820, served until his death, in December, 1827.
Henry Chouteau, appointed Jan. 5, 1828. Same elected in 1835 for six years from Jan. 1, 1836, to 1842.
Julius De Mun, elected Aug. 2, 1841, for six years from Jan. 1, 1842; died Aug. 15, 1843.
Henry J. Wise, appointed temporarily, Aug. 15, 1843, until election, Nov. 3, 1843.
James H. Milbourne, elected Nov. 3, 1843, died in July or August, 1844.
Stephen D. Barlow, appointed Aug. 12, 1844. Same elected November, 1844, to Jan. 1, 1848.
Lewis F. Lacy, elected in 1847 for six years from Jan. 1, 1848, to Jan. 1, 1854.
Josiah Thornburg, elected in 1853 for six years from Jan. 1, 1854, to Jan. 1, 1860.

RECORDERS OF DEEDS.

M. P. Leduc, from change of government in 1804 until 1818.
Archibald Gamble, *ex officio*, as circuit clerk from 1818 to Jan. 1, 1836.
John H. Ruland (circuit clerk), Jan. 1, 1836, to 1842, his last record May 17, 1841.
Henry Chouteau (county clerk), first record May 18, 1841, last record Dec. 31, 1841.
Julius De Mun (county clerk), first record Jan. 1, 1842, last record March 2, 1843.
Henry J. Wise (county clerk), first record March 3, 1843, last record Nov. 2, 1843.
James H. Milbourne (county clerk), first record Nov. 28, 1843, last record Jan. 5, 1844.
Stephen D. Barlow (county clerk), first record Jan. 24, 1844.
Milbourne again from Feb. 8 to March 8, 1844.
Barlow again from March 8 to April 22, 1844.[1]

[1] These lists are imperfect, owing to the failure to obtain reliable information before the publication of the work.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

BEFORE the establishment of municipal government in St. Louis the local affairs of the town and the preservation of law and order were included in the jurisdiction of the Spanish, French, and United States officers. Under the last of these administrations the population grew rapidly, and in accordance with an act passed by the Legislature of the Territory of Louisiana on June 18, 1808, entitled "An Act concerning towns in this Territory," upon the petition of two-thirds of the taxable inhabitants, the Court of Common Pleas for the district of St. Louis on Nov. 9, 1808, incorporated the town.[2]

[2] The judges constituting the court at this time were Silas Bent, president, and Bernard Pratte and Louis Labaume, associates.

Louis Labaume de Tateron came to St. Louis at an early day, and the de Tateron being dropped in consonance with Democratic ideas, his name was changed to that of Louis Tateron Labaume. He was a gentleman of fine education, and under Zeñon Trudeau, the Spanish commander, filled the position of secretary. After the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, as we have seen, he was elected one of the judges of Common Pleas and colonel of militia. His wife was Susan Dubruil, who was connected with the oldest families of St. Louis. The Dubruil family then lived in an old-fashioned stone building with a portico, situated on the west side of Second Street near Pine. Mr. Labaume's sons were Louis A. Labaume, Louis Tateron Labaume, who was elected sheriff in 1849, and Theodore Labaume, who was deputy sheriff a number of years; and his daughters were Eugenia Labaume, who was the first wife of Peter E. Blow, and Susan Labaume, who married Joseph Newman.

Louis A. Labaume, son of Louis Labaume de Tateron, was born on the 13th of March, 1807, and received his early education at the Catholic college established by Bishop Du Bourg. At the age of sixteen he commenced his business career as clerk on a steamboat, and in 1827 visited France in order to look after an estate belonging to his father, who had died five years before. While in France he formed the acquaintance of Mlle. Melaine de Lapierre, whom he married Dec. 20, 1832. Returning to St. Louis in the spring of 1833, he formed a partnership with his brother, Theodore Labaume, and his brother-in-law, Joseph Newman, for conducting a wholesale grocery and railroad business, under the firm-name of Labaume & Co.

The partnership continued until 1841, when Mr. Labaume entered into partnership in the lead-mining business at Richmond, Washington Co., with his brother-in-law, Peter E. Blow, and Thomas M. Taylor, which continued until 1847. In 1841 he was elected a member of the board of delegates, and in 1842 a member of the board of aldermen. He introduced a bill for widening the Levee, which was not adopted until 1849, after the great fire. In 1844 he was elected to the Legislature as an "old-line" Whig, and opposed the election of Mr. Benton to the Senate. He was at one time president of the City Council. During President Fillmore's administration he was appointed United States sub-treasurer, and after filing his bond, resigned without having entered upon the duties of the office. It seems he

This first charter of St. Louis fixed the limits of the town as follows: "Beginning at Antoine Roy's mill, on the bank of the Mississippi; thence running sixty arpens west; thence south on said line of sixty arpens in the rear until the same comes to the Barrier Denoyer; thence due south until it comes to the Sugar-Loaf; thence due east to the Mississippi; from thence by the Mississippi along low-water mark to the place first mentioned."

The taxable boundaries of the town began "at the mouth of Mill Creek (where it enters the Mississippi River); thence with the said creek to the mill-dam; thence with the north arm of Mill Creek to the head of the same; thence by a line running parallel with the Mississippi River until it intersects the north boundary of the corporation."

The charter directed that the metes and bounds of the town be surveyed and marked, and a plat of the same filed for record in the clerk's office. David Delaunay and William C. Carr were at the same time appointed commissioners to superintend the first election of five trustees to whom was to be intrusted the government of the town. The election was to have been held on the 6th of December annually; but, as a critic of the day remarked, "in their eagerness to rank as a town," the inhabitants on Saturday, July 23, 1808, before the town was incorporated, met at the court-house and elected the following trustees for one year: Auguste Chouteau, Edward Hempstead, Bernard Pratte, Peter Chouteau, and Alexander McNair. The trustees elected Joseph V. Garnier as town clerk. On December 7th of the same year notice was given to the inhabitants of St. Louis to "meet at the house of Auguste Chouteau on Sunday, the 11th, at eleven o'clock A.M., on business of importance," probably for consultation over their contemplated form of government. It appears that under and by virtue of their authority the first trustees of the town enacted several ordinances, which were re-enacted from time to time by their successors, and when St. Louis was incorporated as a city in 1822 they were placed on the statute-books. Among the earliest ordinances were those for establishing rates of ferriage and regulating patrols and slaves. The two former ordinances can be found under their respective heads in this work, and the one concerning slaves is as follows:

"*Be it ordained by the Board of Trustees for the town of St. Louis*, That no person or persons shall sell nor give to any slave any spirituous or ardent liquor without a written permission from the master or mistress of such slave, under the penalty of ten dollars for each and every offense.

"SEC. 2. No person nor persons shall sell or furnish to any slave any kind of goods, wares, and merchandise without a written permission from the master or mistress of such slave, under the penalty of paying for each offense the sum of six dollars.

"SEC. 3. Every person who shall find any slave in a state of intoxication in the streets or other public place in the said town of St. Louis is hereby authorized to carry or cause to be carried such slave to the master or mistress of such slave, who shall immediately cause the said slave to receive and be whipped on his or her bare back ten lashes; and in case the said master or mistress shall neglect or refuse to cause such slave to be so whipped, such master or such mistress shall for every such neglect or refusal pay and forfeit the sum of five dollars.

"SEC. 4. Slaves shall not assemble together for amusement and recreation, unless at the house of their master or mistress, except in the daytime, and having previously obtained a written permission from the chairman of the board of trustees for the town of St. Louis for the time being, or in his absence from some two members of the said board; and if any number of slaves exceeding four shall be so found assembled together for amusement and recreation without such written permission, any person or persons are hereby authorized to carry or cause to be carried such slave to the master or mistress thereof, who shall immediately cause the said slave to receive and to be whipped on his or her bare back ten lashes; and in case the master or mistress shall neglect or refuse to cause the said slave to be so whipped, such master or mistress shall for every such neglect or refusal forfeit and pay the sum of five dollars.

"SEC. 5. Every free person of color giving balls, amusements, or public diversion and admitting a slave therein without the written permission of the master or mistress of said slave shall for every such offense forfeit and pay the sum of ten dollars, and the occupier of the house where such balls, amusements, or public diversions are held, and where a slave or slaves are admitted without such written permission, shall for every such ball, amusement, or public diversion as aforesaid forfeit and pay the sum of twenty dollars.

"SEC. 6. No slave shall take or ride the horse, mare, or

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wanted the government to build a safe, as he was unwilling to undergo the risk.

Mr. Labaume was elected president of the St. Louis Gas-Light Company, and also a director of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, in 1851. In 1860 he went to Europe, and Asa Wiggus filled his place temporarily as president of the gas-light company.

In 1861, Mr. Labaume again visited Europe, this time for the benefit of his wife's health, and remained there until his death, although he never gave up his residence in St. Louis. He came back several times, the last time in 1875. At the solicitation of some of his friends in St. Louis, he was named by Governor Phelps one of the commissioners to the Paris Exposition, and was at his winter residence in Paris when admonished by failing health to repair to his country-seat.

Mr. Labaume died in August, 1875, leaving a large estate. His wife survived him, and he left three daughters,—one, Mrs. Hicks, widow of Charles W. Hicks, formerly of the St. Louis Court of Common Pleas, having three daughters; Mary, who married Capt. Edmond de Lapierre of the French army, and another daughter, twin sister of the latter, Bertha, who married Viscomte Amadee de Caix.

Mr. Labaume is remembered by the older citizens of St. Louis as a fine-looking man, with a frank, open countenance, and very polite and courteous in his address. He was for many years one of the most prominent and popular men in the city.

gelding of his master or mistress, or that of any other person without permission first had and obtained from the owner thereof; and any person finding a slave offending herein is hereby authorized to carry or cause to be carried the said slave to his or her master or mistress, and the said master or mistress shall immediately cause the said slave thus found offending to receive and be whipped upon the naked back of such slave twenty stripes; and in case the master or mistress shall neglect or refuse to cause the said slave to be so whipped, such master or mistress shall for every such neglect or refusal forfeit and pay the sum of ten dollars.

"SEC. 7. That if any white person, free negro, or mulatto shall at any time be found in company with slaves at any unlawful meeting, or shall harbor or entertain any slave without the consent of the owner thereof, such person shall for every such offense forfeit and pay the sum of three dollars, and on failure to pay the same on conviction shall receive on his or her naked back twenty lashes well laid on, by order of the chairman of the trustees, or the justice before whom such conviction shall be.

"SEC. 8. Every white person who shall associate with slaves at their balls or other amusements shall for every such offense forfeit and pay the sum of ten dollars, and for offenses committed against this ordinance by white persons under the age of twenty-one years, their parents, guardians, or masters shall be bound to pay the penalties imposed upon such minor, for which execution shall issue against the goods and chattles of such parent, guardian or master.

"SEC. 9. All offenses against this ordinance shall be heard, tried, and determined by the chairman of the board of trustees for the town of St. Louis, or by any justice of the peace of the said town, and all fines and penalties accruing therefrom shall be appropriated, the one-half to the informer, and the other half to the chairman for the use of the town. Provided, however, that notwithstanding such half part being for the benefit of the informer, such informer shall nevertheless be a competent witness under this ordinance.

"SEC. 10. This ordinance shall be in force from and after the twentieth day of September next.

"In testimony whereof we, Auguste Chouteau, Pierre Chouteau, E. Hempstead, B. Pratte, and A. McNair, have hereunto set our hands this twenty-seventh day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight, and of the independence of the United States the thirty-third.

"A. CHOUTEAU,
"P. CHOUTEAU,
"E. HEMPSTEAD,
"B. PRATTE,
"A. MCNAIR."

At an election held Monday, Nov. 27, 1809, under the charter, "at Mr. Chouteau's house, lately occupied by Gen. Clark" (Block 6), Messrs. Auguste Chouteau, Edward Hempstead, Jean P. Cabanné, William C. Carr, and William Christy were elected town trustees. The first business of the trustees was the re-enacting of the ordinances passed by the trustees the year before. At this time complaint, the mother of improvement, was loud-voiced about "the putrid carcasses of cows, hogs, dogs, etc., which obstructed the streets of St. Louis," and asserted that there was nothing done towards paving the footways, filling up long stagnant ponds, etc.

At the Presidential election in 1809, St. Louis cast her first vote for Presidential candidates. The following vote, while it was ineffectual in that election, owing to the fact that Missouri had not then been admitted into the Union, is nevertheless indicative of the political principles and preferences entertained by the citizens of St. Louis at this early period:

For President.		*For Vice-President.*	
James Madison	122	George Clinton	118
Charles C. Pinckney	48	Rufus King	43
George Clinton	6	Scattering	15
Total vote cast	176	Total vote cast	176

At this period the business of the town was not definite or fixed. The value of the merchandise and imports was about $250,000 annually. Even this small sum was mainly due to the fact that St. Louis was the chief fitting out point for the trading establishments on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. The principal currency of the town, as elsewhere noted, was peltries, lead, and whiskey.

Products which were the growth or manufacture of the Territory were exempted from taxation by the ordinance of March 15, 1810, as well as provisions coming to the markets of St. Louis from Illinois. This ordinance provided for the collection of the following taxes:

"On all taverns, public-houses, or retailers of liquor of all and every description, $15.

"On all stores or retailers of merchandise not the growth or manufacture of the Territory of Louisiana, $15.

"On all boats or barges coming from any place or places without the said Territory, of five tons burden, or under, having on board goods or merchandise for sale, $5.

"And for every ton over that number, $1.

"On every pirogue arriving as aforesaid, $2.

"On every ferry per year, $15.

"On every carriage of pleasure of four wheels, $2.

"On every other carriage of pleasure, $1.

"On every carriole or sleigh, $1.

"On every billiard table or wheel of fortune, $100.

"On all real property, the one-fourth of one per centum on the assessment valuation.

"On every dog over and above one for each family, $2.

"And in all cases where a dog shall be owned or kept by a negro or servant, the master or mistress of such negro or servant shall be obliged to pay the tax aforesaid; the proprietors of all dogs for which the aforesaid tax has been paid shall put a collar round the neck of said dog, and all dogs not having said collar shall be liable to be killed.

"SEC. 4. Nothing in this ordinance contained shall be construed to extend to any family-boat or vessel in which nothing shall be found for sale not the growth or manufacture of the Territory of Louisiana, nor to any boat or vessel coming from the Illinois Territory loaded with provisions for the market of St. Louis, nor to any dogs kept on farms within the limits of the said town or corporation."

The financial outcome of this ordinance for 1810 is set forth in the following accounts of

"AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU, *Treasurer of the Town.*

DR.		CR.	
To twenty-three licenses from merchants, taverns, ferries, etc.	$350.00	Paid Mr. Garnier, services as clerk, room, fire, stationery	$115.86
To taxes received from the collector.....	163.68	Paid Mr. Delaunay, twenty-two days as road overseer.....	33.00
To fines for racing horses in the town, etc.....	16.00	Paid Mr. Charless, for printing laws.....	114.00
		Paid Mr. Greg Sarpy, for one-third the materials he is to furnish for the bridge at south end of village.....	33.33⅓
		Paid the collector ten per cent. commission	52.96
		Payment	$399.15⅓
		Balance in treasury..	130.52⅔
	$529.68		$529.68

"Dec. 11, 1810."

As the town began to grow in wealth and population a collector was required, and on Jan. 6, 1810, the following ordinance was passed by Messrs. Chouteau, Christy, and Cabanné for the appointment of one:

"*Be it ordained by the board of trustees for the town of St. Louis,* That there shall annually be appointed a collector for the said town, whose duty it shall be to collect all fines, taxes, and penalties imposed by virtue of any ordinance of the said board of trustees, and to serve and execute all processes for any breach of the ordinances enacted and which may be enacted by the trustees.

"SEC. 2. The said collector shall be appointed by the chairman of the board; he shall give bond with security for the faithful discharge of the duties of his office, to the chairman for the use of the town, in the sum of three hundred dollars, and be entitled to the same fees as constables are by law entitled to.

"SEC. 3. This ordinance shall be in force from the passage thereof."

On January 27th of the same year an ordinance was passed requiring the citizens to form themselves into fire companies, and enacted the laws regulating their government. Among other things they required that each inhabitant who owned a building should have the chimneys of the same swept once a month at least; and if a chimney caught fire, the presumption was that the chimney had not been swept according to law, and the occupier was fined ten dollars, unless he could prove that his chimney had been swept within a month. One of the ordinances provided that each occupier of a house should provide two buckets, to be kept in a convenient place for the contingency of a fire.

The improvement of roads, streets, and bridges was provided for in the following ordinance of the same date:

"*Be it ordained by the board of trustees for the town of St. Louis,* That there shall be annually appointed on or before the fifth day of March, within the said town, one overseer of roads, whose duty it shall be to make and keep in repair the streets, public roads, and bridges within the said town, and to remove all nuisances from the same, and there shall also on the same day be annually appointed two discreet road assessors, who, together with the overseer, shall assess on each householder, and on each able-bodied male person of twenty-one years or upwards within said town, a certain number of days to labor on the said streets, roads, or bridges, under the direction of the said overseer, not exceeding thirty days, nor less than two days in each year, which said assessment shall be made on each person in proportion to his or her property within the said town. And on the said number of days so assessed, each and every person by himself, or by his or her substitute (such substitute being an able-bodied man), shall labor and work on the public streets, roads, or bridges, as aforesaid.

"SEC. 2. Whenever occasion may require the said overseer shall notify all or a part of those liable to work, or cause labor to be done on the public streets, roads, or bridges, as aforesaid, and if any person so notified shall neglect or refuse to labor and work by himself, or sufficient substitute, conformably to the order of such overseer, every person so offending shall for every such offense, without a reasonable excuse therefor, forfeit and pay the sum of two dollars, to be recovered on the plaint of the overseer, who shall be a competent witness before the chairman of the board, or any justice of the peace in said town, which said fines shall go to the overseer, or be by him applied for repairing the said streets, roads, and bridges aforesaid.

"SEC. 3. The said overseer and assessors shall establish the rates or price of materials for building and repairing bridges, and for the use of oxen, horses, and carts per day, as also the price to be allowed for the labor of a man per day, in order that the said overseer may commute personal labor for such materials and the use of such oxen, horses, and carts when necessary.

"SEC. 4. The said overseer shall before he proceeds to erect any bridge lay the plan thereof before the board of trustees for the town of St. Louis, whose approbation thereof shall be his authority to erect the same."

Thus the work of improving the streets was early begun in St. Louis, and although not prosecuted with much zeal or efficiency, the fathers of the village, when their means and appliances are considered, were not more indifferent to its importance than are the city fathers of 1882.[1]

For the year 1811 the following appointments were made by the board of trustees: Pierre Didier, captain fire company; Edward Hempstead, first lieutenant; Gregoire Sarpy, second lieutenant; David De-

[1] A correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun* under date of Dec. 5, 1882, says, "St. Louis, while progressing so wonderfully in every other direction, has never enjoyed the blessings of good and clean streets, such as belong to other cities of equal population, commerce, and wealth, and such as ought to go with its many beautiful public and private buildings. The worn and broken paving, and mud and holes, and pools of slush and antique sidewalks of dirty brick that make up the most of its thoroughfares are as unsightly and uncomfortable as they are disgraceful to the community. The city has only one mile of stone block pavement, ten miles of Nicholson wood pavement, forty-nine miles of improved alleys, and three hundred and three miles of discreditable macadamized streets."

launay, overseer of roads; Charles Sanguinet, John Coons, assessors of roads.

The receipts and expenditures of the town of St. Louis for the year 1811 are set forth in the following statement:

Balance remaining in the treasury under the administration Col. Auguste Chouteau late chairman of board	$130.52½
Fines	4.00
Paid by Alexander Bellisime, town collector	16.87½
" " " " "	6.00
Paid by William Morris, town collector	450.90
Balance due to Ch. Gratiot, treasurer	84.57½
Total	$632.87½

Expenditures.

Paid D. Delaunay, overseer of streets	$4.87½
" J. V. Garnier, Esq., clerk	50.00
" for blank books, papers, etc	13.00
" to constable for the burial of a dead body found floating on the Mississippi near the Market Square	5.00
Paid to G. Sarpy, on account of part of the materials for building a bridge below the town	40.00
Paid to Dumoulin & Clement, by two orders from Helphinstine & Smith, for work at the market-house	200.00
Paid to Helphinstine & Smith, for work at the market-house	220.00
Paid to D. Delaunay, for his services as overseer of streets, etc	220.00
Paid to J. Charless, for printing ordinances, etc., by order of the board	50.00
Total	$632.87½

The boundaries of the town of St. Louis on Feb. 25, 1811, were made by ordinance to commence at the river Mississippi, at low-water mark, at or near the windmill of Antoine Roy, then due west to the east line of the forty arpens lots of the hill back of St. Louis, then along the line of said lots to Mill Creek, then down said creek to its mouth, thence up the river Mississippi, along the low-water mark, to the [illegible] of beginning."

In April of the same year the following ordinance was passed "to punish breaches of the Sabbath-day or Sunday":

"Sec. 1. It is ordained by the board of trustees in and for the corporation of the town of St. Louis that any person or persons who shall keep open any store for the purpose of vending goods or merchandise on the Sabbath-day or Sunday, between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and sundown, shall for every such offense forfeit and pay the sum of ten dollars, as also a sum equal to the amount of the goods sold.

"Sec. 2. All fines and penalties accruing under this ordinance shall be appropriated, one-half to the informer and the other half to the treasurer of the corporation for the use of the town; provided, however, that notwithstanding such half part for the benefit of the informer, such informer shall nevertheless be a competent witness under this ordinance."

About this time also was passed an ordinance regulating the prices which boats had to pay which came to the wharf; and every boat of five tons burden within the territory of Louisiana had to pay a duty of two dollars. There was also passed that year "an ordinance for levying and collecting a tax within the limits of the town of St. Louis."

The new market-house on Centre Square,[1] for the materials of which Charles Gratiot, chairman of the town trustees, advertised on Jan. 29, 1811, was finished Sept. 5, 1812, and contained fifteen stalls. The ordinance regulating the same, passed Aug. 6, 1812, fixed the rent of stalls from ten dollars to thirty dollars per annum, and provided for a clerk of the market, to be paid one hundred and four dollars per annum.

On April 17, 1813, the citizens of St. Louis again expressed at the polls their political preferences as follows:

For President.		*For Vice-President.*	
James Madison	128	Elbridge Gerry	131
George Clinton	89	Ingersoll	86
Total vote	217	Total vote	217

The General Assembly of the Territory of Missouri passed an act on Jan. 15, 1813, respecting the incorporation of the towns of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, which required the publication in the *Missouri Gazette* of all moneys received and distributed for the use and benefit of either of the towns since they had been incorporated. The statement was required to be published in the French and English languages, and a like statement was required every six months thereafter. In accordance with this law, Elijah Babe, chairman of the town trustees, published the following account of the receipts and disbursements of the town of St. Louis for 1814 and 1815:

January 26, from Lyon's billiard license	$50.00	January 26, two quires of paper	$0.75
April —, from Maj. Christy for C. B. Penrose, late treasurer	47.33		
June 9, from Landreville, billiard license	25.00		
July 29, from Everhardt, license and fine	55.00		
August 30, license for wax figures	25.00	Balance in hands of the treasurer	201.58
Receipts	$202.33		$202.33

The population as returned by Sheriff J. W. Thompson for 1815 was for the town two thousand six hundred, and for the town and county seven thousand three hundred and ninety-five, being an increase of about twelve hundred in two years.

Again, on March 29, 1817, a vote of the people of St. Louis sustained the Republican (afterwards called Democratic) candidates for President and Vice-President, as follows:

[1] The name which had been given to the public square, which had been called during the French and Spanish dominations La Place d'Armes. This square was between Market and Walnut Streets, and Main and the river.

For President.		*For Vice-President.*	
James Monroe	183	David D. Tompkins	183
Rufus King	31		
	214		

By an act extending certain powers to the trustees of the corporation of the town of St. Louis, approved Jan. 21, 1815, they were authorized to have a survey and plat of said town made, to ascertain and fix the exact dimensions of each lot and street. The lot on which Auguste Chouteau, Sr., lived was required to be surveyed first, and then taken for the base of beginning for making out and fixing the limits and dimensions of the other lots. The plat was required by the law to be preserved in the recorder's office of the Territory. The board of trustees were authorized and empowered, "whenever they think proper," to remove all obstructions in the streets or encroachments thereon, and otherwise to lay out the streets of the town. The trustees were invested with full power to license and regulate ferries and to levy and collect taxes.

In accordance with this law, a survey of the town was made in 1818 by "Joseph C. Browne, United States deputy surveyor," one plat of which was filed with Gen. Pratte, treasurer, and the other placed at the post-office. Every person owning a lot in St. Louis was required "to leave a statement of his claim with William G. Pettus, at Browne's office, near the new Baptist Church, so as to be accurately laid down on the plat about to be surveyed." About this time an agitation for a city charter was in progress, as appears from a statement in the *Republican* of Dec. 11, 1818, by a correspondent to the effect that "a gentleman called upon me a few days ago for my signature to a petition to the Legislature, praying for an act of incorporation, erecting St. Louis to the grade of a city. I told the gentleman who bore the petition that our town could not at this time bear the expense incident to such a police establishment, as a mayor, alderman, town register, captains, lieutenants, and a regiment of watchmen, with a number of other officers, whose salaries would eat up the proceeds of all our labor."

On Monday, Jan. 4, 1819, an election for five trustees for St. Louis took place agreeably to an act passed at the last session of the Legislature. On former elections very little interest had been taken by the inhabitants in the choice of trustees, and on some occasions the trustees were elected by fifteen or twenty votes. At that election, however, one hundred and sixty-eight votes were taken, with the result as follows (the first five forming the board for that year):

Julius De Mun	94	Fremon Delaurier	59
Thomas McKnight	83	Alexander McNair	59
William C. Carr	83	J. P. Cabanné	54
H. Von Phul	80	M. P. Leduc	42
Paschal Cerré	79	Antoine Dangin	34
Joseph Charless	78	Thomas H. Benton	34

The trustees elected for 1822–23 were Wm. Clark, A. Gamble, Henry Von Phul, Peter Ferguson, and George Morton.

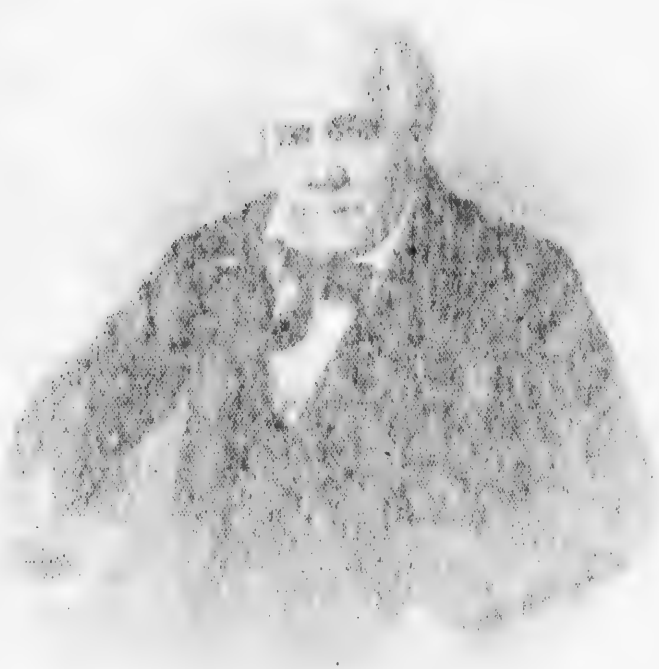
No one among these trustees took a more active or prominent part in contributing to the welfare and prosperity of the city at this time than Peter Ferguson, who was long afterwards closely identified with all the leading affairs of the city. He was born Jan. 26, 1788, in Scotland, and Edinburgh is supposed to have been his native place. He early drifted to America, and settled at Norfolk, Va., where in 1809 he married a lady of Princess Ann County, whose English ancestors, the Cornicks, had obtained a patent to a large tract of land near Linhaven Bay. Mr. Ferguson was a captain in the war of 1812, and commanded a company at Norfolk. In the spring of 1817 he removed to St. Louis, and in that year was appointed a justice of the peace by Hon. Frederick Bates, who was then acting Governor of the Territory. Governor Bates afterwards offered to appoint him sheriff and collector of the county of St. Louis, but he declined the honor. He served as justice of the peace and in other similar capacities for many years, and was judge of the court which held Spencer Pettis and Maj. Biddle in bonds to keep the peace when the duel, which terminated fatally to both, was pending (in 1831), after the cowhiding of Pettis by Biddle.

Mr. Ferguson early became prominent in municipal affairs, and was chairman of the board of trustees of the town of St. Louis in 1818–19. In the latter year the first street-paving was done,—on Market Street, from Main Street to the Levee. Previous to 1833 he was a member of the board of aldermen for several years, and as such was chairman of several very important committees, made several very valuable reports relative to the public affairs of the growing city, and drew up some important memorials to Congress and the State Legislature. He labored long for the passage of a law authorizing the sale of the "commons" and to make them available for habitation. Mayor John F. Darby also took great interest in the matter, and after years of effort the result was reached, and the stimulus that was at once given to the progress of the city through the sale of these lands fully justified the wisdom of the proposed action.

In 1825, Mr. Ferguson had assisted Judge M. P.

Fremon Delaurier..... 59
Alexander McNair..... 59
J. P. Cabanné..... 54
M. P. Leduc..... 43
Antoine Dangin..... 54
Thomas H. Benton..... 54

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In 1826, Mr. Ferguson had assisted Judge B.



Peter Ferguson

Leduc to organize a probate court, but the expense of maintaining the tribunal was more than the infant county could bear and consequently the experiment was abandoned, and its jurisdiction was transferred to the county court. In 1841 a separate probate court was again established, and Mr. Ferguson was elected the first judge thereof. He organized it upon the plan of 1825, and conducted its business upon a system that has been followed without material change by his successors. While Judge Ferguson was not a popular man in the usual acceptation of the term, so well satisfied were the people as to his sound judgment, his uprightness, his determination to take care of the interests of the widow and the orphan, and to administer the duties of his high office in strict accordance with the law, that no candidate could be found of sufficient strength or popularity to contest his election. Although his party (the Whigs) was decidedly in the minority, and consequently a nomination on the adverse ticket would probably have been equivalent to an election, Judge Ferguson was chosen for several successive terms without opposition on an independent ticket, and served as judge of probate continuously from 1841 to 1858. During all that period he failed to hold court during only one term (December, 1848), and a few days of the March term in 1849, sickness being the cause in both cases. His official integrity was never called in question, his judgment was rarely at fault, and he left the office enjoying the full confidence of the people, and was succeeded (it may be interesting to state) by his son, the Hon. W. F. Ferguson, who filled the position for over six years. Peter Ferguson died June 15, 1863, the only surviving member of his family being his son and successor. He left a handsome estate, the fruits of thrift and careful investment.

Soon after his death the bar of St. Louis passed appropriate resolutions in honor of his memory, and the character and standing of the gentlemen composing the meeting rendered the tribute unusually valuable and impressive. This testimonial eulogized the high character of the deceased, his incorruptible integrity as a judge, his fidelity and honesty as a man and a public officer, and his sound judgment, practical common sense, and high business capacity, all of which he devoted to the prompt discharge of the duties of his responsible office, and for which he was entitled to lasting honor and regard. Special mention was also made of his services as an early settler of St. Louis, and of the fact that as such he was identified with the city from its infancy, and aided in many ways unknown to the public, by his wisdom and advice, in organizing and building up many important municipal and State institutions, and in securing the passage of many laws that have conduced greatly to the prosperity and progress of the community. Peter Ferguson's long, useful, and well-spent life fully deserved this eloquent but well-considered and modestly-expressed eulogy.

From Dec. 5, 1817, to Jan. 11, 1819, the receipts and expenditures of the town of St. Louis were as follows:

Receipts.		*Expenditures.*	
Cash from fines, stalls, billiards, etc..	$522.11½	Watchmen	$768.50
Subscriptions	85.00	Bell-ringer	41.00
On account tax-list	700.00	Rent to Valois	66.00
		Register	338.25
		Warner, constable and collectors' services	56.25
		Sullivan, jail fees	9.00
		Charless, advertising	2.00
		Gamble, copy of bond	2.00
		Stove-pipe and chairs	45.00
		Firewood	13.62½
		Trumpets, for watchmen	3.50
		Stationery	15.75
		Removing nuisances	51.30
		Furniture	20.25
		Thomas F. Riddick, part of cash advanced by him for corporation	71.00
	$1307.11½		$1503.42½

THOS. F. RIDDICK,
Late Chairman.
MACKAY WHERRY,
Register.

The Territory of Missouri having been admitted into the Union as a State, the Legislature, on the 9th of December, 1822, passed an act to incorporate the town of St. Louis. By the first section of the act of incorporation the city was bounded as follows:

"Beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River due east of the southern end of a bridge across Mill Creek, at the lower end of the town of St. Louis; thence due west to a point at which the western line of Seventh Street, extended southwardly, will intersect the same; thence northwardly along the western side of Seventh Street, and continuing in that course to a point due west of the northern side of Roy's tower; thence due east to the middle of the main channel of the river Mississippi; thence with the middle of the main channel of the said river to the beginning, shall be and is hereby erected into a city, by the name of the city of St. Louis; and the inhabitants thereof shall be and are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate, by the name and style of 'THE MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS.'"

The corporate powers and duties of the city were

vested in the mayor and board of aldermen. The board of aldermen were to consist of nine members, for the election of whom the city was to be divided into convenient wards, and were to be chosen by the qualified electors for the term of one year. They were required to be at least twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, and inhabitants of the city for one year preceding their election, and to possess a freehold estate within the limits of the city. The stated meetings of the board of aldermen were held on the first Mondays of March, June, September, and December in each year, except on extraordinary occasions, when they could be convened by the mayor. The aldermen were *ex officio* conservators of the peace throughout the city, with all the powers and jurisdiction then vested in justices of the peace in matters of criminal nature.

The mayor was to be elected by the qualified electors of the city, and to hold his office for the term of one year. He was required to be at least thirty years of age, a citizen of the United States, and a resident of the city at least two years preceding his election, and otherwise qualified as in the case of aldermen.

The mayor and aldermen were vested with almost the same power and authority as the mayor and city councilmen of St. Louis are at the present time. A register was to be appointed, who was to hold his office for one year. His duties were to keep a register of all the official acts of the mayor, and to perform the duties of clerk to the board of aldermen when in session, and register all the proceedings of the board, and be the custodian of all the records, public papers, and documents belonging to the city.

The elections for officers of the corporation were to be held on the first day of April in each and every year, in the several wards of the city, and "all free white male persons of the age of twenty-one years, and who have paid a city tax," were entitled to vote at all elections for city officers by ballot.

A city constable was also authorized to be appointed, whose duties were to serve all processes issued by the mayor or aldermen. The first election was to be conducted by the trustees of the town of St. Louis.

This act of incorporation was not to take effect until it was accepted by the inhabitants of the town at an election held on the first Monday of March, 1823, at the office of the register, at which all free white male persons, otherwise qualified, who had paid a corporation tax to the town of St. Louis, and who resided within the new corporate limits, were entitled to vote. If a majority of the votes cast were in favor of the city charter, then the town trustees were to determine on what day the first election for city officers should be held, which was not to be more than two months nor less than three weeks after the acceptance of the charter. If the charter was not accepted, the town trustees were authorized from time to time, whenever they should be petitioned to that effect by at least one hundred householders residing within the limits of the town, to cause an election to be held as aforesaid until the charter was accepted.

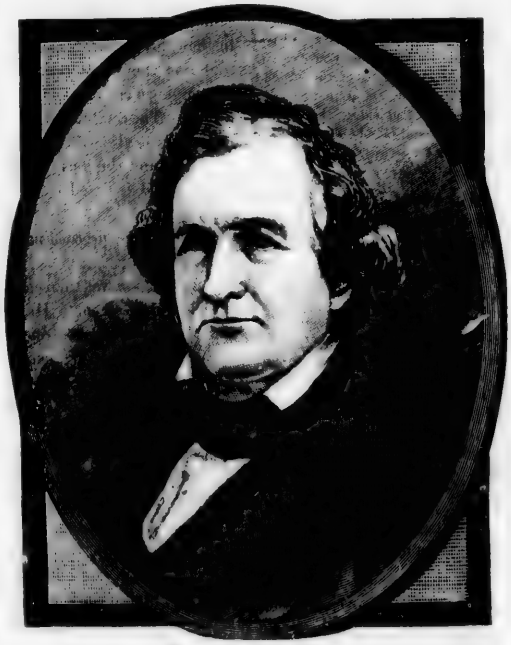
On the first Monday of March, 1823, an election of the qualified voters of the town was held for the purpose of taking the votes of the inhabitants "for or against the city charter." At the close of the polls the vote stood 107 in favor of the proposed charter and 90 against it. A great many persons were excluded from voting in consequence of the qualification required in the act,—by not having paid taxes to the town corporation.

The charter having been adopted, the town was divided into three wards. On the 7th of April, 1823, an election took place to select the mayor and nine aldermen, in whom the charter specified should be vested the corporate powers of the city, with the following result: For mayor, William Carr Lane, 122; Auguste Chouteau, 70; Marie P. Leduc, 28.

Dr. William Carr Lane, first mayor of St. Louis, was born in Fayette County, Pa., Dec. 1, 1789, and was the son of Presley Carr Lane, being the third son in a family of eleven children. His educational opportunities were those afforded by a common country school until he was thirteen years old, when he was sent for two years to Jefferson College. He then spent a year in the office of his brother, who was prothonotary of Fayette County, thus gaining some familiarity with legal matters and forms, which stood him in good service in after-years. After attaining his majority he spent two years at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., where he graduated with honor. He commenced his medical studies in the fall of 1811, in Louisville, with Dr. Collins, who removed to New Orleans on account of his health in the summer of 1813. At this time Lane volunteered to fight the Indians in the Northwest (Indiana). The result of the various excursions against the Indians was not very successful, and when in quarters at Fort Harrison, about sixty miles north of Vincennes, many of the troops were sick with bilious and malarial fevers, and all available medical skill was called into requisition. Mr. Lane thus had an opportunity of utilizing the results of his two years' study, and was soon appointed surgeon's mate at Fort Harrison. In the autumn he resigned and returned to Vincennes, where he prosecuted his medical studies. In the winter of 1815–16 he attended lectures at the University of

Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and in April, 1816, received an appointment as post surgeon, which he held for three years, serving at different points upon the upper Mississippi and at Fort Harrison. He resigned this position in May, 1819, and located in St. Louis, where he resided until his death, Jan. 6, 1863. Here he formed a partnership with Dr. Samuel Merry, an eminent and distinguished practitioner, with whom he was associated for some five years. Dr. Lane soon established himself in the favor of the people of St. Louis, and his popularity is attested by the fact that within four years after his arrival in the town he was chosen its mayor. He discharged the duties of his position so acceptably that he was re-elected in 1824, '25, '26, '27, and '28, and again in 1838, '39, and '40. In 1841 he was appointed to the chair of obstetrics and diseases of women and children in the medical department of Kemper College, which he resigned after holding it for about three years. Soon after the organization of the State government he was elected a member of the Legislature, and in 1852 was appointed Governor of New Mexico by President Fillmore, serving as such until the close of the Fillmore administration. Dr. Lane was not only an able and energetic public official, but a physician of fine attainments and a gentleman of great personal popularity. He was of lofty stature, splendid physique, and fine, commanding presence, and altogether one of the most notable and interesting figures in the early history of St. Louis.

In 1818, Dr. Lane married Miss Mary Ewing, daughter of Nathaniel Ewing, and the fruit of this union was three children, one of whom, Mrs. William Glasgow, is now residing in St. Louis.



Wm Carr Lane

The death of Dr. Lane in 1863 elicited general expressions of regret on the part of the community at large, to whom he had become endeared as one of the leading and most public-spirited citizens of St. Louis for many years back.

The vote for aldermen elected in 1823 was Thomas McKnight, 181; James Kennerly, 166; Philip Rocheblave, 133; Archibald Gamble, 124; Wm. H. Savage, 120; Robert Wash, 120; James Loper, 113; Henry Von Phul, 104; and James Laknan, 96. These were the first corporate officers of St. Louis. As the proceedings of their first meeting will naturally be of interest, an abstract of the minutes is given below. The record stands thus:

"City of St. Louis,
"Monday, 14th April, 1823.

"*Register's Office:*

"The board of aldermen for the city of St. Louis this day convened, in pursuance of a proclamation issued by William Carr Lane, mayor of said city; were present, Robert Wash, James Loper, James Laknan, Archibald Gamble, Wm. H. Savage, and Thos. McKnight, Esqs., who produced their certificates of election, with the oath of office thereon indorsed.

"Mr. Wash was chosen president *pro tempore*, and Joseph A. Wherry clerk *pro tempore*.

"Messrs. Gamble and Savage were appointed a committee to wait on the mayor and notify him that the board of aldermen had assembled and were ready to transact business."

The committee having reported, the mayor appeared and read the first mayor's message delivered west of the Mississippi. The message, which appears inscribed in full in the minutes, may be considered, in view of the embryonic condition of municipal affairs existing at the time, as being in every respect a remarkable document. It grapples fearlessly with the problems which naturally suggested themselves as demanding legislative solution, and to all appearances

the brief discussion which each topic receives is in every case marked by plain reasoning and good sense. It is perhaps safe to say that a large part of the work cut out in this message for the first board of aldermen has mainly occupied the attention of every city legislature since organized. Some of the passages indicate a rare foresight, and when read in the present day seem hardly less than prophecy. Here is what Mayor William Carr Lane said of the future great city in 1823, with the board of aldermen for an audience:

"The fortunes of the inhabitants may fluctuate, you and I may sink into oblivion, and even our families become extinct, but the progressive rise of our city is morally certain. The causes of its prosperity are inscribed upon the very face of the earth, and are as permanent as the foundations of the soil and the sources of the Mississippi. These matters are not brought to your recollection for mere purposes of eulogy, but that a suitable system of improvements may always be kept in view, that the rearing of the infant city may correspond with expectations of such a mighty maturity."

Even at that early day it seems the question of street reconstruction and street openings was beginning to be of considerable moment, though the subject of street-cleaning and repairs did not figure materially. On this point the message says,—

"The old streets must remain somewhat irregular. To straighten them, to make them parallel and cross at right angles, and to reduce the squares to the same superficial contents would be to purchase the ground and lay it off anew, an enterprise that we are by no means prepared for. The question then is, What are we to do? I answer, We can appeal to the intelligence of the ancient inhabitants, nay, to the venerable father of the city himself, and ascertain where the streets originally were. I speak of this because I know of no authentic record of their metes, widths, and bearings, and because encroachments upon them have been so great as not only to render them generally crooked, but in some of the cross streets to nearly obstruct them entirely."

It was but natural that the then mayor should appreciate the necessity for river improvement and should recognize the Mississippi as the highway by which his city was to travel to prosperity. He approaches the subject of harbor improvement thus:

"The erection of one or more wharves and the appointment of an officer for the port seems to me very necessary. We may disregard the hazard that boats are subjected to from the present form of the landing, the inconvenience that every one is subjected to who does business there, and the deformity of the object itself, but the pestilential influence of decomposing animal and vegetable matter and such an expanse of mud must assuredly be felt by everybody. The ferries will pass in review, and if they should be considered proper objects of taxation, of which I have doubts, the present tax ought to be raised. If they are not, you may inquire whether the present rates of fare may not be reduced and still afford adequate compensation for the capital and time employed."

Mayor Lane called the attention of the aldermen to the public health as follows:

"Health is a primary object, and there is much more danger of disease originating at home than of its seeds coming in from abroad. I recommend the appointment of a board of health, to be selected from the body of citizens, with ample powers to search out and remove nuisances, and to do whatever else may conduce to general health. This place has of late acquired a character for unhealthfulness which it did not formerly bear and does not deserve. I am credibly informed that it is not many years since a fever of high grade was rarely, if ever, seen. To what is the distressing change attributable? May we not say principally to the insufficiency of our police regulations? What is the present condition of yards, drains, etc.? May we not dread the festering heat of next summer?"

The message goes on to touch upon several other topics, and from one passage it would seem that even in that day it was becoming fashionable for the surrounding country to send all the sick, worn-out, and broken-down cripples and invalids to the city to be taken care of. The establishment of a hospital is suggested. Attention is also called to the need for a better supply of water, and the desirability of contriving some plan for that end is noted. The message is signed "Wm Carr Lane."

The further proceedings of the first session were as follows:

"An election was then entered upon, and Mr. Savage was elected president. He, however, declined to serve, and Mr. Gamble was elected in his place.

"Messrs. Wash, Laknan, and Loper were appointed a committee to draft rules.

"Messrs. Savage and McKnight were appointed a committee to consider the mayor's message and report thereon, and to inquire of the mayor whether he had any objection to its publication.

"Messrs. Wash and Savage were appointed a committee to examine and report on existing ordinances of the town of St. Louis.

"On motion, the board adjourned to the Bank of Missouri, nine o'clock A.M. to-morrow."

At the adjourned meeting on Tuesday, the 15th, the register's office, the mayor sent in nominations for the city officers. Mackay Wherry, who had been register under the town trustees, was nominated and confirmed city register. He was also appointed clerk of the market. Jean P. Cabanné was appointed treasurer, Réné Paul, surveyor (*vice* Joseph C. Brown), and Peter Ferguson and Marie P. Leduc assessors. Sullivan Blood was appointed constable, and confirmed "without a dissenting voice." Asher F. Cook was appointed lumber-master, and committees were appointed to revise the old ordinances and to draft rules and regulations to govern the proceedings of the board of aldermen. Henry Von Phul, afterwards the distinguished merchant, was appointed auditor, but only acted in that capacity for a short time. After a re-

eventful career Mr. Von Phul died in St. Louis on the 8th of September, 1874. In the Missouri volume of the "United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent Self-made Men" he is thus mentioned:

"The State of Missouri owes as much to Henry Von Phul as to any other for her prosperity as the commercial centre of the empire of the West. Simple and unostentatious in his manners, retiring in his disposition, he never sought office or notoriety. Indeed, either was to him in his lifetime exceedingly distasteful; but, in the line of his duty, he inaugurated and carried out a line of commercial policy that today is stamped indelibly on St. Louis' prosperity. The city owes him a debt, and her present leading citizens willingly pay this tribute to the man who helped to lay the foundation of her greatness.

"Henry Von Phul was the son of William Von Phul, a native of West Hafen, in Central Pfalz, Germany, who came to America in 1765, being then twenty-five years of age. He (the father) was married in 1775 at Lancaster, Pa., where he had settled, to Catherine Graff, from which marriage eight children were born, five of whom were sons, Henry being the third.

"Henry was born Aug. 14, 1784, in Philadelphia, where in 1792 his parents and all his brothers died from the yellow fever that was so fatally epidemic there during that year. In 1800, at which time he was the only support of his two sisters, he removed to Lexington, Ky., where he resided ten years in the employ of Thomas Hart, Jr., brother-in-law of Henry Clay, and after whose father the late Thomas H. Benton was named. In the interest of Mr. Hart, young Von Phul made numerous trips to the South, having in charge keel-boats loaded with flour, lead, bagging, and rope. He navigated the rivers in a keel-boat, and during the trip visited Natchez, and went up Red River, trading with both the Indians and planters. Aaron Burr while in Louisiana made Mr. Von Phul, then a young man, a flattering offer in connection with his secession movement, but he promptly declined it.

"In 1811, Mr. Von Phul determined to remove to St. Louis. At the time of his arrival St. Louis contained a population of about fourteen hundred, and the northern boundary of the town was formed by a loose bluff, rising from seventy-five to one hundred feet in height, in the neighborhood of what is now Washington Avenue. This was a sort of public observatory and resort, and the people of the town would assemble on and about this prominence of evenings to discuss the doings of the past day. The old trading-post was on the site now occupied by the Merchants' Exchange. The houses were built of logs, and the inhabitants, nearly all of whom were French, devoted themselves to the trade of lead and peltries. The country west of St. Louis, and across the river on the Illinois side, was in a wild and unsettled state. Shortly after Mr. Von Phul's arrival in St. Louis, when he was about twenty-eight years of age, word came that the settlers on the Missouri had been attacked by Indians, and were in extreme danger of being massacred. It required but a short time to raise a large body of volunteers, the command of which was given to Nathaniel Boone, a son of the old Kentucky pioneer, Daniel Boone. Henry Von Phul was a person of indomitable pluck, afraid of nothing when he knew he was in the right, and he was accepted by that great warrior as his aide-de-camp, and served on his staff with rank of major. During the war of 1812, when the Indians were unusually troublesome, he made several trips from St. Louis to Louisville on horseback, though, strange to say, during none of these journeys was he ever molested, nor did he ever meet with Indians manifesting hostile intent.

"Mr. Von Phul, in 1817, witnessed the arrival at the St. Louis wharf of the steamer 'General Pike,' which was the first steamer to land there. Subsequently he became largely interested in steamboats, and was at one time part owner of some of the finest boats on the Mississippi, and, together with Edward Walsh and Capt. John Daggett, was the first to run boats to New Orleans and up the Illinois River.

"On the 10th of June, 1816, Henry Von Phul married Miss Rosalie Saugrain, daughter of Dr. Antoine Saugrain, who was a graduate of one of the largest scientific institutes of France, and an advanced thinker of more than ordinary weight and capacity. Dr. Saugrain was a nephew of the celebrated Dr. Guillotine, the inventor of the beheading machine which took his name, and played such a prominent part in the French Revolution of 1793, and which is still known throughout the world as the 'guillotine.' From this marriage fifteen children were born, ten of whom, six sons and four daughters, survived him."

On the 10th of June, 1866, Mr. and Mrs. Von Phul celebrated their golden wedding, which was attended by nearly all the old citizens of St. Louis, together with the other friends of the venerable couple. The celebration commenced at seven o'clock in the morning at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, where the sacrifice of the mass was offered on their behalf, and the nuptial benediction was renewed. The father, mother, six sons, four daughters,

and many grandchildren received holy communion, after which a few remarks of an eloquent and touching character were made by the celebrant, Rev. F. P. Garesché, S.J.

"Henry Von Phul was the senior partner in St. Louis of the firm of Von Phul & McGill, subsequently Von Phul, Walters & Co., the oldest mercantile firm of the city. Commencing in the year 1811, when St. Louis was a village, conducting his business on principles of strict integrity, by degrees Mr. Von Phul built not only a trade, but a creditable commercial standing, which lasted with his life and descended to his sons in their commercial intercourse. Henry Von Phul had done much to build up the mercantile interest of St. Louis, and on the credit of his name alone had brought more commerce to the city and more credit to her firms than any one man of his generation. As an instance of his stern business integrity it may be stated that in 1872, while in his eighty-eighth year, after a successful business career in St. Louis of almost half a century, Mr. Von Phul was overtaken by misfortune. It was then that the grand qualities of the man, his unfailing integrity and his deep sense of justice, made themselves manifest. He determined on turning over all the property that remained to him for the benefit of his creditors, and this he did, even to his wife's dower. So rigid was his sense of right that he was unwilling to retain anything so long as his creditors were unpaid. This view was shared by his wife, and everything was given up to their creditors.

"In his favorite city he was frequently chosen to places of trust in the municipal government, and no word of just reproach was ever heard against him. He acted as one of the board of city commissioners for a number of years, and was also a member of the school board. He was president of the Union Insurance Company, a director of the Iron Mountain Railroad, a prominent member of the Chamber of Commerce, and a director in the Bank of the State of Missouri. In mercantile circles he was regarded as the patriarch of St. Louis trade, being the oldest merchant of the city.

"On the 10th of June, 1874, Mr. Von Phul celebrated the fifty-eighth anniversary of his wedding, which was about the last time he was able to go about home. He was then attacked violently with an inherited asthmatic complaint, from which he suffered acutely until his death, which occurred on the 8th of September, 1874. He died in the Catholic faith, and Bishop Ryan administered the holy sacrament. Archbishop Kenrick also called to lend comfort to the dying man.

"During the latter part of his illness his mental faculties were singularly unclouded, and he recalled with wonderful distinctness facts which had come under his knowledge half a century before, and had since been forgotten. He was perfectly reconciled to the inevitable, saying that whatever was God's will was his. He had tried to lead a sinless life, and was prepared for death. Nine of his ten living children, with his faithful and loving helpmeet, were at hand, and when death came it found a soul ready for a better and brighter world.

"An orator of the day thus spoke of him after his death:

"'With all his business cares to occupy his mind, the overflowings of a generous nature were being felt by all around him. Ever a true friend to those who merited his friendship, the circle that will feel the void which death has made has age and youth, the past and present. During his illness many of those among the poor who had been the recipients of his benefactions called to tender their sympathy to the afflicted family. From the house of Mr. Von Phul the poor never were sent away empty-handed, but were provided according to their needs.'

"A more fit eulogy could not be pronounced upon the deceased than is found in the words of the president of the new Chamber of Commerce Association, who said, at the laying of the corner-stone of the new building, June 6th, when referring to those whose energy and enterprise had raised St. Louis to her proud position of commercial prosperity, 'But there is one of these who has come down from a former generation, a last link connecting the present with the distant past, who still remains with us, to whom it will not be unbecoming in me to make special allusion. He first settled in St. Louis in 1811, when its population was only fourteen hundred, and since then has been continuously engaged in mercantile pursuits. Through all these long years he has lived a blameless life, and has borne a spotless character, his enterprise and his integrity never faltering in the most trying, nor flagging in the most prosperous times. What citizen does not honor the name of Henry Von Phul?'"

At a meeting of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, held on the 11th of September, 1874, the following resolutions were adopted:

"The Union Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, believing that it is not only eminently just, but also a solemn duty that appropriate tributes of respect should be at all times paid to those who perform their allotted duties in life, and realizing that an imperious obligation rests on those who survive to bear full testimony to the virtues of the departed, whose examples are worthy of all imitation and praise, so that the bright mem-

of his illness his mental
clouded, and he recalled
facts which had come
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eries of these virtues may speak with an ever-living force and influence to the community which deplores and mourns for the lives of those who are dead;

"Therefore, in view of the great loss under which our city is now suffering by the death of Henry Von Phul, whose sixty-three years of business life were spent in this city of his adoption, and whose entire social, domestic, and commercial career was marked by the highest order of integrity, untiring industry, and a general kindness and purity of character which seemed to shed a benign and happy influence on all around him; it is

"*Resolved*, That in the death of Henry Von Phul, the oldest merchant of our city, whose integrity, enterprise, purity, and single-heartedness constitute a memorial consecrated by the hearts and judgments of those who knew him best, we, while bowing reverentially to the rule of Providence in this deprivation, yet may be permitted to mourn the loss of one so near and dear to us.

"*Resolved*, That we tender our heartfelt sympathies and condolence to the bereaved family of our departed friend, with an assurance that the example he furnished in his domestic, social, and commercial life has been highly appreciated by his fellowmen, and will be treasured in their memories forever.

"*Resolved*, That, as a token of respect to the memory of the dead, the hall of this Exchange be draped in mourning for the next thirty days.

(Signed) "GERARD B. ALLEN.
"R. J. LACKLAND.
"N. RANNEY.
"JOHN W. LUKE.
"ROBERT CAMPBELL.
"JAMES E. YEATMAN.
"S. M. EDGELL.
"GEORGE G. WAGGAMANN."

His portrait was presented to the Merchants' Exchange in St. Louis after his interment, and the following is a contemporary account of the proceedings on this occasion:

"Yesterday noon Mr. Web. M. Samuel, president of the Merchants' Exchange, called the members to order, and announced that a number of the old friends of the late Henry Von Phul desired to present to the association a full-length portrait of him, painted by Mr. Conant. Mr. Samuel introduced Hon. Lewis V. Bogy to the meeting, who made the following address in behalf of the gentlemen presenting the portrait:

"*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Union Merchants' Exchange of the City of St. Louis:*

"No duty has ever before been imposed on me in which more heartfelt satisfaction was experienced than the one I am now called upon to fulfill. If it is a duty to speak with charity of the dead, and as far as is consistent with truth to throw a veil over acts which at the time of their occurrence were liable to be construed differently, it is yet a higher and nobler duty to give to the dead the just commendation which their acts and deeds during their lives justly entitle them to; for this at last is the only reward which this world can give. Viewing the long life of great usefulness of our departed friend, Henry Von Phul, from this stand-point, it would not be difficult if the occasion made it proper to say much in merely enumerating the incidents of his long, laborious, and eventful life, as a citizen of great public usefulness, and always ready and willing to discharge any duty devolving upon him in that capacity, as a merchant of remarkably long duration, and during all the time enjoying the highest standing among his associates, as a husband of most exemplary conduct, and as a father whose love and devotion to his children was without bounds. In speaking of so good a man as Mr. Von Phul was known to be by all his contemporaries, I am afraid to be drawn into language which might appear like undeserved praise. Yet, speaking to the merchants of this city, with whom he has been intimately associated for upwards of threescore years, no language could sound like fulsome praise; and yet he was so well known and so highly appreciated by the body of merchants of this his adopted city that but little new can be said to them. Although this was his adopted city, yet but very few of its native citizens can boast of a longer residence here than he, for he came here as early as the year 1811, when this present great State was then under the first rule of Territorial government, and when this present large and flourishing great city was the home of a small number of French inhabitants, who had been American citizens only about eight years. It was in the midst of these primitive people that he cast his lot for life, and from that early period, through all the vicissitudes and changes, both political and social, which have transpired he retained the high regard and esteem of the three generations with whom he associated socially and as a business man; never during this long period of time giving occasion for any one to entertain a doubt as to his truth, honesty, sincerity, fidelity, charity, and, indeed, I may say, generosity. Yet he was firm and decided in all business matters as well as in all the relations of life, and amiable without the slightest sycophancy, firm without being dictatorial, pursuing the even tenor of his way, and fulfilling all the obligations devolving upon him with a scrupulous devotion, an unswerving fidelity, and the most delicate integrity. A sense of duty to the memory of this singularly good man compels me to relate an incident of his life which of itself will be a key to the whole of it. When a few years ago he found himself most unexpectedly overwhelmed by pecuniary embarrassments, and he saw the honest accumulations of a long and laborious life, amounting to perhaps one million of dollars, swept away from him, he honored me with his confidence,—for I feel it to be an honor to be thought fit to give counsel to one of his experience and intelligence. After telling me the probable amount of his liabilities, he said he had property enough to pay everything and everybody and desired his large estate so to be placed legally as to effect this object, desiring to pay all and everything although it might leave him at his advanced age, being then upwards of fourscore and ten, without a cent. I requested time for reflection as to the mode of effecting his object. Knowing that the bankrupt law might interfere with his well-meant intentions, I called the next day and a plan was adopted. I then stated to him that, knowing his high standing and the peculiar hardship attending his embarrassments, application should be made to his creditors to abandon the interest on the deferred payments which he proposed to make. With dignity, but showing a good deal of feeling, and with the blood coloring his generally mild face, he sternly and positively said that under no circumstances would he ask his creditors to give up one cent of principal or interest if there was property enough to pay; he was determined to do it regardless of the fact that he might be left without one cent; and then and there he particularly directed me to make no such application to the creditors, and, to my surprise, at the meeting of the creditors he presented himself, so that this proposition should not be made as it was my intention to have done. The question of interest would have made a difference of upwards of fifty thousand dollars in his favor. This determination to pay principal and interest was not from mere empty pride or love

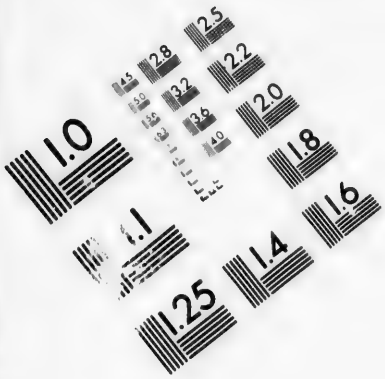
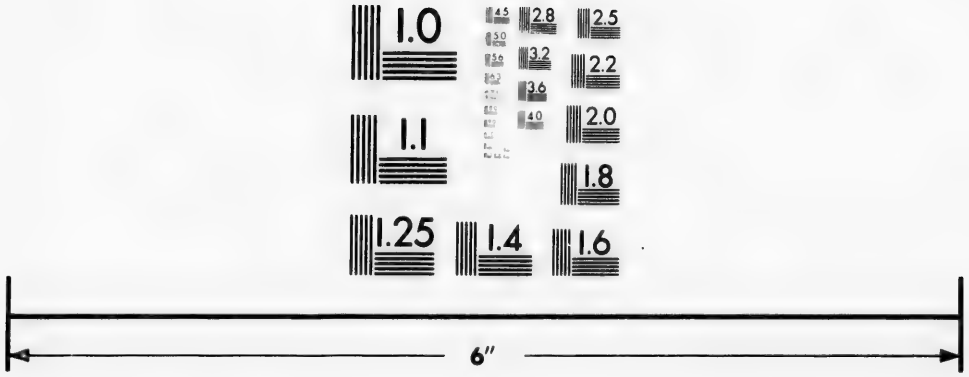
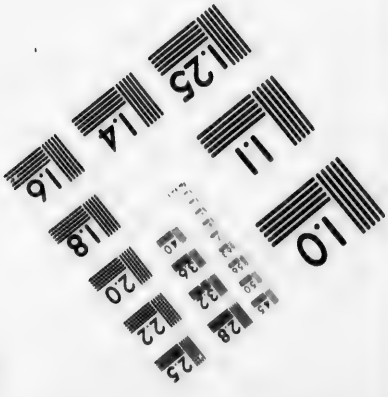




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of appearance, or to gain the esteem of the world, for it was up to this time a secret between us, but was from a high sense of moral obligation. This one act, gentlemen of the Exchange, is enough to give you a correct insight into the character of your departed brother. Of him you have a just right to be proud, for he was an ornament to your honorable body, and his memory should be cherished by you and your successors as a jewel of great value. This beautiful and correct portrait of our departed friend, the work of our esteemed fellow-citizen, Mr. Conant, I am directed, Mr. President, to present to the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, as a gift of a few of the old friends and associates of your departed brother and fellow-member, Henry Von Phul, who, after a long life of great usefulness in this city as a merchant, departed this life on the eighth day of September of this year, at the advanced age of ninety years, surrounded in his last moments by the worthy woman who had been his companion for upward of half a century, by his sons and daughters, and grandsons and granddaughters and great-grandchildren. It is the wish of the friends who make this present to your association that this good likeness of their late associate should remain suspended in this hall as an object of love and veneration, not only by his contemporaries, but by those who will in after-times visit this place of trade and commerce.

"In conclusion, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Exchange, permit me to say that the last years of the life of this good man were yet more worthy of admiration than those of the period of his more active and busy life. Calmly and with a most perfect composure he looked back on his long life and saw nothing to regret, and with a humility sublime in its simplicity he thanked God for the favors he had received during his long stay in this world, and with a high religious hope he pressed to his bosom the cross which had been sent to him late in life, and thus he prepared himself to leave the world and its troubles, its cares and its anxieties, and begin the journey of eternity. Fully prepared and fully conscious of his duties and his responsibilities to his Maker, he died full of religious hope and with all the sweet consolation of the Catholic religion.

"Mr. Web. M. Samuel, president of the Exchange, responded as follows:

"*Col. Bogy and Gentlemen:*

"It affords me great pleasure in behalf of the members of the Union Merchants' Exchange, to accept from you this portrait of the late Henry Von Phul, an old and honored merchant of our city, and to return to you their sincere thanks for the gift of this beautiful work of art. I can assure you that it will be prized by our members, not only as an ornament to this chamber and to the more magnificent one which we expect soon to enter, but as a faithful image of one whose character is worthy of their emulation and ambition. The universal expression of sympathy and sorrow at the death of Mr. Von Phul, which is still fresh in our memory, the more than customary honor paid by this Exchange and by our citizens generally at his funeral services, attest more eloquently than any words which it is in my power to command how highly they appreciate the life of a man who, although not distinguished for any brilliant deeds, yet achieved that which is worthy of the highest renown, a character founded upon public and private virtue. The feeling of admiration for such a life and character springs from the highest and purest impulse of the heart. We trust that this speaking likeness of this good man will keep bright in the memory of all those who frequent this busy mart of trade the principles of integrity and rectitude in all the walks of life which have commanded the admiration and love of those who knew him through a long and eventful life."

That portrait still hangs in the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, and the honest face of their dead brother is to-day an incentive to the crowd of merchants there assembled to deeds of daring for their city, and to vigorous, honest endeavors to maintain its reputation for commercial integrity.

The first ordinance was one "prescribing the emblems and devices of the common seal of the city of St. Louis." It provided "that the device for the common seal of the city of St. Louis shall be a steamboat carrying the United States flag, and the seal of the said city shall be so engraved as to represent by its impression the device aforesaid surrounded by a scroll inscribed with the words, 'the common seal of the city of St. Louis,' in Roman capitals, which seal shall be circular and not more than one and a half inches in diameter."

The first license was levied on dogs. Among the earlier ordinances were two for the prevention of unlawful gaming, and to prohibit the running of horses in the streets of the city. An ordinance was also passed providing "that a person of known ability, discretion, and knowledge be appointed by the board of aldermen as a street commissioner within the city of St. Louis, who shall be *ex officio* superintendent of the streets, and whose tenure of office shall be one year."

John Bobb was appointed to fill the office, but as he refused to accept, Joshua C. Laveille was substituted. David E. Cuyler was appointed notary public for the county of St. Louis. There being a vacancy in the board of aldermen, Joshua Barton was elected, but as he was killed shortly afterward (July 2, 1823) in a duel with Thomas C. Rector, Joseph V. Garnier was chosen to fill the vacancy. At a meeting of the board of aldermen held July 10th appropriate resolutions concerning the death of Mr. Barton were adopted, and they resolved to wear crape on their left arm for one month, in "testimony of their exalted respect for his memory."

An ordinance for the grading of "Main and Locust Streets" compelled the inhabitants to pave sidewalks in front of their lots. The trustees before the act of incorporation by the Legislature had made several futile attempts to improve and pave the streets, but the neglect of the inhabitants had rendered them abortive. The "unfathomable mud of St. Louis" was, according to a letter of that date, fit "only for a frog or a tortoise."

The location of streets, lanes, and alleys was provided for by an ordinance approving the report of the jury selected to inquire into "the true situation of the streets and lanes and alleys of the city," and adopting "the same as the principle upon which the said streets, lanes, and alleys shall be permanently

fixed." It was also ordered by the board that the city surveyor "shall within six months from this time place or cause to be placed in the centre of the intersection of every two streets of the said city a cedar post four inches square and eighteen inches long, the top of which post shall be even with the surface of the street, and it shall be the duty of the city surveyor to return to the board of aldermen a plat of the city."

The report under this resolution was as follows:

"The committee to whom was referred the resolution by which the jury on the subject of the streets and alleys in the city of St. Louis has been selected beg leave to report that they have had the subject under consideration, and recommend to the jury the adoption of the following general principles as the basis of their report to the mayor and aldermen:

"1st. That they are of opinion that all the streets running north and south were originally laid out and ought to be thirty-six French feet wide; that the cross streets, or those running east and west, were laid out and ought now to be thirty feet wide, like measure.

"2d. That although they are of opinion the above are the just dimensions of the said streets, yet, as many valuable buildings and other permanent improvements of ancient date have been made so as to encroach on those dimensions, they cannot now be removed, but ought to be left in the occupancy and possession of their respective owners until they be destroyed by time and accident or removed by the proprietors, in which case they recommend to the city authorities to restrain owners of lots from again encroaching on the limits of the streets as above set forth. Also, that no lot-owner in the said city be hereafter permitted to build or fence so as to leave less width to the streets than that above mentioned.

"3d. In all cases where there are no valuable and lasting improvements made prior to the 20th of December, 1803, to prevent the opening of said streets to the size aforesaid, that the same ought to be done; that the general dimensions of the squares or blocks of lots in said city are two hundred and forty by three hundred feet, French measure; that the market square as well as that whole range of lots is larger, being three hundred feet square; that the square on which Peter Chouteau resides, as also that where Dr. Saugrain resided, are likewise larger than the common size; that it is believed that the generality of lot-owners had concession for their lots of the aforesaid dimensions, and that the possession taken since the 20th of December, 1803, of such as have no concession, order, or warrant of survey ought to correspond to the aforesaid limits.

"4th. That the market square and that whereon Col. Chouteau resides be assumed as the basis of a survey of plats of said city; that in taking said squares for the basis of survey the course of the front wall of Col. Chouteau, if necessary, ought to be so altered as to give a straight direction to the western edge of the front on Main Street as far as practicable.

"5th. The committee are therefore of opinion that it is impracticable at the present time to make the city conform to the plat made of the same, and submitted to the jury by the city surveyor, and that the said surveyor ought not to be considered as the legal surveyor thereof.

"6th. That, not being immediately chosen by the inhabitants of the city, the committee are of opinion that the jury ought merely to ascertain facts for the information of the mayor and aldermen, leaving them to cause the survey of the city to be made, and the limits of the streets and alleys to be fixed and designated.

"Adopted, St. Louis, July 5, 1823.

"A. McNair.	Antoine Chenie.
"Aug. Chouteau.	Ant. Soulard.
"Jeremiah H. Connor.	Geo. Morton.
"Wilson P. Hunt.	M. P. Leduc."
"Bernard Pratte.	

The administration of Dr. William Carr Lane from the beginning of his term of office was an able one. On the 9th of June, 1823, the board of aldermen passed an ordinance allowing him for his services for the year commencing the 14th of April the sum of three hundred dollars, payable semi-annually, including office rent. Though this salary was small, he applied himself earnestly to the duties of his office, and manifested a zeal and judgment which were inseparable from his character, and which secured to the city the benefit of proper municipal regulations.

At the election for city officers held on the 5th of April, 1824, the following officers were elected: Mayor, William Carr Lane; Aldermen, from the South Ward, Matthew Kerr, Joseph C. Laveille, J. L. Sutton; from the Middle Ward, Bernard Pratte, Joseph V. Garnier, Hugh Richards; from the North Ward, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., John Shackford, David V. Walker.[1]

It will be observed that none of the former aldermen were re-elected except Messrs. Garnier and Pratte. Most of them refused to be candidates, the office imposing considerable trouble and responsibility without any emolument. No one offered for the mayoralty against Mayor Lane. Ordinances prohibiting the burning of bricks or tiles within the limits of the city, increasing the mayor's salary to six hundred dollars, compensating the treasurer for his services with a commission of one per cent. upon all moneys paid into the treasury, confirming the survey of the city by R. Paul,[2] made in accordance with the ordinance of

[1] Upon the death of Mr. Walker, William K. Rule was elected.

[2] René Paul was born at San Domingo, of French parents, and was educated in France. In early youth he was a lieutenant in the French navy, and at the memorable conflict of Trafalgar evinced great courage and daring. He soon after emigrated to the United States, and in 1809 settled in St. Louis, where his conduct soon won for him the esteem of the community, and in a short time he married the daughter of Col. Auguste Chouteau. Mr. Paul filled some of the most important offices of the town and city of St. Louis, and acted for years as its civil engineer. He was also for many years employed in the capacity of civil engineer, to make some of the most important surveys of the government in the Indian Territory, under circumstances of great difficulty and danger. He died May 20, 1851.

Mr. Paul's brother, Gabriel Paul, was born in the city of Cape François, San Domingo, in 1781. His father, Eustache

July 10, 1823, and for its preservation, and laying out a street on the bank of the Mississippi were passed. John K. Walker was elected sheriff of St. Louis in 1826, and being re-elected at the end of his term filled that office for four years.

William Carr Lane was re-elected in 1825, with Philip Rocheblave, Hubert Guion, Elisha S. Beebe, Louis T. Honore, Jacob Hawkens, Pierre Chouteau, Joseph Charless, Sr., Hugh Richards, Alfred Skinner, Charles Bosseron (in place of Alfred Skinner, resigned), aldermen.

At the municipal election held in April, 1826, the following city officers were elected: Mayor, William Carr Lane; assessor, Peter Ferguson; aldermen, North Ward, William K. Rule, Thornton Grimsley, and Asa Wilgus; Middle Ward, Henry Von Phul, Archibald Gamble, Joseph V. Garnier; South Ward, Joseph C. Laveille, Thomas F. Riddick, David B. Hill.

Paul, a native of France, had settled in the island some few years previously, and was in prosperous business. In the year 1792, Mr. Paul, Sr., sent his wife and family to Paris for the education of their children. At the insurrection of the blacks and conflagration of the city and plantations in June, 1793, E. Paul, Sr., left the island in a small vessel, with as many as could crowd on it, for Philadelphia. He died on the passage, with others, from exposure and privations, and was buried at sea.

Mrs. Paul and the children continued to reside in Paris for nearly three years, and emigrated to the United States in 1802. The oldest daughter was married in Paris in 1801, to Fleury Genereilly, of Lyons, who brought the family over, and in subsequent years removed to New Orleans, where, after a residence of many years, he died, leaving several children residing in that city. Two of the Pauls, Gabriel and René, came to St. Louis, and both were prominent in their day. They married cousins, the daughters of Auguste and Pierre Chouteau. Capt. Gabriel Paul arrived in St. Louis from Baltimore in 1817, and was united in marriage to Miss Marie Louise Chouteau by the Right Rev. Bishop Dubourg on the 30th of March, 1818. The youngest sister of the Pauls was married in 1808 in the city of Baltimore, and died there in 1834. Her only daughter was the late Mrs. Henry Chouteau, of St. Louis.

Capt. Gabriel Paul left one son, Adolphe Paul, who died in March, 1882, and two daughters, Mrs. George R. Taylor and Mrs. Richard W. Ulrici.

Mrs. Gabriel Paul at her death in 1832 left a very large estate, being one-seventh of the immense landed property of Col. Auguste Chouteau. After the death of his wife Capt. Gabriel Paul, by his judicious management of her estate, added to the great increase in the value of real estate in the interval and his own acquisitions, had so increased his estate that at the period of his death, 1847, each of his three children came into possession of large wealth.

Capt. G. Paul built the original hotel on the spot now occupied by Barnum's Hotel, which for long years was known as the Paul House.

Adolphe Paul left a widow and two children,—a grown son by the first wife, Miss Mary Reed, and a young daughter by his second wife, Miss Menkens, a niece of the late Wilson Primm.

The naming of streets was the subject of an ordinance passed in this year. Since 1809 all the streets running east and west, with the exception of Market Street, had been known by the letters of the alphabet. Market Street was the dividing line between north and south, and the next streets on either side were known as North A and South A, and so on. The French names of streets were retained until 1809.[1]

William Carr Lane was re-elected mayor in 1827, with Christopher M. Price, Edward Charless, Frederick L. Billon, John D. Daggett, Wm. K. Rule, John Mullanphy, John L. Sutton, David B. Hill, and Joseph C. Laveille, aldermen.

For the erection of a market and town hall, ordinances were passed in 1827 creating a loan of thirteen thousand dollars for the building, to be situated on the old *Place d'Armes*, between Market and Walnut Streets. Ordinances were also passed for the paving and grading of Chestnut and Olive Streets from Front Street to the river, and for the widening of "that part of Market Street between Main and Fourth Streets sixteen feet, by adding to it four feet on the north and twelve feet on the south, thereby making the whole width forty-eight feet one inch, English measure," as well as for grading and paving part of Pine Street. The city officers in 1828 were William Carr Lane, mayor; John Smith, John L. Sutton, Jabez Warner, Michael Riley, Samuel Hawkens, Frederick L. Billon, George Kennerly, Joseph C. Laveille, and Edward Charless, aldermen. During this year the grading and paving of Fourth Street were provided for "in the manner following, to wit:" Beginning at the southwest corner of Block No. 34; thence southwardly, of the width of forty feet, and in continuation of the eastern edge of Fourth Street, as laid out in Lucas' and Chouteau's additions, to Plum Street; thence in a direction parallel, or nearly so, to Third Street, in such a manner as that the blocks or squares between Third and Fourth Streets be nowhere less than three hundred feet, French measure, in depth, to Lombard Street; and the city surveyor is thereby directed to survey the said streets accordingly, and to affix the necessary landmarks."

The street commissioner was directed to "proceed without delay to graduate and pave that part of Second between Vine and Olive Streets, according to the requisition and provisions of an ordinance for graduating and paving of Olive Street, approved June 23, 1827."

The offices of city surveyor (created in June, 1823) and street commissioner were united by ordi-

[1] Edwards' "Great West."

nance in 1829, and the work of laying out and widening Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Streets continued. Mayor William Carr Lane retired from the mayoralty, and was succeeded by Daniel D. Page, with John L. Sutton, Hubert Guion, Herman L. Hoffman, Edward Charless, Joseph C. Laveille, Thomas Cohen, Michael Riley, John Mullanphy, George H. Kennerly, and Jabez Warner, aldermen. The paving and grading of streets was continued. Seventh Street was extended to the northern boundary, and Fourth Street was graded from Market to Lombard Street, and Second Street between Olive and Vine; a part of Locust Street was also graded and paved. Dr. Robert Simpson was re-elected sheriff over Frederick Hyatt.

On the 9th of June, 1829, Archibald Gamble, county commissioner, and Jabez Warner, Thomas Cohen, and John L. Sutton, street commissioners, gave notice that sealed proposals would be received "for turning an arch bridge across Mill Creek at the foot of Second Street, this city," and in March, 1830, an ordinance was passed for the erection of a bridge across Mill Creek at the intersection of Fourth and Fifth Streets.

The amendments to the city charter passed Jan. 15, 1831, provided for the appointment of an assessor, exempted the people of St. Louis from working on any road outside of the city, gave power to regulate, pave, and improve streets, to take a census, to impose taxes and licenses, and to annex outlying tracts of land to the city under certain forms.

At the election in 1830, Daniel D. Page was re-elected mayor, and Edward Dobyns, Herman L. Hoffman, John D. Daggett, William K. Rule, Edward Charless, Thomas Cohen, Joseph C. Laveille, Elkanah English, and Hubert Guion, aldermen.

Again, in 1831, Daniel D. Page was re-elected mayor, Michael Rourke, John Piggott, Robert Simpson, Colton M. Tabor (to fill vacancy of John Piggott, deceased), Edward Charless, Joseph C. Laveille, Peter Ferguson, Jesse Colburn, Robert N. Moore, Hugh O'Neil, Solomon P. Ketchum, and Edward Dobyns, aldermen.

Daniel D. Page, the second mayor of St. Louis, was born March 5, 1790, in Parsonsfield, York Co., Me. Having procured a limited education, he found employment in a store in Portland, and also learned the trade of baker. Shortly afterwards he removed to Boston and established a bakery. Having married Miss Deborah Young, of Boston, he emigrated West, and finally established himself in the tobacco trade in New Orleans. The health of his wife having begun to fail in the new climate he sold his stock of goods, and in 1818 removed to St. Louis, where he entered the grocery business, and afterwards added a bakery. In 1833 he established the first steam flour-mill erected in the city. In all his business affairs he was eminently successful, and soon became one of the largest landowners in the city. In 1829, as previously stated, he was elected mayor, and during his administration the affairs of the city were so well managed that he was re-elected four consecutive terms. He was one of the incorporators of the Boatmen's Savings Institution and of the Pacific Railroad, and aided largely in the construction of the Ohio and Missis-ippi Railroad. In connection with Henry D. Bacon, he established the banking-house of Page & Bacon, a full history of which is given elsewhere. Mr. Page died in Washington, D. C., April 29, 1869.

The Broadway Market in the North Ward was built in 1831, and the city water-works provided for by an ordinance authorizing "the mayor to borrow, on behalf of the city, twenty-five thousand dollars at any interest not exceeding six per cent. per annum" for that purpose, and "to pledge the revenues of the city, the water-works and their appendages for the payment of the principal and interest." The war on the dogs, inaugurated by the first board of aldermen, was vigorously continued by an ordinance requiring

"that all dogs kept in the city shall be registered on the books of the city register on or before the 15th of July, and wear brass collars with their owner's name engraved upon them; that each family of the city be allowed to keep one dog thus registered, etc., free of tax, and for every extra dog a tax of two dollars shall be paid; that any person who shall suffer a dog to remain about his premises which is not thus registered and accoutred shall be subject to a penalty for every such offense of ten dollars."

The salary of the city auditor was fixed at two hundred dollars a year, and the treasurer at one hundred dollars. The registration of all carts and drays was also provided for by ordinance. During the year John R. Walker was re-elected sheriff over James C. Musick, David E. Cuyler, and George M. Moore, and John Bobb was elected coroner over Jesse Colburn and Thomas Hobbs. Considerable improvement in the streets began to be visible, and Third Street was widened, graded, and paved.

At the election in April, 1833, for municipal officers Dr. S. Merry was chosen mayor by a majority of 36 votes: for Merry, 304 votes; for Pratte, 268 votes.

In the South Ward, Robert Simpson, S. Blood, and Caleb Lockwood were elected aldermen; in the Middle Ward, Joseph C. Laveille, Peter Ferguson, and Edward Charless; and in the North Ward, Edward Dobyns, H. O'Neal, Jr., and Robert Moore.

M. P. Leduc and Josiah Spalding, in the Middle Ward; Edward Bates and J. P. Riley, in the South

Ward; C. Campbell and H. O'Neal, Sr., in the North Ward, were elected school trustees.

The election of Dr. Merry was contested on the ground of unconstitutionality, he being at the time of election a United States receiver of public moneys. The decision of the Supreme Court, rendered in October, being against his eligibility, his election was declared void, and another election was ordered by Mayor Page, who continued to act as mayor, to be held on the 9th of November, at which election Col. John W. Johnson was chosen mayor. Col. Johnson was succeeded in 1835 by Hon. John F. Darby, "a young, efficient, enterprising, and energetic man," under whose administration Congress was memorialized by the citizens of St. Louis for the construction of the extension of the National road through St. Louis to Jefferson City and farther western regions. In this year the initiatory steps for the great railroad convention were taken, and the sale of the "commons" was consummated, realizing more to the city than the most sanguine expectations had hoped for. Mayor Darby's first term of office was also signalized by the energetic enforcement of the law against gambling, and so vigorous was the mayor's course in this matter that there was a general exodus of the gambling fraternity.

By an act of the General Assembly of Missouri, approved Jan. 16, 1833, the city was divided into four wards, the boundaries of which were to be fixed by the mayor and board of aldermen, and authority was given to establish other wards whenever, in the opinion of the authorities, the interests of the inhabitants required them. All acts relating to St. Louis were declared public laws, and to be recognized as such in all courts and places, without requiring proof other than that regarding other public laws.

By ordinance of March 10, 1834, the city was divided into four wards, bounded as follows:

"All that part of the city which lies south of Elm Street shall constitute one ward, and shall be denominated the 'First Ward;' all that part of the city which lies north of said Elm Street and south of Pine Street shall constitute one ward, and be denominated the 'Second Ward;' all that part of the city which lies north of said Pine Street and south of Laurel Street and Washington Avenue shall constitute one ward, and be denominated the 'Third Ward;' and all that part of the city which lies north of Laurel Street and Washington Avenue shall constitute one ward, and shall be denominated the 'Fourth Ward.'"

The act approved Feb. 26, 1835, to incorporate "the inhabitants of the town of St. Louis," after enlarging the limits of the city, constituted it a body politic under the style of the "mayor, aldermen, and citizens of St. Louis." This charter enlarged the powers of the corporation, and greatly extended the corporate duties.

In accordance with the provisions of the charter the city was divided into four wards, for each of which three aldermen were to be elected, in whom with the mayor were vested all the powers of the corporation. The mayor was to be elected for one year. He was to be at least thirty years of age, a citizen of the United States, a resident within the city for at least two years preceding his election, possessing a freehold estate within the city, and not to hold at the time of his election any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States. The Revised Ordinances, prepared by Wilson Primm, provided a complete code of laws for the government of the city, prescribing the duties of the register, the mode and manner of holding city elections, and for registering free negroes and mulattoes; for gauging and inspecting domestic liquors; for the inspection of flour, beef, pork, etc.; for weighing hay and stove coal; for the suppression of riots, routs, etc.; concerning the police; registering and restraining dogs; providing fire-buckets; restraining hogs; concerning breaches of ordinances; establishing a treasury department; regulating wagons, carts, drays, and carriages; establishing the health department; appointing a city attorney and a night-watch; suppression of gambling; restraining the assembling of negroes and mulattoes; regulating the revenue and taxes; regulating the water-works, regulating the harbor of St. Louis; establishing quarantine and vaccination; lighting the city with gas; regulating the care and improvement of streets and highways, city market, etc.

John F. Darby was re-elected mayor in 1836 and 1837. In 1838 he was succeeded by Dr. Wm. Carr Lane.

In 1836 the ordinances were printed in pamphlet form. In 1838 the ordinances passed since that revision were printed in pamphlet form, but few copies of these are now to be found.

The first ordinance was supplementary to an ordinance regulating the harbor of St. Louis. If goods were allowed to remain ten days on the harbor they were to be disposed of by the harbor-master, and the owner to pay a fine of five dollars per day.

On Aug. 23, 1837, an ordinance was passed authorizing the mayor to borrow one hundred thousand dollars of Martin Thomas at seven per cent. interest. On payment made to the treasurer of the amount he issued to the lender as many certificates of one thousand dollars each as would amount to the sum paid to him, and the certificates were not redeemable until Dec. 1, 1852. For the payment and redemption of

each of the certificates the faith and revenue of the city was pledged irrevocably.

By ordinance St. Louis cemetery was located in Block 3, bounded by Almond, Spruce, Levee and Main Streets, and was in five divisions, marked off with stones as follows: Family burying-ground, citizens' burying-ground, paupers' burying-ground, and the people of color's burying-ground.

The assessor, in addition to his other duties, used to take the city census, for which he was allowed an extra one hundred dollars.

In 1838 politics in St. Louis were very animated, and the Whigs organized a Vigilance Committee composed of the following:

Samuel Gaty, E. T. Christy, John Goodfellow, J. A. Sire, George Sproule, L. A. Cerré, John Lee, I. A. Letcher, John Calvert, Asa Wilgus, William G. Pettus, Stuart Matthews, O. Paddock, Bernard Pratte, John R. Shaw, August Kerr, A. Gamble, H. N. Davis, J. T. Sweringen, B. Cleland, C. Rhodes, C. P. Billon, William Whitehill, Edward Brooks, George Morton, John Finney, John Leach, S. M. Strother, Charles Collins, John Barclay, J. B. Sarpy, J. S. Pease, J. H. McMillen, D. Tilden, George Corwin, D. B. Hill, William Martin, J. B. Lesperance, James F. Comstock, L. Dumaine, N. E. Janney, William A. Lynch, A. G. Edwards, T. H. West, Edward H. Beebe, Benjamin Ames, T. S. Wilson, George Trask, John Barnes, John Simonds, Jr., Henry Maxwell, William Morrison, Alfred Tracy, Dennis Marks, John Ford, J. W. Paulding, P. A. Berthold, C. D. Burrus, M. Stitz, William Hayward, Jotham Bigelow, L. B. Shaw, J. B. Girard, J. J. Anderson, Lewis Bissel, M. C. Clark, W. S. Randolph, Noah Ridgely, Lewis Clark, George Knapp, Hiram McKee, Edward Chouteau, L. Farwell, William Risley, Daniel Smith, J. Christy, John Young, John Bingham, H. A. Carstens, H. Papin, George W. Lewis, John P. Morris, Samuel Daniels, Jonas Moore, Henry Phillips, P. Bartlett, John D. Dagget, Conrad Foulk, Richard B. Dallam, John Lux, Lewis Newell, William Andrews, J. Pritchett, John McDonald, Robert S. Freeland, N. C. Studley, George H. Callender, John Bobb, and D. H. Chapman.

The salaries paid to the municipal officers in 1838 were but a pittance compared with the amount now paid, though it must be remembered there was also as great a contrast in the actual amount of work required. Then the mayor was paid $800 per annum; now the salary is $5000 per year. The aldermen were paid two dollars and the president of the board three dollars for each meeting which they attended. All fines against absent members were placed in a fund to be used in giving a dinner. The city register received but $800 per year, and if there were any deputies their salaries were not mentioned; the city register at present is paid $3000 per annum for his services, and he appoints a deputy at $1500, a chief clerk at $1200, one clerk at $900, and as many others as may be needed at $750. In old times members of aldermanic committees were paid one dollar and fifty cents per day when serving only, and the chairman two dollars. The clerk of the market was paid $400 for a year's work. The auditor received only $600, which was increased to $800, Dec. 7, 1838; now that official receives $3500 per year, his deputy $2000, and he employs as many more clerks as necessary, subject to the approval of the mayor. The treasurer managed the financial affairs of the city in 1838 and took care of the funds for the small consideration of $400 per year for his services; now that official gets $4000 per annum, his assistant $2000, teller $1500, and he has as many clerks as he needs to carry on the work of the office.

The city attorney received a salary of only $400 yearly. The health officer's salary was only $700 per annum, and he had to do all the vaccination besides. The city surveyor was paid $800 per annum for his services.

The police force was very small, and an ordinance was passed to appoint "a theatre policeman," but he was not paid by the city. The rules were strict, the fines heavy, and he received his remuneration from this source and the proprietors.

July 17, 1838, the mayor was authorized to execute a deed of trust to St. Louis County for block No. 80, on the St. Louis commons, on which to erect a poor-house.

Another ordinance of interest was that which related to the opening of Pine Street between Third and Fourth, passed first Oct. 9, 1832. The damages to aggrieved persons were appraised by a jury of twelve. A former ordinance to widen Fourth Street to eighty feet occasioned a protest by the president and directors of the St. Louis public schools as being prejudicial to the interests committed to their charge, as some of the ground was school land. On this account the bill was repealed.

The night-watchmen, but few in number, were required to stop all persons found in the streets after ten o'clock to inquire their business, and, if necessary, to escort them to their homes, if they had any, and if not, to lodge them in the watch-house until an early hour next morning.

The following clause is rather peculiar reading now:

"It shall be the duty of the night-watch also to apprehend all slaves that may be found in the streets, lanes, or alleys, or on the private property of persons other than their owners, or the persons under whose control they are at the time, after the hour of nine o'clock at night from October 1st to April 1st, and after ten P.M. from April 1st to October 1st."

The owner had to pay a fine of three dollars, or else the slave received not exceeding twenty-five lashes, "well laid on."

The mayor's proclamation of this year gave notice to masters of slaves that "the recent extensive distribution in this city of incendiary abolition newspapers, tracts, and pictures, effected secretly in the night-time by casting packages into yards and other places where they would be found by servants, compels all officers who are concerned in maintaining the public peace to deny the colored people some of their usual privileges until those enemies of the human race the abolitionists (who have evidently done this deed) are discovered and dealt with according to law."

It closes as follows: "The usual permits from this office to colored people for social parties and religious meetings after night will be withheld until information is given of the hiding-places of the incendiaries, which must be known to some of our colored people."

By the act to incorporate the city of St. Louis, passed by the General Assembly of Missouri, Feb. 11, 1839, the corporation boundaries were defined as follows: "Middle main channel of the river, due east of the mouth of Mill Creek; thence due west to the mouth of said creek; thence up the centre of the main channel of said creek to a point where the southern side of Rutger Street produced shall intersect the same; thence westwardly the southern side of said street to the intersection of the same with the western line of Seventh Street produced, northwardly along western line of Seventh Street to north line of Biddle Street; thence eastwardly with the northern line of Biddle Street to the western line of Broadway; thence northwardly with the western line of Broadway to a point where the southern boundary of survey No. 671 produced shall intersect the same; thence eastwardly along the south boundary of said survey to the Mississippi River; thence due east to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River; thence down with the middle of the main channel of the river to the place of beginning."

This city charter of 1839 relieved the judges of election from much doubt and difficulty as to the proper qualifications of a voter. Its requirements were very explicit. The voter must be a citizen of the United States, he must be twenty-one years of age, must have resided in the city twelve months next preceding the election, and must have paid a city tax within a year next preceding such election. Nothing was to be regarded as a tax except a regular assessment upon persons and property made taxable by law for State purposes, or the tax upon licenses to auctioneers, merchants, retailers, grocers, taverns, ordinaries, bankers, brokers, peddlers, pawnbrokers, and money-changers. The name of the voter was to be indorsed upon his ballot. Inhabitants of the State, but residing out of the city, who owned a freehold estate within it, and who had paid a tax within twelve months preceding, were allowed to vote at any election in the ward where his property lay.

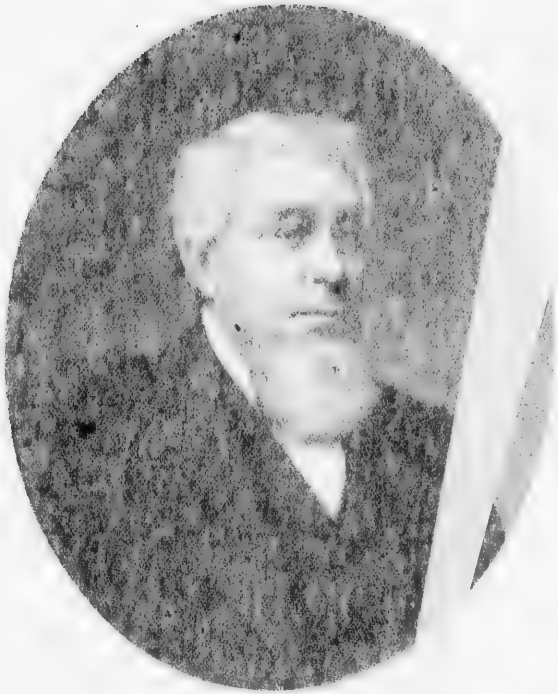
By this charter the City Council was to consist of a board of aldermen and a board of delegates. The latter was to be composed of three delegates from each ward chosen for one year, and the board of aldermen was to consist of two members from each ward chosen for two years. Four stated sessions of the Council were required to be held each year. The executive and ministerial officers were the mayor, the register, the auditor, the treasurer, the marshal, and the engineer.

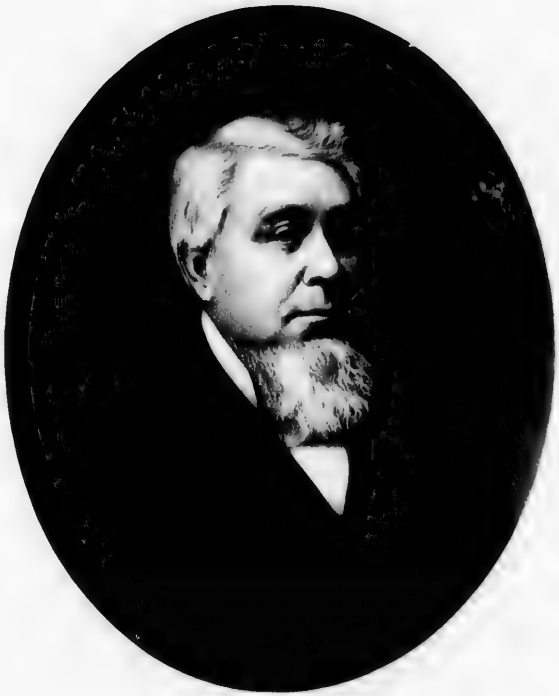
The municipal officers under the new charter of 1839 were William Carr Lane, mayor; aldermen, Benjamin W. Ayres, James G. Barry, Beverly Allen, Edward Tracy, George Collier, John B. Sarpy, John Lee, and Archibald Carr; delegates, Elkanah English, Charles Coutts, William Horine, William Glasgow, Theodore Papin, David B. Hill, Basil W. Alexander, Asa Wilgus, George Trask, George K. Budd, Abel G. Furwell, and Samuel Gaty.

In the early days of St. Louis, as has been seen, the best men in the community represented the people in the municipal councils. About 1839 no one took a more active part in building up the growing metropolis than Samuel Gaty, and the busy interest he has always manifested in the business and social affairs of the city entitles him to particular mention. Samuel Gaty was born in Jefferson County, Ky., Aug. 10, 1811. His ancestors, who were of German origin, settled in Pennsylvania before the Revolution (some of them taking part in the war) and founded the town of Gettysburg. The name was *Getty*, but when Samuel went to school his teacher wrote and pronounced it "*Gaty*," and he did not learn of the mistake until he had been some years in business for himself. The seven months' "schooling" from this teacher comprised all the educational privileges that Samuel Gaty ever enjoyed, and they were of the most primitive kind.

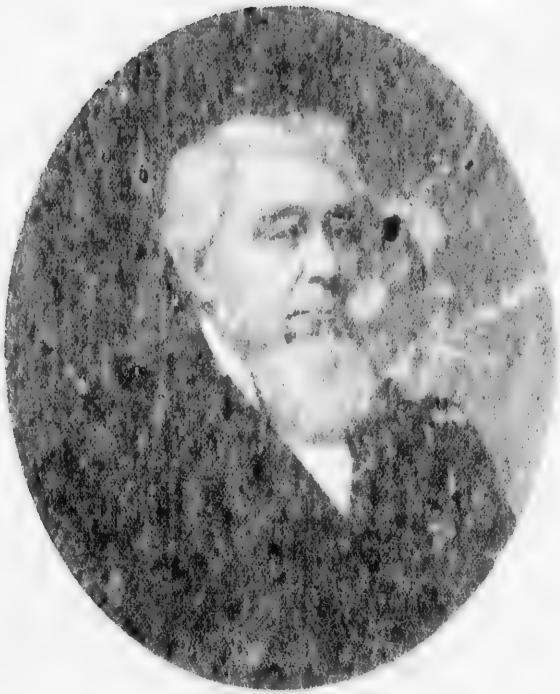
When he was three and a half years old his mother died, and at seven he lost his father. The family was very poor, and the boy's sole riches were those of a well-formed body, a strong constitution, and a well-balanced mind.

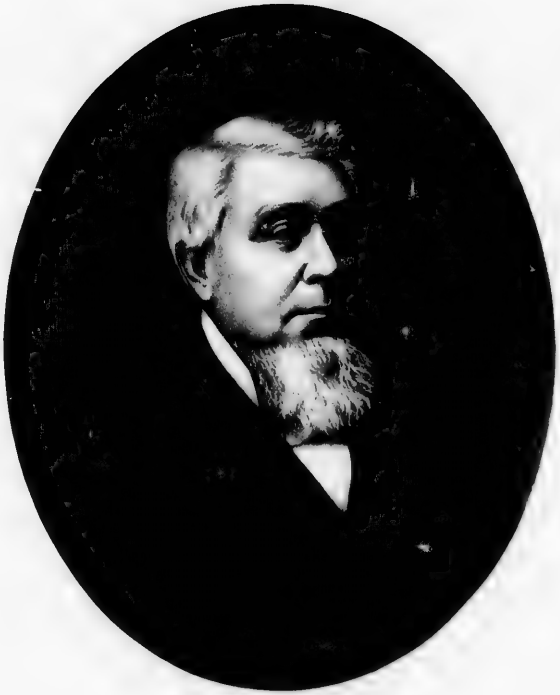
Just before his father's death he was "bound out" to a farmer, who cared little for the welfare of the boy, and when about ten years old the lad took his fortune into his own hands and ran away to Louisville, where he indentured himself to Prentice & Beckwith, machinists and iron founders. Here he worked under the immediate oversight of his sister's husband (who





David Gray





Daniel Gay

was foreman) for about two years and a half, until Mr. Prentice's death. Then he went with his brother-in-law into the foundry of a Mr. Richards, and a few months later, when his relative went to New Orleans, Samuel, though a lad of less than fourteen, was made foreman of the foundry, and held that position for about a year. But he was not satisfied with his attainments in the trade, and apprenticed himself for two years to Mr. Keffer, successor to Prentice & Beckwell, and during this term received three dollars a week and one hundred and fifty dollars at the end of the time. By extra work he had earned an additional one hundred dollars, so that at the end of the apprenticeship, when about sixteen years of age, he had saved two hundred and fifty dollars, a large sum in those days for a boy of his age, and this two hundred and fifty dollars was his money capital on establishing himself in St. Louis.

Upon the completion of his apprenticeship he worked for several months in New Albany, Ind., for John A. Morton, and in October, 1828, removed to St. Louis with John A. Morton, Jr., and a young Welshman named Richards. When they arrived in St. Louis there was no foundry in the city. There was, however, a frame building which parties from Cincinnati had erected with the intention of starting a foundry, but not being able to work the coal had abandoned the project. In this building, near Second and Cherry Streets, Gaty and his friends started a small foundry; but the partnership (for which Gaty furnished the cash capital) was not fortunate, and in a few months Gaty and Morton were induced to sell out to Col. Martin Thomas, who subsequently leased the works to Peter McQueen, of New York. Gaty was out of work for a while, for McQueen had a poor idea of Western mechanics and preferred (as he said) skilled men from the East, yet on two occasions Gaty showed his aptness and skill in a remarkable way. McQueen was asked to make a new shaft for the steamer "Jubilee." He said his men could make the pattern and mould one, but having been used only to a cupola, could not well melt the iron in an air-furnace. Gaty, however, undertook the job of melting the iron and got a fine casting. But it was then found that there was not a geared lathe in the city to turn the shaft with. Gaty was again appealed to, and with two cog-wheels he very soon rigged up sufficient power to turn the shaft by hand. This fertility of resource in the presence of a great emergency was a distinguishing characteristic of Mr. Gaty's career.

Towards the close of 1829, Gaty returned to Louisville and worked a while as a journeyman; but Louis Newell (one of the best blacksmiths that St. Louis ever had) had become greatly impressed with his ability, and in November, 1830, induced him to come back, with the understanding that he would assist him in building a foundry. During the winter Gaty prepared the foundation for the intended building, and in the spring he, with his own hands, dug up the fire-clay for the brick for his furnace, moulded them himself, and built the furnace, and on July 4, 1831, took the "first heat." The first castings were for Capt. John C. Swon, of the steamer "Carrolton," and were of excellent quality. The furnace was a success, and was in active use for twenty years afterwards.

Subsequently Felix Coonce became a partner, the firm being Gaty & Coonce, and later it was changed to Gaty, Coonce & Morton, next to Gaty, Coonce & Beltshoover, then to Gaty, Coonce & Glasby, and then to Gaty, McCune & Glasby. In 1849, Gerard B. Allen was admitted to the firm, which then became Gaty, McCune & Co. Later, James Collins, William H. Stone, and Amos Howe were admitted, and this firm continued until July, 1862, when it dissolved, and Gaty and McCune retired from the foundry business.

In all these changes Mr. Gaty, although surrounded by very capable men, was at the head of the establishment and was its controlling mind. He started with a little air-furnace of four tons' capacity, and presided over the development of a business which in a few years grew to enormous proportions, the foundry being in its day one of the most extensive manufacturing establishments of its class in the whole valley of the Mississippi, and occupying a whole square, bounded by Main, Second, Cherry, and Morgan Streets. Much of this block of land Mr. Gaty still owns, and it is covered with large and costly buildings.

Mr. Gaty not only made the first casting in St. Louis, but he was always a pioneer in other particulars of his business. He built the first engine that was ever made west of the Mississippi, and also aided in building the first steamboat at St. Louis, the "Eagle," which plied between St. Louis and Alton. There had been an attempt at boat-building before this, but the "Eagle" was the first completed vessel. Subsequently he built many boats and had large interests on the river. Some of the finest steamboats that ever "walked the water" were his, and he was one of the originators of the Keokuk Packet Company. Not only were his boats famous, but his manufactures were known in all the cities of the West and Southwest, and it may truthfully be said that no one man, living or dead, contributed more in iron-work to build up the

proud city of St. Louis, its railroads and steamboats, than Samuel Gaty.

Upon retiring from business in 1862, Mr. Gaty became president and manager of the Western Division of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, and some years were consumed in getting the concern out of the financial difficulties into which it had fallen. He subsequently became president of the Hope Mining Company, which he relieved of certain heavy embarrassments, so that its mine (in Montana) is now earning money for its stockholders. This company and the St. Louis Transfer Company, of which he is president, are the most prominent of the corporations with which he is actively connected, and despite his years (for he is now seventy-one) he attends to the duties of these enterprises with alacrity, and with no less active and accurate judgment than characterized his younger days.

From 1838 to 1842, Mr. Gaty was a member of the board of aldermen and of the City Council, and assisted in much important legislation, by which many public institutions were established and permanent improvements projected for the benefit of the infant city. It was a critical period in the history of the place, for intelligence, judgment, and foresight were demanded in order to wisely plan for the growing city. Water, gas, pavements, sewers, etc., all the essentials of civilization in fact, were to be provided on a suitable scale, and Mr. Gaty's voice and vote were ever on the large and public-spirited side. None had more implicit faith in the "manifest destiny" of St. Louis, and it is now his pride, in the mellow autumn of his days, to point to the marvelous realization of his predictions.

In 1843, Mr. Gaty was married to Miss Eliza J. Burbridge, and is the father of thirteen children, eight of whom are living. The oldest son, Edward W. Gaty, is prominent in business. Theodore, aged twenty-one, is a graduate of Washington University, and is now in Montana in the mining business. Of the daughters, Emma was married to L. M. Rumsey, of the L. M. Rumsey Manufacturing Company, and Lizzie is married to S. B. Pallen, son of Dr. M. M. Pallen, a leading physician of the city. Mrs. Gaty is still living, sharing with her husband in a large and comfortable home in North St. Louis an affluence sufficient for the demands of royalty, yet employed in their closing days in a simple and unostentatious manner.

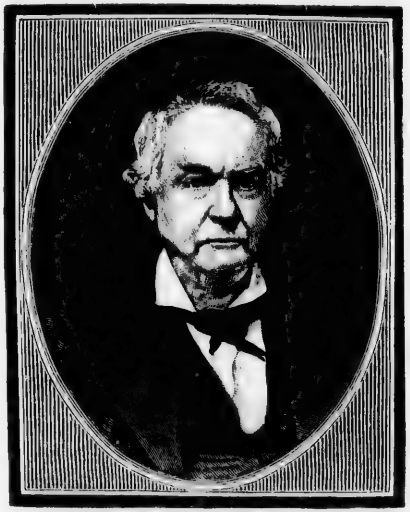
Personally, Mr. Gaty is modest, retiring, and unobtrusive, and much of the prominence he has enjoyed has been thrust upon him by his appreciative fellow-citizens. The fine mind and clear determination which he has always exhibited in public capacities prove how much better his neighbors have judged him than he himself. In April, 1881, the citizens of St. Louis paid him a beautiful compliment. Pursuant to a request of the Missouri Historical Society, he consented to have a portrait painted, and on the 21st of that month the picture (one of Covenant's masterpieces) was presented to the society by the Hon. John F. Darby, mayor of the city when Mr. Gaty was a councilman, and for fifty years his intimate friend. The portrait was accepted by the Hon. Albert Todd on behalf of the society. Both speakers eulogized Mr. Gaty in the highest degree for his innumerable services, public and private, to the city of St. Louis, and joined in regarding him as a singularly attractive example of success won by dauntless moral courage, indomitable will, and independent self-reliance, and as a character that signally deserves to be held in honor and remembrance by generations to come as one that has contributed much in a stanch and solid manner to the honor and renown of St. Louis.

In 1840 John F. Darby was again elected mayor.

John Fletcher Darby was born in Person County, N. C., on the 10th of December, 1803, and was the son of John Darby, a native of Lancaster County, Pa. The elder Darby had settled in North Carolina in his youth, and had there become a cotton- and tobacco-planter. In 1818 he removed with his family to Missouri and purchased a farm in St. Louis County, on which his son, John F., labored for five years. The youth had received the elements of an education in North Carolina, and now devoted all his spare time to increasing his stock of knowledge. About 1823 (in which year his parents died) he began the study of Latin, without a teacher, and in the intervals of farm-work learned in a single summer to enjoy the beauties of Virgil. With a hundred dollars in his pocket he returned to North Carolina, lived with his grandparents, and studied with Rev. William Bingham, of Orange County. In 1825 he began law studies at Frankfort, Ky., and pursued them for a portion of the time under John J. Crittenden, having "Tom" Marshall, the poor, erratic, brilliant orator, as his room-mate and companion.

His means failing, he obtained work at copying, studied all day and wrote half the night, obtained his license to practice, returned to Missouri, read a little law with Judge Gamble, and in May, 1827, was fairly launched in his profession, in which his success was immediate and remarkable. He was a growing man, extending his practice into new fields as years elapsed, and always with credit and profit. But the people soon began to call him to important offices

trust. He served as alderman, became a favorite stump-speaker, and in 1835 was elected for the first time to the mayoralty. The administration of this office at the time was a task which demanded peculiar energy and efficiency, and Darby had both. He established the mayor's court, rid the city in large degree of its dangerous classes, laid out public squares and parks, and in every way justified the people's confidence. In 1836 he called a meeting of citizens to memorialize Congress on the subject of completing the National road to St. Louis, and in accordance with his official communications of the same year urging the importance of railroad development, an address to the people of the State was issued, and in April, 1836, a great convention was held in St. Louis, composed of delegates from eleven of the richest counties in the State. Two railroads were projected, one to Iron Mountain, the other westward north of the Missouri River. When, however, in 1838 Mr. Darby, then State senator, introduced a bill to charter the first-named road, it failed, because Illinois was at the time suffering from the collapse of her railroad mania. The time for Missouri had not yet arrived.



HON. JOHN F. DARBY.

In 1850, Mr. Darby was sent to Congress, and much was expected from his solid qualities, but an accident on a boat on the way to Washington for a time paralyzed his extremities. He slowly recovered in large degree, and did good work for the State during his congressional career. For some time he was engaged in a banking business, the firm being Darby & Poulterer, but finally returned to his original profession, the law, and enjoyed an extensive practice until nearly the day of his death. In 1880 he published a volume of "Personal Recollections," containing a varied store of reminiscences relating to the early history of St. Louis and many of the individuals who figure in it. Hardly another man in St. Louis, with the exception of Frederick L. Billon, knew as much of the city's past.

Familiar with each old landmark and honored name, proud of his loved city, and amiably garrulous, no name occurs oftener in the reports of bar meetings, and during the later years of his life no important public meeting seemed complete without his presence. He was a "walking cyclopædia" of legal anecdotes, many of which have perished with him. In 1878 the St. Louis Law Library made him an honorary member. He was then the only surviving originator of the library residing in St. Louis, and for forty years had been a member. Montgomery Blair and Charles D. Drake, also of the original members, had removed to Washington, and Warwick Tunstall to Texas. But it would be impossible to keep record of the number of times during his later years that John F. Darby was the "connecting link" between the younger and the elder St. Louis.

His married life began in 1836, his wife being Mary M. Wilkinson, daughter of an army captain. She was born in 1818 in Washington County, Mo., and died in July, 1875. Mrs. Darby was educated at the Perryville convent, where at that time many of the most cultivated and refined young ladies of Iowa and Missouri attended school. Her family on both sides were among the first settlers on the continent. Her father's ancestors were English, and settled in Calvert County, Md., in the early part of the seventeenth century. Her mother was Emilia Vallé, daughter of Francis Vallé, commandant at Ste. Genevieve. At the time the country was transferred to the United States, Francis Vallé was the grantee under the Spanish government of the Iron Mountain property, with several thousand arpens of land attached, which was confirmed to his children by the United States government. The Vallé family were among the first settlers in the Mississippi valley, and Mrs. Darby's great-great-grandfather, also Francis Vallé, was an officer in the French service and commandant at Fort De Chartres.

John F. Darby died in 1882, the last of those with whom his early days at the St Louis bar had been passed. Heartily and eloquently he had paid a kind tribute to the memory of one after another of them

all, and it was from those who had been of a younger generation that he received like honors.

A new contract for lighting the city with gas was concluded with the "St. Louis Gas-Light Company" on Dec. 4, 1840. The first directors of the company were Theodore L. McGill, M. L. Clark, R. S. Tilden, P. R. McCrary, N. E. Janney, H. B. Shaw, I. D. Daggett, and N. Paschall. For the more regular distribution of water from the water-works, the superintendent was directed by ordinance to set up fire-plugs of six inches diameter at the intersection of the streets therein designated. The expenses of the water-works for 1841 amounted to four thousand six hundred dollars. An act providing for the reports of overseers and sextons of public graveyards adjoining St. Louis to be made each week to the register of the city was designed to ascertain the mortality of the city and its suburbs. The City Guard "appointed to keep watch and guard every night throughout the year," consisted of a captain, three lieutenants, and twenty-eight privates. The confusion which was occasioned at fires by the assembling of spectators in the vicinity, as well as the great destruction of goods occasioned by their careless removal, caused the City Council to create the "fire wardens and property guards of the city of St. Louis," whose duty it was made to attend all fires and to remove all goods, wares, and merchandise, and to take charge and be responsible for the same. Out of this precautionary legislation sprang the present excellent system of "the salvage corps." An inspector of weights and measures was provided for by ordinance, and was charged with the duty of testing and proving the accuracy of all weights and measures. The erection and regulation of a work-house was provided for for the punishment of "all persons legally committed by due course of law for any violation of ordinances for which a fine shall be imposed and the convict shall refuse or be unable to pay such fine and costs." The municipal officers in 1841 were John D. Daggett, mayor; aldermen, Robert Cathcart, James H. Lucas, A. E. Orme, Thomas Cohen, Adam L. Mills, B. W. Ayres, Samuel Gaty, James C. Lynch, John Corcoran, and Stewart Mathews; delegates, J. M. Mahegan, D. H. Donovan, Thomas Denny, E. English, Hiram Shaw, Henry McKee, H. S. Cox, Edward Brooks, H. E. Stone, Thomas H. West, G. Trask, E. Young, T. O. Duncan, Thomas Le Beaume, and A. R. Corbin.

In 1841, John D. Daggett was elected mayor. Mr. Daggett was born in Attleborough, Mass., Oct. 4, 1793. His father, Benjamin Daggett, a merchant of that place, dealing in West India and British goods, died in 1807, leaving a wife and four children. John remained with his mother, assisting her in the store until it became necessary to close up the business, when, the estate being small, he was apprenticed, at the age of sixteen, to learn the trade of machinist. He worked as apprentice and master until the close of the war of 1812, when, in view of the general depression of business, he left Attleborough, hoping to better his fortune elsewhere. He found employment at Philadelphia at his trade of lock-making, but hearing favorable accounts from Pittsburgh, he went thither, spent a few months there as salesman, etc., and then agreed with Reuben Neil, a friend of his father's family, to go with him to St. Louis. On the way Mr. Daggett stopped at Vincennes, Ind., and sold a stock of goods, and arrived in St. Louis in October, 1817. For nearly three years he had charge of Mr. Neil's business, and then associated himself with P. Haldeman in the commission business, but the venture not proving profitable, the concern was closed in 1822, and he then went into the auction and commission business with Walsh, Johnson & Co. The business not being attractive or sufficiently remunerative he withdrew in 1823, and engaged alone in retail merchandising, which proved moderately successful.

In February, 1821, he was married to Miss Sarah Sparks, daughter of Samuel Sparks, a native of Maine. This union resulted in twelve children.

In 1823, Mr. Daggett established a general merchandise business, which he conducted with fair success, and in 1826 engaged with others in an attempt at lead-mining at Sandy Mines, near Herculaneum, and opened a branch store there; but the business was a losing one and was soon abandoned.

In April, 1827, Mr. Daggett was elected alderman in St. Louis, during the administration of William Carr Lane, first mayor of the city. Among his colleagues were John Mullanphy, Wm. K. Rule, Frederick L. Billon, Christopher Price, Edward Charless, Joseph C. Laveille, John Sutton, and David B. Hill. He was re-elected in 1831.

In 1830, Mr. Daggett established a branch store at Sangamon, Ill., but the venture was not remunerative and was soon discontinued. During the same year he purchased an interest in the steamer "St. Louis," the first boat of that name on the Western waters, and for several years continued in the steamboat business, which, like everything he had yet undertaken, yielded him a moderate profit. The bulk of his business was done between St. Louis and New Orleans, and he was master of some of the best steamers of that period.

In 1836, Mr. Daggett purchased an interest in the

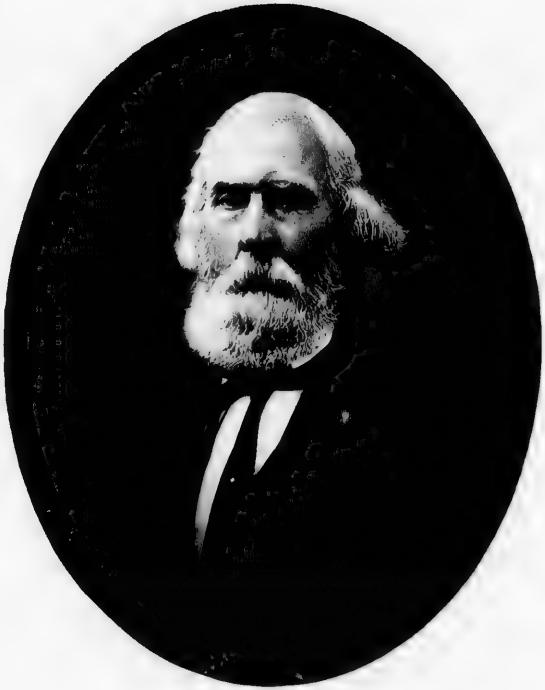
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Victor Hugo

sectional docks, which he retained until his death, and during a large portion of the time he took a leading part in the management of the corporation as accountant, cashier, and general agent. In 1838 he was appointed street commissioner, and in the fall of that year organized the Floating Dock Insurance Company, of which he was president. He was also a director in the Citizens' Insurance Company. Both these companies went out of existence in consequence of the financial troubles of 1842.

In February, 1839, he obtained a charter for the St. Louis Gas-Light Company, of which he became a director, and in December, 1842, was elected president, retaining the position for several years. His connection with the company lasted until 1849.

In April, 1841, Mr. Daggett was nominated by the Whigs for mayor, much against his own inclination, and was elected, but declined a re-election.

From 1846 to 1848 he was secretary of the board of public schools.

Upon his retiring from the Gas-Light Company in 1849, Mr. Daggett devoted himself to the management of the Sectional Dock Company without intermission until he died, May 10, 1874, and his life was devoid of incidents beyond those pertaining to active business pursuits. He was successful in his commercial enterprises until the latter portion of his life, and accumulated a large fortune, much of which was invested in real estate. Two or three years before he died he engaged in a saw-mill enterprise in East St. Louis, but owing to his advanced age was unable to give the matter personal attention. Reverses followed, and before his death his large competence was entirely swept away.

Mr. Daggett was connected with the Masonic fraternity from its establishment in Missouri, and was initiated in Missouri Lodge, No. 12, in 1818, the lodge then working under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee. In April, 1821, he was one of the delegates to the convention which formed the Grand Lodge of Missouri, and was the last surviving member of that body. He filled every office in the lodge, from Junior Deacon in the West to Worshipful Master in the East, was two years Deputy Grand Master, two years Grand Secretary, and seven years Grand Treasurer of the Grand Lodge, and was treasurer of five distinct lodges at the time of his death.

All through his long, busy, and useful life Capt. Daggett was noted for those qualities of head and heart which gain the esteem of men. He was particularly distinguished for his firmness of character and strict integrity. He was gifted with quick perception, sound judgment, and comprehensive views, which, added to a presence personally imposing, made up a character that strongly impressed itself upon all who were brought within the sphere of his influence. His heart ever beat with generous and noble impulses, and his hand was always open to the appeals of the less fortunate. He left a wife, who is still living, several daughters, and numerous grandchildren and great-grandchildren, all of whom received signal proofs of his large-heartedness, and sacredly cherish his memory as that of a kind husband, an indulgent father, and a careful protector.

The enlargement of the boundaries of the city by the act of Feb. 15, 1841, rendered necessary the organization and establishment of the "Engineer Department," under the supervision of the city engineer. The ordinance of the 16th of February, 1842, intrusted to this department the duties of "surveying, planning, contracting for, superintending, and constructing all public works." The department was composed of "the city engineer, a street commissioner, and superintendent of the water-works." The "Mound Market" and "West Market" houses were provided for by ordinances and erected, and the office of city counselor was created. The inspection of flour was established and regulated by ordinance of March 30, 1842; and in consequence of the crowded situation of the streets around the Centre Market during market hours, and of the inconvenience occasioned thereby to drays, carts, wagons, and carriages, a stand was created by ordinance for the sale of hay, fodder, straw, grain, fish, melons, etc., brought to the city by wagons, and the place of sale was located at the landing and wharf east of Front Street and south of Market Street, and it was placed in charge of the clerk of the market. The "broker" was declared by ordinance to be any person or persons or body corporate or politic dealing in gold or silver coin, bank-notes, treasury warrants, bills of exchange, bank-checks, promissory notes, or other evidence of debt, and a tax by license of one-fourth of one per cent. on the capital employed was levied by ordinance. The work of further improving the harbor was prosecuted with an appropriation of three thousand dollars for making a breakwater on Kerr's Island. The offices of lumber-master and of inspector of beef and pork were created during this year.

The City Council, by ordinance of Feb. 9, 1843, resolved that whereas the commerce of the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi Rivers and the great Northern lakes was of vital importance to the United States, "and as, it is believed by many, a greater number of persons are employed in said commerce

than are engaged in the entire foreign and coasting trade of the country, and as these persons are exposed to many causes of disaster and disease from which navigation on the ocean is exempt, and as those engaged in the prosecution of foreign ocean commerce have been provided with the means of medical attention and recovery from the diseases and accidents incident to their employment in the trade and commerce of the country, and inasmuch as it is believed to be impossible for the State governments to unite in establishing and supporting a system of marine hospitals," a competent number of marine hospitals ought to be established and endowed on the Mississippi and its tributaries and on the great lakes, for the benefit of sick and disabled boatmen. After the plan adopted by the act of Congress of 1837 had been approved, a memorial was adopted requesting the senators and representatives from Missouri in Congress to obtain as soon as practicable a sufficient appropriation to carry out the views of the City Council. For the purpose of enlarging the existing water-works, the Legislature of Missouri was petitioned to allow the levying of special taxes. An ordinance for taking a census of free white males was passed, and the city was divided into five wards, the boundaries of which were defined by ordinance. All existing ordinances providing for the assessment and collection of the revenue and taxes of the city were collected and reduced into one by ordinance No. 1132, passed March 11, 1843.

By the act approved Feb. 8, 1843, "to reduce the law incorporating the city of St. Louis and the several acts amendatory thereto into one act," the corporate style was changed to that of "the city of St. Louis," the powers and duties of the "City Council" defined, the scope of the legislative power laid down, executive and ministerial offices described, elections provided for, and the regulations for the opening and improvement of streets and miscellaneous provisions clearly set forth.[1] The *Republican* of February 1st noted the first indication of an effort on the part of a portion of the people of the county to effect a division or separation of the county from the city. The agitation was continued until August, 1844, when a vote was had to determine the question of a division of the county, or a separation of the city from the county, so as to give each a distinct organization. It was decided in the negative. The following streets were defined by ordinance in 1843: Olive, Lucas, Locust, Orange, Morgan, Gay, Franklin Avenue, Wash, Carr, Biddle, Ashley, O'Fallon, Bates, Davis, Smith, Mason, Florida, Columbia, Mullanphy, Howard, East Mound, West Mound, East Brooklyn, West Brooklyn, Le Baume, Hempstead, Webster, Chambers, Madison, Jefferson, First, Second, Lewis, North Second, Collins, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, North Twelfth, South Twelfth, North Thirteenth, South Thirteenth, North Fourteenth, South Fourteenth, North Fifteenth, South Fifteenth, North Sixteenth, South Sixteenth, North Seventeenth, South Seventeenth, North Eighteenth, Walnut, Clark Avenue, Spruce, Poplar, Cerré, Randolph, Austin, Gratiot, Chouteau Avenue, Papin, Soulard, Morrison Avenue, Centre, Scott, Paul, Provenchere, Boone, Stoddard Avenue, Laveille, Morton, St. Ange, Dillon, Grattan, Second Carondelet Avenue, Tagon Avenue, Carondelet Avenue, Barry, Miller, Marion, Carroll, Soulard, Lafayette, Emmet, Calhoun, Gravois, Lesperance, Picotte, Trudeau, North Trudeau, South Trudeau, Duchouquette, Lami, Barton, Victor, Sidney, Anna, McGirk, Louisa, Lynch, Lane, Bent, Saugrain, Arsenal, South Seventh, Fulton, Decatur, Buel, Menard, Rosatti, Hamtramck, Russell, Closey, Linn, Delhaw, Jackson, Congress, Columbus, De Kalb, Kosciusko, Easton, Front, eastern line of Front, and the wharf.

The office of harbor-master was created by ordinance No. 1215, Aug. 4, 1843, and the office of street inspectors, whose duty it was made to superintend the cleaning of streets, alleys, avenues, market-places, and public squares, was also created. The health department, as provided for by ordinance No. 1239, Sept. 2, 1843, was made to consist of the health officer and one member of the board of aldermen from each ward. Street inspectors were placed under the orders of the board, and particular supervision of the health of the city, the cleanliness of streets and highways, lots, yards, buildings and inclosures, and the smallpox and other hospitals was given to the board. The health officer was appointed every six months, and selected alternately by the mayor from the professors of the Medical Department of Kemper College and that of the St. Louis University. St. Louis cemetery was located by ordinance in blocks Nos. 48 and 53.

The "great flood" of 1844 was an event fraught with so much loss and destruction of property that the City Council set up a "monument, made of a single block of limestone," within the line of the curb-stone of Front Street, in front of the centre of the town hall, and caused a line to be distinctly cut showing the highest point attained by the water during the rise of that year, and lettered with the record of height attained by the water in 1785, 1823, and 1828.

At the municipal election of this year (1844) Ber-

[1] Joseph A. Wherry, for many years register of the city, died on the 13th of February, 1843.

nard Pratte was elected mayor. The canvass, in a great measure, turned upon the provisions of the charter as to tax receipts of voters, and which party was responsible for the provisions that required the payment of taxes as a condition precedent to voting. By the original act of incorporation of the city, passed in 1822, no man could be a voter at a city election unless he had paid a city tax. Persons owning real estate in the city, but residing out of the city, if citizens of the State, were entitled to vote. No person could be elected mayor or a member of the Council (which then consisted of the board of aldermen alone) unless he owned real estate. This charter was submitted to the vote of the citizens for their acceptance or rejection, and they accepted it.

In commenting upon this charter during the canvass, the *Republican* of March 30, 1844, said, "This charter, continued, with few unimportant changes, until 1835, when it was revised by Mr. Hugh O'Neil, then the chief pillar of Locofocoism in St. Louis, and a senator from this district. Mr. O'Neil revised the charter during the session of 1835–36, retaining the provision that no person should vote who had not paid a city tax, and giving to non-residents owning real estate in the city the right to vote, and providing that no man should be elected mayor or to the board of aldermen unless he owned real estate in the city."

The sharp practices of politicians of that day are illustrated by the charges that were made during the canvass.

"After the passage of the charter in 1835," we are told, "frauds were attempted to be practiced upon the charter by persons who looked upon the offices created by it as stepping-stones to power. For example, Mr. J. B. Bowlin, now a member in Congress, attempted to qualify himself for the office of mayor by virtue of a conveyance from some person of seven by fourteen feet of ground in the lower part of the city, which ground had been purchased in under the loan office sale, the judgment set aside, and the title afterwards found to be in another. Bowlin gave a mortgage, with the condition that he personally was not to be held responsible for the purchase money. The ground conveyed was situated in the rear of a lot, and without approach to it from any quarter. As the judge declined before the election, he re-conveyed the property. . . .

"Another provision of the charter was that every person paying a city tax was entitled to vote at the city election. Under this provision many expedients were resorted to. The Locos charged that the election of the spring of 1838 was carried by the 'dog-tax,' and that men who never owned a dog on the day of the election went and paid a dog-tax, and thereby qualified themselves to vote; nay, that clubs were formed to get out these dog-tax certificates. Again, persons who bought water from the city claimed under their water license the right to vote at elections. All these things produced some excitement and much confusion on the approach . . and during every city election."

The election was a very animated one. Long before the polls opened in the morning, at an early hour, men of both parties were on the alert, and one correspondent says he "never knew Whigs to work more earnestly, more faithfully, or more unitedly than they did on this occasion." As a consequence they elected every regularly nominated Whig, except three members of the City Council. Bernard Pratte, their candidate for mayor, received the very decided majority of three hundred and sixty-two. The majority the previous year had been one hundred and fourteen in favor of the Democrats, being a gain within twelve months of four hundred and seventy-six out of a total of four thousand one hundred and fifty-four votes cast for the two mayoralty candidates. The official returns of the election were (names of Whig candidates in *Italics*):[1]

	Wards.						
	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.	Fifth.	Sixth.	To
Mayor.							
Bernard Pratte.....	181	402	632	467	345	241	2258
J. I. Relly.....	333	313	249	293	396	312	1896
Register.							
J. M. Parker.....	182	433	589	437	385	269	2295
George Maguire.....	288	239	186	220	254	89	1276
Wm. J. Austin.....	31	32	82	78	92	194	509
Auditor.							
R. B. Dallam	243	402	659	504	445	460	2773
H. J. Lynch	246	235	193	232	278	90	1274
Marshal.							
Chas. D. Priddy.....	179	373	501	402	316	224	1995
Patrick Lawler.....	275	219	135	191	285	209	1314
J. E. D. Cousins	47	90	150	86	114	109	596
W. W. Amos.....	6	16	66	29	11	4	132
City Attorney.							
James Daugherty.....	219	444	631	482	434	397	2607
James B. Townsend.	289	251	216	250	299	152	1457

In honor of the victory the presidents of the Clay Clubs in St. Louis issued an address "to the Whigs of Missouri," appealing to them to raise the standard of "Henry Clay and Protection to American Industry," and redeem Missouri. The address was signed by John H. Ferguson, president First Ward Clay

[1] When Senator Benton offered his vote at the Fourth Ward poll at the November election it was challenged by a Whig upon the ground that, notwithstanding he was a United States senator, he was not a citizen of the State. He was sworn, and upon his statement that he considered St. Louis his place of residence he was permitted to vote. It was rather singular to see the representative of a State compelled to swear whether he was a resident of the State or not.

Club; Thornton Grimsley, president Second Ward Clay Club; James H. Lucas, president Third Ward Clay Club; P. G. Camden, president Fourth Ward Clay Club; A. Carr, president Fifth Ward Clay Club; and Nathaniel Childs, Sr., president Sixth Ward Clay Club.

In April of this year (1844) Judge Carr placed in the hands of the mayor, to be laid before the Council, an offer to present to the city a square of ground three hundred by two hundred and sixty feet, bounded south by Wash Street and north by Carr Street, one-half east of Sixteenth Street, so that this street should run up to and pass around the square. He proposed to give the square to the city upon the following conditions, and desired the right as long as he lived to improve it, under the direction of the Council, by planting rare trees and plants, or in any other manner: "1st. The square to be inclosed, leveled, and graded. 2d. To remain forever as a public square, without the power to convert it to any other uses or purposes, and to revert back should these conditions be violated. 3d. The right to be reserved to Judge Carr to place a plain limestone column or pillar in the centre of the square, with an inscription commemorative of the gift. 4th. Judge Carr to be exempted from the payment of his taxes, amounting to about five hundred dollars, for the present year."

Notwithstanding the contract made with the Gas-Light Company in 1840, the city was not lighted with gas in 1845, and resolutions were passed by the City Council looking to the protection of the city in the reorganization of the Gas-Light Company as authorized by the act of Assembly. However, the city agreed to release the Gas-Light Company from the penalty of forfeiture upon its submitting another contract for lighting the city. Bernard Pratte was re-elected mayor in 1845.

By the act approved March 26, 1845, the city was authorized to borrow one hundred thousand dollars, to be expended for the improvement of the harbor, and by resolution the City Council directed the judges of elections, at the next election, to open polls for ascertaining the expression of the people's wish as to exercising the power conferred by the act. Bernard Pratte, after filling the mayoralty from 1844 to 1846, was succeeded at the municipal election in the latter year by Peter G. Camden, the Know-Nothing candidate, by a majority of three hundred and fifty votes. The same party carried both branches of the City Council.

Bernard Pratte was a member of one of the oldest and most honorable families of Missouri, and was born in St. Louis, Dec. 17, 1803. His father, Gen. Bernard Pratte, and his father's mother were both born in Ste. Genevieve, and his grandmother and her mother were born in St. Louis. His father was a respectable merchant, and filled various positions of trust and responsibility. From his education, his integrity, and the confidence reposed in him by the people, Gen. Pratte was an acquisition to Missouri, and was appointed one of its Territorial judges, a post which he held with entire satisfaction and filled with ability. He was patriotic in his feelings, and when war was declared in 1812 he commanded an expedition to Fort Madison, and served his country until a permanent peace was established. His great weight of character and unimpeachable integrity had a wide reputation, and during the administration of Mr. Monroe he was appointed receiver of public moneys at St. Louis.

Bernard Pratte, the younger, was sent early to the schools of the city, where he was kept until he was fifteen years of age, and then sent to Georgetown, Ky., where he remained until he graduated at that institution.

In 1821, Bernard Pratte returned to St. Louis, and commenced his business career under the tutorship of his father. He spent many years of his life in trading between St. Louis and New Orleans, doing a very extensive and lucrative business. He was taken in partnership by his father, and the firm of Bernard Pratte & Co. had an enviable reputation in the commercial world. They were extensive dealers in fur, peltry, and Indian goods, and successful in all their operations.

Bernard Pratte was always of a venturesome nature, and anxious to occupy a prominent position in his business. As late as 1832 no steamboat had navigated the Missouri as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone. The whole of the Missouri River had been explored as far as its source, and adventurous spirits had for many years traded with barbarous tribes of Indians living contiguous to the Rocky Mountains, but the river was so filled with snags and stumps that it was deemed too perilous to risk a steamboat in a current so filled with dangerous obstacles. Bernard Pratte, in connection with Pierre Chouteau, in 1832 resolved to attempt the passage of the Missouri as far as the Yellowstone, and successfully accomplished his undertaking. This feat established an era in the navigation of the Missouri River, and since that time the whistle of the steam-engine has been a familiar sound in the wild regions occupied by the Crows and the Blackfeet.

In 1833 the copartnership existing between Bernard Pratte and his father was dissolved, and a new firm established entitled Mulligan & Pratte. The

new firm came into being under favorable auspices, and maintained a high reputation until it was dissolved by the withdrawal of Mr. Mulligan in 1840. Mr. Pratte still continued in business until a new partner was taken in, and a firm was established known as Pratte & Cabanné, which had an honorable and successful existence for six years, when Mr. Pratte, having amassed an independence, retired from business. Two years before he gave up his commercial pursuits he was elected mayor of the city, which office he held for two terms. He was a faithful public servant, and carried with him in office those working qualities which formed the basis of his success in business life. He was diligent in advancing the interest of the city, and during his term of office the city was lighted with gas, and the Levee, on which the commercial business of the city was conducted, was properly paved.

In 1838 he was solicited to become a candidate for the General Assembly, and was elected to that body. He was also president and director of the Bank of the State of Missouri, and his opinions on all financial questions received attention and respect.

Mr. Pratte was married in 1824 toMiss Louisa Chenie, daughter of Anthony Chenie, of St. Louis.[1]

[1] In the course of an interview with a newspaper representative in November, 1879, Gen. Pratte, who was then living near Jonesboro', Montgomery Co., gave an interesting account of his early experiences in St. Louis. He said that his father came to St. Louis in 1794, and bought the property on the corner of Market and Main Streets, which Gen. Pratte then owned. On being asked to what period in the past his first impressions of St. Louis went back, Gen. Pratte said that he had a good recollection of St. Louis in 1808–9. He stated that in 1815 his father sent him to school in the interior of Kentucky, and soon after James H. Lucas also came there to school, and they one day put their heads together and drew a plat of St. Louis, locating the streets, public and private buildings, and not only this, but the name of every resident of each dwelling. Northwest of Second Street there were a few houses at that early day. The general said he had seen corn grow where the Planters' House now stands. He had killed wild ducks in the adjoining ponds, and deer were killed within the present limits of the city, not farther out than the present Thirty-fourth Street. The houses were built of logs or stone.

He said it was his impression that the first brick house was built by Judge William C. Carr, on Main Street, and that there had been a mistake current in reference to this matter. He had been told that the late Mrs. Hunt was of the same opinion with himself. In 1812 or 1813 Manuel Lisa built a brick house on the corner of Main and Chestnut Streets.

At that early day there was but little intercourse between St. Louis and the Eastern States, and less was known about it in Kentucky and Tennessee. Upper Louisiana having become a member of the Union, it was believed by those ill informed that the inhabitants were a mixture of aborigines, French, and Spanish.

The great earthquake in the Mississippi valley towards the end of 1811, which had the central seat of its power at New Madrid, produced its effects in St. Louis, which were well remembered by Gen. Pratte. He remembered the first quake. It was in the night. There was heard a rumbling noise, as of hundreds of wagons on the street. Cattle bellowed and dogs barked. The citizens were alarmed and panic-stricken, and all rushed out of their houses into the street. The shocks would last several seconds.

Gen. Pratte had a distinct remembrance of many of the events of the war of 1812. He remembered when his father, Gen. Bernard Pratte, departed from St. Louis in command of the expedition to Fort Madison, and he remembered when he returned. The general government left St. Louis without any protection. Before his father started out on the expedition north, there was an attack meditated by the Indians on St. Louis in 1812, and the plan was only prevented by information received in time of the meditated attack from a man named Dixon, who was a well-known trader among the Indians. The Indians who planned the attack were the Sacs and Foxes and Winnebagoes. The city was patrolled, and every precaution taken to guard against the threatened danger. "One night," said the general, "I was sent out by my father to close the outside shutters of our house, and amid the dimness of the light I caught the glimpse of a large Indian standing on the porch. I ran back and notified my father. He ran out, and accosting the Indian, demanded the object of his visit at that unseasonable hour. He said he came to communicate to Governor Clark something of importance in relation to a meditated attack. He turned out to be a chief of the Sac nation named Quas-qua-ma, and proved to have come with a friendly intent."

In the year 1832, Gen. Pratte said, he was deputized by his company, Pratte, Chouteau & Co., to build a steamboat for the service of the fur trade, which had extended to the far West. He built the boat at Cincinnati, and took her up to Pittsburgh to have her engines approved. From Pittsburgh he took a keel-boat in tow, and with it was the first to ascend to the mouth of the Yellowstone. It was supposed that steamboats, owing to the snags, could not get up to that point. The steamer was named the "Assinaboine." The keel-boat was intended for and used in the navigation up the Yellowstone as far as Rosebud, near the place where over forty years subsequently the Custer massacre occurred. The keel-boat was loaded with goods at Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, which were traded for furs with the Crows. Gen. Pratte went up on the "Assinaboine," wh' h was burned about three years afterwards on her way down the Missouri. The first trip was made up and back to St. Louis in fifty-two days. In going up the river there were many villages, and buffaloes were seen in countless numbers. In crossing the river they fairly blockaded the stream. . . .

In 1836 the mail was thirteen days in coming from New York to St. Louis. The general said he started on a mail-coach from Philadelphia, and without sleeping, day or night, was twelv' days in coming through to St. Louis.

Peter G. Camden, who succeeded Gen. Pratte as mayor of St. Louis, was born in Amherst County, Va., May 23, 1801. His father, William Camden, and his mother both died in his infancy, and he was adopted by his uncle and aunt. After going through the usual routine of other schools, at the age of twenty he was sent to Washington College, Va. After leaving college he began the study of the law, and became a pupil under the instruction of Chancellor Taylor, an eminent jurist of Cumberland

County. His legal education being completed, he emigrated to Missouri in 1827. At this time the trade carried on between St. Louis and Santa Fé was becoming well established, and Mr. Camden determined to remove to New Mexico. He made every preparation for the journey, when an illness which attacked him at Old Franklin caused him to forego the intended project. He then returned to Virginia, and settling up his affairs again started for the West, and became a resident of Lincoln County, Ky., where he had an uncle who resided in that portion of the State. He married his cousin, Miss Anna B. Camden, Feb. 16, 1830, and for the seven ensuing years practiced with success his profession in that State.

Mr. Camden had always been of the opinion that Missouri would become one of the most populous and wealthy States in the Union, and he had always determined again to emigrate to her soil directly she had become a little older and more thickly settled. In 1837 he put his design in execution, and came to St. Louis, accompanied by two brothers of his wife. Abandoning the profession of the law, he established with them a dry-goods house, and the firm was known as J. B. & M. Camden & Co. This continued till 1840, when Mr. Camden became sole owner of the establishment, which he carried on for three years, and then commenced the provision business. In December, 1858, he again made a change in his business relations, and became a general commission merchant.

In politics Mr. Camden was identified with the old American party, and as its candidate became mayor of the city in 1846. It was during his administration that the city issued its bonds for twenty-five thousand dollars, which was used in purchasing stones to raise a portion of the eastern bank of the Mississippi, which threatened to forsake its old bed and make for itself a new channel through the American Bottom. The mayor strongly advocated the measure. The harbor of St. Louis was also considerably improved during his term of office. His administration was popular, and order was maintained in the most efficient manner.

Mr. Camden was one of the first directors in the Marine Insurance Company after its reorganization, and for many years was a member of the Baptist Church.

In the fall of 1847 the city elections were carried by the Democrats, who elected Bryan Mullanphy mayor and the other city officers.

A meeting was held at the Planters' House on Saturday, June 26, 1847, for the purpose of selecting delegates to represent St. Louis in a commercial convention that was to be held in Chicago on July 5th, to take measures for the improvement of Western rivers and harbors. F. M. Haight was called to the chair, and A. B. Chambers made secretary. After some preliminary business had been transacted, the following gentlemen were selected as the St. Louis delegates to the convention:

Archibald Gamble, Henry M. Shreve, Andrew Christy, Kenneth Mackenzie, Trusten Polk, Thomas Allen, John O'Fallon, Isaac H. Sturgeon, Judson Allen, J. B. Brant, W. L. Williams, D. B. Morehouse, Edward Bates, E. R. Mason, N. J. Eaton, J. C. Swon, Wells Colton, A. B. Chambers, H. S. Geyer, Charles Keemle, J. S. Pease, E. W. Clark, A. H. Guild, N. E. Janney, G. Augustus Colton, James H. Allen, Luther Clark, George B. Mann, George B. Field, Adolph Paul, V. Staley, John J. Priest, James R. Sprigg, Wilson Primm, Reuben L. Anderson, J. C. Reynolds, William R. Simpson, J. M. Converse, Elijah Hayden, John McNeil, N. Aldrich, F. M. Haight, C. B. Lord, Samuel Treat, G. K. McGunnegle, J. E. Yeatman, Robert Wash, C. W. Shaumburg, James Clemens, Jr., Bernard Pratte, James H. Lucas, Robert Simpson, Lawrason Levering, Edward J. Gay, Dr. Richard F. Barret, George Collier, Samuel B. Churchill, J. B. Crockett, Joseph Throckmorton, Charles Mullikin, S. M. Bay, E. C. Angelrodt, John S. Watson, Thomas Baldwin, John Bredell, Milton Knox, Henry L. Coxe, John G. Powers, T. H. Warren, John Sigerson, J. S. Morrison, John H. Gay, Thomas Yeatman, Thomas Taylor, Dr. H. Lane, William Renshaw, L. V. Bogy, J. R. Barret.

Dr. Richard F. Barret, who figured prominently not only in the movement in behalf of public improvements in the West, but in various important enterprises which contributed largely to the development of St. Louis, was descended from an ancient and honorable family of French extraction which early settled in Wales. William Barret, together with Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (prince of the blood), and "about eighteen of the most notorious offenders," was condemned for the giant rebellion of the barons from the marches of Wales against Edward II. Shakespeare frequently quotes Barret's "Alvare." The Barrets were an old cavalier family, who emigrated to Virginia in the reign of Charles I., along with the Lees, their relatives; and Richard Barret, the grandfather, was a planter and minister of the Established Church, settled at the paternal plantation, Barret's Ford, near Petersburg.

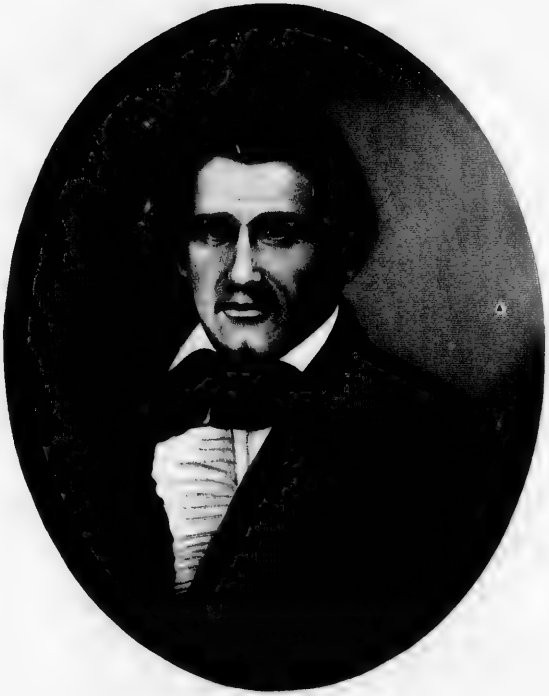
William Barret, father of Dr. Richard F. Barret, born June 15, 1760, served as a captain of partisan rangers, now with Marion, now with "Light-Horse Harry" Lee's legion, through the North Carolina campaign; was at the battles of Guilford Court-House and Eutaw, was with the rear-guard of the American army in the famed retreat of Greene before Lord Cornwallis, and was at the surrender of Yorktown. On the march to Yorktown, it is said that, halting in Williamsburg, he came down early one morning to the old Raleigh Tavern, and, being feverish, lifted

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Chambers, H. S. Geyer, Charles
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Allen, Luther Clark, George B.
n Paul, V. Staley, John J. Priest,
nm, Reuben L. Anderson, J. C.
, J. M. Converse, Elijah Hayden,
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barrel of water and drank out of the bung-hole. It is also related that his scouts were the first to bring intelligence of Tarleton's approach, thereby enabling the Legislature to escape from Charlottesville.

He married Dorothy Winston, own cousin to Patrick Henry's mother, and removed to Louisa County. The union was blessed with five children,—James Winston Barret, educated at William and Mary College, and subsequently a resident of Island Grove, Sangamon Co., Ill., where he filled offices of trust and emolument; William Dericott Barret, cashier of the Southern Bank of Kentucky at Greensburg, and a prosperous merchant of St. Louis; Mary Lee Barret, married to a distant relative of the same name, of Caddo Parish, La., and owner of the Galindo eleven-league claim on the Brazos, near Waco, McLernan Co., Texas; Nancy Barret, wife of Col. James Allen, of Greene Co., Ky., aide to Gen. Jackson at the battle of New Orleans; and Richard F. Barret, who was born in February, 1804, at the new home, near Greensburg, Green Co., Ky. Richard F. obtained the rudiments of classical knowledge from the Rev. William Howe, a learned Presbyterian divine. He pursued his studies with diligence and success, and was finally invited by Dr. Daniel Drake, of Cincinnati, Ohio, an eminent physician and surgeon, author of "The Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America," to become his pupil, under his own eye and in his family. He obtained his diploma, spent some time in the hospitals of Philadelphia, traveled through the Eastern States, visited extensively in Virginia,—Louisa County, Richmond, Shirley, the Neck, Stratford, and Chantilly,—and was wont to speak with enthusiasm of the hospitality and hearty cheer with which he was greeted by relatives and friends, all calling him cousin, and some coming fifty miles to see him. Horse-races, fox-chases, merrymaking, and revels, lasting for a week, filled up the time.

He soon obtained a large and lucrative practice in his native Green County, Ky., where, in 1832, he married Maria, the daughter of Judge Richard A. Buckner, then congressman from the Green River district, and afterwards Professor of Law in the Law Department of the St. Louis University.

In 1833 he removed to his thousand-acre farm near old Berlin, Sangamon Co., Ill., he having previously entered and improved the same. He imported, bred, and raised fine stock,—horses, cattle, and hogs. Mr. Brown, one of the cattle kings of Illinois, now lives on the same farm. He bought largely of government lands in the military district between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers in 1835, and in 1838 transferred his operations to the Black Hawk country, now Iowa, and at the head of a company, of which Riggs, the banker of Washington City, was one, invested eighty thousand dollars at the land sales of 1838–39 at Burlington and Dubuque.

He removed to Springfield, Ill., and became land commissioner and director in the State Bank, and interested in the then so-called internal improvements, Meridosia Railroad and Chicago and La Salle Canal; also lessee, with Col. Buckmaster, of the Alton penitentiary, and president of the Burlington, Iowa, Land Company.

In 1840, Dr. Barret, Dr. Joseph N. McDowell, and others organized the Medical Department of Kemper College, St. Louis, now Missouri Medical College, and Dr. Barret was made Professor of Materia Medica and Physiology. About the same time he became a member of the firm of Wm. Nisbet & Co., bankers.

He erected the Barret House, Burlington, Iowa, in 1844; and in conjunction with Col. O'Fallon, Judge Scates, and Governor Casey, built the first railroad in the State of Illinois that operated successfully, viz., the road extending from their coal banks at Caseyville to the Mississippi River. The Ohio and Mississippi Railroad now runs over this track.

He was intimately acquainted with the prominent business men and politicians of the day, among his personal friends being Clay, Benton, Logan, Douglas, Trumbull, Browning, Walker, and Grimes; but as a general thing he was averse to politics and mere politicians. Abraham Lincoln, a few years younger and born in an adjacent county, was his stanch and lifelong friend.

Dr. Barrett died after a short illness, May 16, 1860, at the Barret House, Burlington, Iowa, whither he had gone on business. His personal appearance was eminently noble and engaging,—a figure tall, graceful, and courtly, and a countenance of the Roman model. Though at times irascible, his disposition was usually gentle and amiable, and his home at Rock Springs was the centre of unostentatious hospitality. His pride of race and scholarly habits made him appear exclusive and aristocratic, but his impulses were ardent, and his manners polite and engaging.

The act of the General Assembly approved Jan. 6, 1847, drew a distinction between the collection of revenue in the "new limits" of the city that were added by act of Feb. 15, 1841, and that collected in the old city, and required the assessors' books to be so kept as to show how much revenue was derived from property in each division of the city. That law set apart one-fourth of the revenue each year collected within the "new limits" for the improvement of streets within said "new limits."

In 1848, Hon. J. M. Krum was elected mayor. John Marshall Krum was born March 10, 1810, near Hudson, N. Y. The name is German, and was formerly, and is now in North Germany, as well as in New York, spelled Krumm. His grandfather, Henry Krumm, was a native of Hamburg, and with his two brothers was a ship-owner, sailing ships from Bremen. The Krumm brothers came with their ships and families to America about the year 1760. The eldest settled at Old Point, Va., the second at Philadelphia, and the youngest (Henry) in New York, but later (about 1785) removed to Hillsdale, near Hudson, on the Hudson River, Columbia County, N. Y. From these brothers sprang the families whose names are variously spelled in different States, Krumm, Krum, Crume, Crum, Crumb, Crump, etc.

Judge Krum's father was a native of Hamburg, and came with his parents to America in 1760, as above stated. His mother was a lady named Trowbridge, a native of Leeds, England.

His parents were not wealthy, but were well to do, and young Krum enjoyed good educational advantages. He attended the district or public schools, then the Smith Academy at Albany, and later Fairfield Academy, New York, where he was fitted for college. He also acted as tutor at the academy in Latin and mathematics for about a year. In 1829 he entered Union College, but at the close of the first year an affection of the eyes compelled him to leave that institution, and he began the study of law. He did not return to college, but afterwards matriculated on examination.

In 1833, Mr. Krum was admitted to the bar, and in the fall of that year removed to St. Louis. In 1834 he was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of Missouri, but having property interests in Illinois, and becoming concerned in litigation in that State, he removed in 1835 to Alton, retaining, however, an office and his practice in St. Louis.

Alton had then about one thousand inhabitants, and there was but one other lawyer there. As was the custom in all the Western States in those days, Mr. Krum rode "the circuit," practicing in several different counties, and secured what would be regarded even now as a large and remunerative practice. He invested in real estate at Alton and other towns, and became in time quite a large land-owner. These investments resulted favorably.

In 1836 he was appointed by the Governor judge of probate for Madison County, and in 1837 Alton was incorporated as a city, and Mr. Krum was elected its first mayor.

During his mayoralty (in November, 1837) occurred the now historic "Alton riot," in which Elijah P. Lovejoy, an editor of anti-slavery proclivities, who had been mobbed in St. Louis for his abolition teachings, was shot and killed. The affair caused great excitement among the anti-slavery people, not only of this country but of Great Britain; and as it was not generally known that the young city of Alton had no organized police force (only one justice of the peace and one constable), the authorities were naturally denounced without stint for failing to suppress the outbreak and to prevent Lovejoy's murder. In this connection an interesting incident happened to Mayor Krum. In 1838 an immense anti-slavery meeting was held in New York, and Mr. Krum happened to be in the city, the guest of an anti-slavery leader, with whom he went to the gathering, where for about an hour he listened to all sorts of abuse of himself for failing to put down the mob. Finally his host, without consulting him, announced to the startled assembly that the *mayor of Alton* was present, and no doubt the meeting would like to hear him. Mayor Krum thereupon mounted a table in the centre of the vast building, and spoke to the excited audience for about an hour, giving an exact and minute account of the affair from beginning to end, and demonstrating the injustice of the denunciations everywhere heaped upon the mayor of Alton. He spoke so conclusively that the meeting unanimously passed a resolution completely exonerating the mayor and city authorities from all fault or blame in the premises.

In 1838 (while absent from the State, and without his knowledge) he was elected State senator from the district to which Madison County was attached (embracing several counties), but his business and other considerations obliged him to decline the office and the honor. While a pronounced and aggressive Democrat, he had no taste for political life, and felt anxious to shun the enticements and snares which lie in the path of every politician.

In October, 1839, Judge Krum married in Massachusetts a daughter of Chester Harding, the celebrated artist, and in the following year established his home in St. Louis, where he has since resided. Among the members of the St. Louis bar at that time were a number of lawyers who ranked with the ablest in America or England; but Mr. Krum was not discouraged at having to contend with such opponents. On the contrary, this competition proved a stimulus to greater effort, and he welcomed it as an advantage. He at once gained and held a full practice, especially in land cases, for the land litigation of Missouri (now somewhat historic) was then fast

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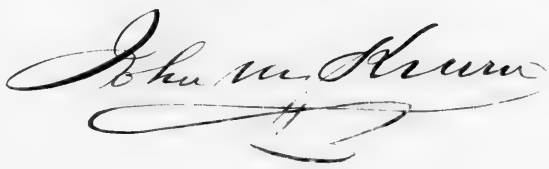
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reaching its culminating point. "It was a positive pleasure," Judge Krum says, "to meet as antagonists in the judicial forum such eminent lawyers as Geyer, Gamble, Spaulding, Bates, Lawless, Field, Leslie, and others scarcely less distinguished and then in full practice." As to Judge Krum's own success, the records may be permitted to testify, and they show that as a member of the St. Louis bar he has been engaged in a greater number of cases than any other lawyer who has ever practiced in St. Louis.

In 1843 he was appointed judge of the St. Louis Circuit Court, and held the office for about five years, at the expiration of which he resigned. In 1848 he was solicited to run for Congress, but declined. During the same year, however, he was persuaded by the Democrats to stand for the office of mayor, and was elected by over five hundred majority over Luther M. Kennett, one of the ablest and most popular citizens of St. Louis. In fact, he was the first Democrat ever elected to any office in St. Louis, the Whigs having from time immemorial ruled the city.

During his administration the harbor was improved by the building of the dyke across the east channel of the river from Bloody Island to east main shore, the special tax ("mill tax") for the support of public schools was first levied, and the sewer system was originated. Mayor Krum drew the bills for these great measures, and secured their passage by the General Assembly. His recommendations in a special message in regard to sewers have been followed ever since. During his administration, also, the bonded debt of the city was considerably reduced, and upon the results of his mayoralty Judge Krum looks back with the satisfaction which naturally springs from the consciousness of work well done and the approval of his fellow-citizens.

From the first he took an active part in organizing the public school system, and for ten consecutive years was a member of the board of education. In 1855 Washington University was organized, and he has been a director in it and a member of the educational committee from the beginning to the present time. Upon the organization of the St. Louis Law School, he served five years gratuitously as professor in different departments.

Notwithstanding his disinclination to hold office he has taken an active part in politics, and served as delegate to the Democratic National Conventions of 1844, 1852, 1856, and 1860. Upon the latter occasion he was chairman of the committee on credentials, and his report (which settled the character of that body) caused an excited debate, in which he participated, and its adoption by the convention was followed by the secession of most of the Southern delegates and the nomination of Mr. Breckenridge. He championed the cause of Mr. Douglas from the beginning, and during the campaign of 1860 made not less than one hundred speeches in Missouri, Illinois, and New York in support of Douglas as the national Democratic candidate.

When the war broke out, Judge Krum, in a speech at the court-house on the evening following the reception of the news from Fort Sumter, denounced secession as the work of the Democratic party, and formally withdrew from that organization. He then declared himself as an earnest supporter of the government. In 1862 he accepted the colonelcy of the Ninth Regiment Missouri Militia, jocularly known as the "Bloody Ninth," because for nearly two years it performed guard duty over the prisoners in St. Louis, which, as well as the State, was under martial law from 1861 to 1864. Since the war Judge Krum has acted with the Republican party in Missouri.

While on the bench Judge Krum published "Missouri Justice," a work received by the profession with great favor, and which is a valuable record of his industry and zeal as a lawyer.

Judge Krumm is a patient and untiring worker, and this is probably the secret of his having accomplished so much. He is blessed with good health, and during forty years has never had occasion to avail himself of the services of a physician. Enjoying the gift of a "sound mind in a sound body," he is still engaged in the quiet practice of his profession, and expects to be so employed for the remainder of his life, a life, it may be added, that has been as useful and as worthy of regard as it has been busy and unpretentious.

In his message to the Council in 1848, Mayor Krum called attention to the importance of improving streets in the "old limits," specifically designating the grading and macadamizing of South Third, Labadie, Hazel, Mulberry, Cerre, Poplar, Spruce, Gratiot, Market, Seventh, Wash, and Cherry Streets. This elicited an expression of opinion on the part of the physicians of St. Louis as follows:

"St. Louis, May 15, 1848.

"The undersigned, being requested to express their opinion as to the effects produced upon the public health by the dust which arises in such large quantities from the macadamized streets in St. Louis in dry weather and fills the atmosphere, beg leave to state,—

"First, That it is extremely deleterious to the eyes, producing inflammation of those organs.

"Second, That, being inhaled into the air passages, it produces various diseases of those parts, such as chronic laryngitis, bronchitis, consumption, etc.

"R. P. Simmons, Thomas McMartin, James Sykes, A. B. Pope, M. Martin C. J. Carpenter, J. W. Hall, Charles W. Stevens, John Laughton, James Blake, John B. Johnson, Silas

Reed, J. H. Johnson, G. W. Phillips, Hardage Lane, John B. McDowell, Joseph N. McDowell, Reuben Knox, J. J. Clark, John Shore, W. S. White, T. J. White, B. F. Edwards, Stephen W. Adreon, M. L. Linton, M. M. Pallen, R. S. Holmes, J. McDowell, Jr., W. M. McPheeters, Edward B. Smith, William Vanzant, S. M. Jacobson, Robert P. Chase, F. Knox, Alexander Marshall, Robert M. Jennings, S. T. Watts, William A. McMurray, R. B. Ellis, J. S. Moore, M. E. Cook."

Comptroller D. H. Armstrong set down the total indebtedness of the city May 8, 1848, at $1,036,121.63, of which $206,950 paid interest at ten per centum, $35,500 interest at eight per centum, $79,000 interest at seven per centum, $672,860.79 interest at six per centum, $25,000 interest at five per centum, and $16,810.84 paid no interest. The estimated value of public property belonging to the city was $1,120,000. The municipal elections in 1849 resulted in the choice of James G. Barry for mayor by a vote of 3181 against 3038 cast for Mr. Foster.

The condition of the streets in 1849 was such that a writer in one of the newspapers said, "All will concede that some change is necessary, and any change must be for the better. There is not a city in the United States expending the same amount of money for this purpose that is half so filthy as St. Louis, and we may safely say that there is not one in the world which could be cleaned with so little expense if a proper system was introduced."

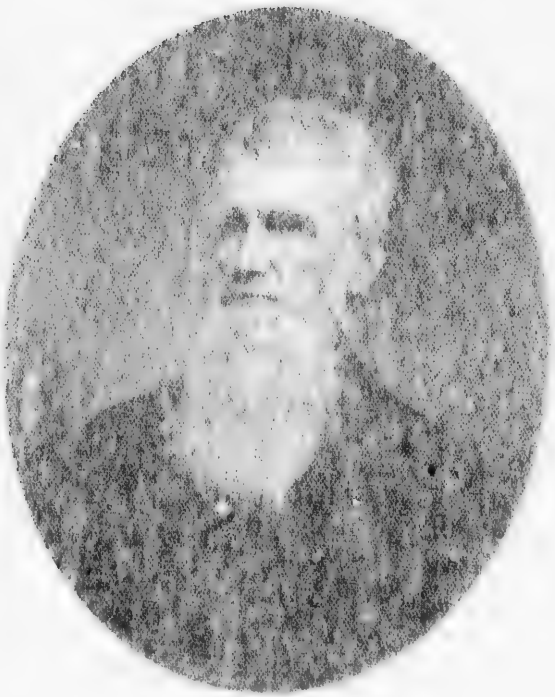
Both fire and the cholera visited St. Louis in 1849, the damage caused by the former necessitating an ordinance "authorizing and allowing the owners of property in the burnt district to deposit on the Levee, under direction of the harbor-master, all the rubbish, stone, or bricks they may wish." The City Council in the same year passed an ordinance providing for the opening of Main Street, from Locust to Market Street, to the width of sixty feet, the cartway of the same to be thirty-two feet, and sidewalks on each side fourteen feet. Should it become necessary to take private property for that purpose, the mayor was authorized to appoint a committee and proceed as directed in the city charter.

Luther M. Kennett was elected mayor in 1850, and in his message, October 14th of that year, speaks particularly of the condition of the quarantine, "the only matter specially confided" to the superintendence of the mayor. The ordinance establishing the quarantine (No. 2417, April 29, 1850) located the same on Arsenal Island, which had been selected in 1849. On the 4th of May, 1850, the ordinance went into operation, and was strictly enforced until the 16th of August. Comfortable buildings were erected to accommodate five hundred persons, but more than that number were accommodated. The ordinance required all boats coming to or bound for the city of St. Louis, before landing, to touch at quarantine, and land all emigrants or others recently from shipboard, and all sick, diseased, or unclean persons, with their stores and baggage, provided the officers at quarantine so ordered. Under this regulation about two thousand five hundred persons were detained from three to five days, and one hundred and twenty who were sick a longer time. About eight hundred emigrants were paupers, and had to be supported by the city. During this administration the work on the dike at Bloody Island was finished, and the improvement of the wharf between Locust and Plum Streets was pushed forward rapidly. The mayor called the attention of the City Council to certain desired amendments of the charter, emphasizing the necessity for authority to "cure informalities in the action of the City Council in the disposition of the city common;" to take possession of the entire landing of the city, and cause the same to be condemned for public use; to borrow money to pay off arrears against the city; to complete Biddle Street sewer; to provide for finishing the buildings on Centre Market Square; to pay the excess over appropriation for water-works; to complete the harbor improvements; and to improve the parade-ground, and to purchase and beautify other grounds for public places. The aggregate amount required for these purposes added to the existing debt would make the latter about two million dollars. Comptroller George K. Budd showed in his report for this year that the total valuation of real estate owned by the city, excepting city commons and public wharf, was $753,913.81, and that the city commons covered an area of 519.19 acres, the value, with improvements, being $581,391. The bonded debt of the city was $1,192,992.57, the last of which falls due in 1895. Against this sum the assets when credited left a balance in favor of the city amounting to $517,385.55.

This favorable showing of the city's finances was perhaps owing to the excellent management of Comptroller Budd, who was in his day one of the best financial officers in the country.

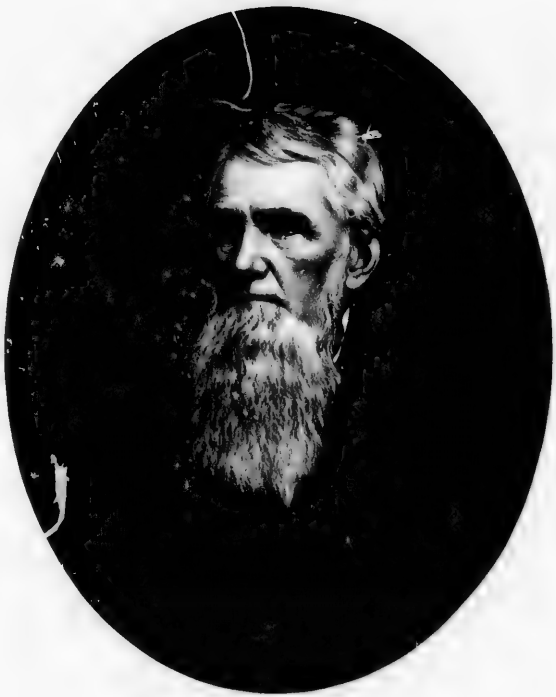
George Knight Budd was born in Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 1802. He was the son of George Budd and Susanna Britton, a combination of two old and celebrated families of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, originally from England. In early life he was engaged in maritime pursuits as supercargo for Henry Pratt, of Philadelphia, a well-known merchant of that period, and visited the Mediterranean, South America and the British Indies. In the fall of 1835 he visited

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George Knight Wilmot

the West with a view of selecting a locality for mercantile pursuits, and after seeing Cincinnati and Louisville came to St. Louis. His practical eye at once enabled him to see the future advantages offered by the latter city, and he decided to embark in business here. In the spring of 1836 he arrived with a stock of merchandise, bringing his family with him. He came to St. Louis in the same year with Wayman Crow, between whom and himself there existed a warm personal friendship. After two or three years he abandoned the mercantile business to engage in banking with Andrew Park, under the firm-name of Budd & Park, doing a successful business. Their office was located on Main Street close to where the State Savings Institution used to stand. Upon coming to St. Louis, Mr. Budd at once became interested in every measure which promised to promote the interests of the city, and exhibited so much spirit and enterprise that as early as 1846 he was elected to the Council from the Fifth Ward, with Reuben Knox, Peter G. Camden being mayor at that time. In recognition of his financial abilities he was elected comptroller under Mayor Kennett in 1850, but before his term had expired he resigned in order to take charge of the management and publication of the *St. Louis Intelligencer*, which to a great extent was started by the merchants of St. Louis that they might have the benefit and advice of Mr. Budd in financial and commercial matters. J. B. Crockett, who subsequently became one of the judges of the Supreme Court of California, was editor, and later the position was filled by E. A. Lewis, who afterwards became a Supreme Court judge in Missouri, and is now an honored member of the St. Louis Court of Appeals. Mr. Budd acted as publisher of the *Intelligencer* for three years, and when he retired in 1853 was presented with a magnificent silver pitcher, goblet, and tray, as a voluntary testimonial from the employés of the establishment. In 1852 he represented the Third Ward, together with John J. Anderson and Louis A. Labeaume. One result of his labors was the purchase of the first public square or park in the city. In securing the passage of an act for this purpose he incurred the abuse of a leading newspaper, which dubbed the piece of ground on Twelfth and Market Streets, now called Washington Park, as "the big gully, or Budd's folly," by which it was known for several years, and so great was the opposition to such an enterprise that it was many years before any steps were taken to improve it. From this germ, planted under such hostile influences, has grown the park system of St. Louis, which has graced the city with its numerous breathing-places of public resort. For years he had the agency of several large insurance companies, his office being under the old Monroe House. In 1847, when the office of the *Democrat* was on Locust Street, between Main and Second, he accepted the position of financial editor, and gave that paper its reputation on money affairs. On the breaking out of the war Mr. Budd was a stanch friend of the Union, and subsequently became financial agent for Jay Cooke & Co., selling their United States five-twenty bonds, and acting as their financial agent in purchasing other government securities.

Under the administration of Mayor Thomas, Mr. Budd was again elected comptroller, and while in that office saw the necessity for additional water-works, and was among the first to move for a board of water commissioners to build new works, and drafted the law creating the board. When the board was organized he was its first president, and during his administration the plan of the new water-works on Compton Hill and Bissell's Point was carried out to completion.

Mr. Budd was principally distinguished as a financier. The Boatmen's Savings-Bank was founded in part by him. He drafted its charter and served as director for many years. He organized the Real Estate Savings Institution, and was its first president, and continued to act in that capacity until his health failed him in 1874. During the last twelve years of his life Mr. Budd acted as financial agent for a number of Eastern capitalists, and through the monetary assistance which he controlled many of the largest structures in St. Louis were erected and many railroads and other enterprises were materially aided. It was estimated that he was instrumental in securing the investment of many millions of dollars in St. Louis, such was the confidence reposed in his judgment as a financier. The importance of this service will be understood when the fact is recalled that St. Louis at that period (in company with other border cities) was suffering from the privations of the war, had little money, and needed nothing so much as the stimulus of foreign capital to develop the resources of the place and aid in building it up.

Mr. Budd died on the 24th of September, 1875, full of years and rich in the respect of his fellow business men. His death was regarded as a severe loss to the business and manufacturing interests of the city which, in a residence of nearly half a century, his far-sightedness and clear-headed sagacity had done so much to develop and advance. He was mourned by the thousands who in his long and eventful career had made his acquaintance and had learned to respect him as the soul of honor and integrity, and it was

universally conceded that the city of his choice would carry the marks of his good citizenship through all its future progress.

Mr. Budd left a wife and five children,—Marcia D. Budd, Charles P. Budd, Helen W. Budd, Wayman Crow Budd, and Belle N. Budd, now Mrs. Capt. Robert B. Wade. Mr. Budd's wife was Miss Rebecca Neff Patterson, of Philadelphia, to whom he was married before he removed to St. Louis. Mr. Budd was a professing Christian, and on April 2, 1836, became a member of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, and when he died was with one exception the oldest member of that organization. On the 9th of December, 1838, he was chosen an elder, and in that position gave the church forty years of continued work and changeless devotion, the greater part of the time as its treasurer and financial adviser. He was the trusted friend of the lamented Dr. Bullard, who was killed in the Gasconade bridge disaster, and Mr. Budd was so terribly injured in the same disaster that his life was despaired of for many months. He gave the church the best of his vigorous days and of his ripe intellect and judgment. In the days of its weakness he was its pillar of strength, in the days of its darkness he inspired others with hope and courage. When the present beautiful house of worship was built he was ready with his helping hand and wise counsel. He adorned his public profession of religion with an exemplary private life, and impressed his moral nature on all that he undertook. We cannot estimate the significance of such a life as it affects the church. It is a grand tribute to any man to say that he spent forty years of activity in church matters and died honored and regretted. Such a life could not be expected to spend itself in a single direction or to confine itself to one place of work and responsibility; therefore we find him impressing himself continually upon the community, as its trusted comptroller, invited into the city's councils, and promoting its interests with that far-sighted sagacity which distinguished him during his career. By his positive character, his fixed principles, his iron will, and his enthusiastic resolution he made his mark in life in every sphere in which he acted. By his death a home lost its head, a community lost a citizen much honored and respected, and a church lost its senior officer and one of its best friends.

The board of assessors, consisting of three competent persons to be appointed by the mayor each year, was created by ordinance No. 2385, March 29, 1850. The duty imposed upon the board was to examine and assess all property within the city subject to taxation at its cash value, and to arrange such assessments in blocks according to their numerical order on the city map. The board of aldermen was constituted a court of appeals, whose judgment was final in all matters of assessment. The engineer's department, embracing the city engineer, the street commissioner, the superintendent of water-works, and their assistants and deputies, was created by ordinance No. 2388, March 30, 1850. The fire department was created by ordinance approved July 8, 1850.

The county court in 1852 granted the petition of a large number of citizens to incorporate into a town, and with all the usual privileges, a district lying about one mile west of the city of St. Louis. Retaining the name of the parent city, it was called the "Second municipality of the city of St. Louis." The following were the boundary lines of the municipality:

Beginning with the intersection of the centre of Grand Avenue with the western boundary lines of the St. Louis common fields; thence west along the centre of Grand Avenue to the county road; thence north sixty degrees west along the centre of the county road to the centre of Lindell Avenue as projected on Leffingwell & Elliott's map of the city of St. Louis; thence south twenty-nine and a half degrees west along the centre of Lindell Avenue to the intersection of the same with the eastern boundary line on the sixteenth section continued north; thence south to the Manchester road; thence along the centre of the said road eastwardly to the western line of the St. Louis common field lots; thence along said line of lots to the place of beginning.

The second municipality was allowed to have its own police, its recorder's court, to levy taxes, etc., to the end of the list of corporation privileges. The county court appointed for the town trustees Messrs. David P. Hull, John Matthews, Jonathan Jones, William Glasgow, Jr., and John Van Marter. These gentlemen were to hold office until the following April, when an election was to be held.

The board of aldermen in 1851 passed the bill for the extension of Main Street and the wharf to the southern limits of the city, directing the mayor to receive the relinquishments of all persons who desired to surrender the ownership of the property to the city, and providing for the improvement of the street and the wharf.

At the same time the new lines of the wards of the city were established as follows:

"1st. The line between the First and Second Wards was Wood Street westwardly to Rutgers Street, to Fifth Street, and along Fifth Street to Hickory Street, to Seventh Street, along Seventh Street to Chouteau Avenue, and along Chouteau Avenue to the city limits.

"2d. The line between the Second and Third Wards was Walnut Street westwardly to Seventh; thence south to Clark Avenue, and out Clark Avenue to the city limits. There was no change in these lines from the former limits of the wards.

"3d. The line between the Third and Fourth Wards was Locust Street from the river to the western limits of the city.

"4th. The line between the Fourth and Fifth Wards was Cherry Street to Broadway, along Broadway to Morgan, westwardly with Morgan to Tenth, northwardly with Tenth to Franklin Avenue, and westwardly with Franklin Avenue to the city limits."

The election Nov. 21, 1851, to test the sense of the people on the proposition to raise a loan of one hundred thousand dollars by the city for the improvement of the harbor, resulted in favor of the proposed loan by a majority of five hundred and forty-six out of a total vote of seven hundred and forty-six. The proposition for the loan of twenty thousand dollars to improve the wharf between Locust and Cherry Streets was also carried.

"At the municipal election of April 7, 1851," said the *Republican*, "Luther M. Kennett was re-elected mayor of St. Louis against the combined influence of Abolitionism, Free-Soilism, Socialism, Red Republicanism, Communism, Infidelity, and all the isms combined. Even Bentonism, which descended from the high standing of a senator of thirty years' standing, and came down to mingle in our ward and municipal elections, could not prevent this result.

"We feel greatly gratified in this result, not only from the fact that it again secures to our city the administration of a man who is pre-eminently worthy of this trust, not more in the conduct of the affairs of the city than in his ability and manly repulsion of the unjustifiable assumptions of the Free-Soil party, but also for his noble and manly repulse of Col. Benton at the Sixth Ward yesterday. It will forever be recollected with gratitude and consideration by the Whigs of this city. To Col. Benton it is the severest rebuke ever administered to any public man.

"It is the first instance in this country where a distinguished senator has descended from his high position to mingle in the affairs of a municipal election. Well might the friends of the colonel exclaim, 'What a fall!'

"We congratulate our citizens on this result in another aspect. It is a rebuke, we hope and trust a severe and lasting one, to those who would rear the hydra-headed factions of Socialism, Red Republicanism, Communism, Revolutionism, and Infidelity in our midst. We glory in it as a signal rebuke to those who would burn churches or sack convents to carry out their revolutionary purposes."

The effects of the fire of 1849, not yet entirely dissipated, had been supplemented in their influence on business prosperity by the flood of 1851, and by another visitation of the cholera. Mayor Kennett's annual message of October, 1851, however, after reviewing the consequences of these disasters, declared that the growth of the city had probably been more rapid than in any previous year, that the public improvements in progress had stimulated private enterprise to keep pace with them, and that the extension of the city in all directions was manifest, not only by the increased value of taxable property but by the character of the buildings erected in every direction, and which would do "credit to any city, either on this or the other side of the Atlantic." The principal builders and contractors in St. Louis at this time were Messrs. Brewster & Hart, and after the "big fire" in 1849 they built up nearly the whole of the burnt district. Oliver A. Hart, the most active member of the firm, was born in Norwich, Conn., Feb. 13, 1814. His father was a native of New Britain, Conn., and for some years was a watchmaker and silversmith at Boston, Mass. His mother, who is still living, was born in Newport, R. I. Young Hart received the advantages of a common-school education, and upon leaving school served an apprenticeship as carpenter with J. & W. Spalding, the leading carpenters and builders of Norwich. In 1835 he went to Mobile, Ala., where he engaged in business as a builder. In May, 1837, he removed to St. Louis, and was employed for a time with Phineas Bartlett as his draughtsman. He then formed a partnership with Augustus Brewster (now dead, but well and honorably remembered), under the name of Brewster & Hart. The firm flourished from 1840 to 1853, doing a large business as contractors and builders. Many monuments of their labor and skill, built on the site of the burnt district of 1849, still exist, and are yet regarded as among the most honest and substantial edifices of which the city can boast. Many more of the buildings erected by them have yielded to the march of improvement. About 1853 the firm of Brewster & Hart was dissolved, and Mr. Hart continued business as an architect. He built several churches, among them the Methodist Church at Pine and Fifth Streets, Dr. Brokes' church on Walnut Street, the Second Baptist Church on Sixth Street, and the Presbyterian Church, Fourteenth Street and Lucas Place. Of all these structures the latter only remains. In 1853, Mr. Hart retired from the practice of his profession as architect, and was elected president of the Western Mutual Fire and Marine Insurance Company, a position which he retained for nearly ten years. For twenty-five years he was a director in the old St. Louis Gas Company, and for twelve or fifteen years president of that corporation. He was prominently interested in the iron business, was once the largest stockholder in the Vulcan Works, and now owns one-fifth of the Jupiter Works. He is also a stockholder in the St. Louis Ore and Steel Company. Mr. Hart was one of the organizers of the Mechanics' Bank, and for many years a director; he was also one of the organizers of the Real Estate Savings Institution, of which he was a director up to

the time of his resignation. The institution was then doing a very prosperous business, but it closed under unfortunate circumstances.

Mr. Hart was one of the oldest subscribers to the Pacific Railroad, was prominently connected with it as director throughout the civil war, and was as determined as any of the dauntless band of men who pushed that enterprise forward under such harassing circumstances, Missouri then being the theatre of war, and the road passing through a region exposed to raids from both armies. In common with his associates, among whom were George R. Taylor and Daniel R. Garrison, Mr. Hart contributed liberally of his means to the work, and before he left the company had the proud satisfaction of seeing the road finished into Kansas City. It is believed that neither Mr. Hart nor his colleagues realized anything from their investment in this enterprise, but they adhered to the project and battled for its completion chiefly because they comprehended how important a tributary it might become to the prosperity of St. Louis. He is also very largely interested in the gas-works at Kansas City, owning, in fact, one-third of those valuable works.

Of late years Mr. Hart has lived a retired life, devoting himself to the care of his large estates, for success has generally smiled upon him during his forty-five years' residence in St. Louis, and he has amassed a handsome competence. A modest and self-contained man, he is a good type of that patient and persistent class who have contributed so largely to the growth and prosperity of St. Louis, which, as a builder, he did so much to beautify, and whose interests he, as a railroad man and an iron manufacturer, assisted so greatly in fostering. His name will always be mentioned with respect whenever the achievements of the men of his generation are passed under review.

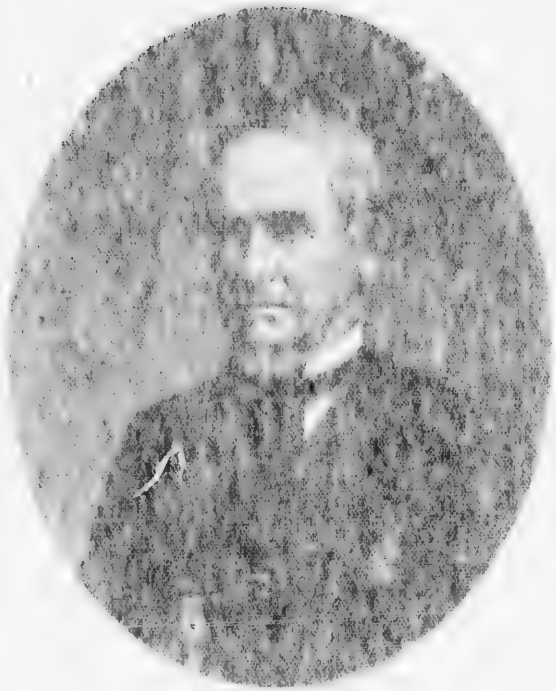
The enlargement and improvement of the water-works, the completion of the harbor, and the progress of the Pacific Railroad were the principal topics of public interest presented in the second message of Mayor Kennett. During the same year the city charter was amended by an act approved March 3, 1851.

In 1851 a list embracing the names of those citizens who owned property within the city limits exceeding twenty thousand dollars in value, was compiled from the assessment books of that year, and is as follows:[1]

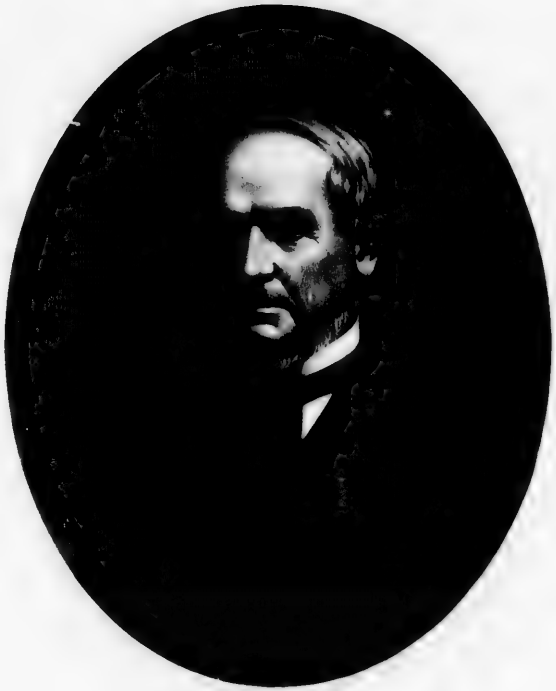
Adams, R. & J.	$20,000
Allen, Thomas	374,600
Alexander, B. W.	75,000
Ames, Henry	24,900
Andrews, Thomas	30,400
Ashley, Elizabeth	121,300
Atchison, Geo. W.	53,300
Aubuchon, Clarissa	22,500
Aull, Joseph, Elizabeth, and Robert	34,300
Austin, R. B., est.	21,300
Avery, Charles	20,200
Barnes, Robert A.	42,000
Bank of Missouri	44,300
Barlow, J. C.	23,900
Barnard & Fithian	22,800
Barry, James G.	24,400
Bass, J. M.	36,000
Bates, John	32,060
Bates, L. L.	20,000
Beckwith, F. W.	61,500
Bebe, Sarah	24,200
Belcher, W. H. & Bro.	91,600
Benoist, L. A. & Co.	20,000
Benoist, Louis A.	200,000
Berthold, B., est	101,600
Biddle, Ann, est.	57,300
Biddle, John	115,700
Billings, J. H	34,000
Bird, A. T.	26,800
Blaksley, Henry	23,600
Blair, F. P., Jr.	44,900
Blanchard, S. G.	41,100
Blanchard, E.	20,000
Blaine, A.	57,600
Block, Phineas	52,500
Block, Emanuel	27,600
Blood, Sullivan	20,000
Blow, H. T	90,000
Blow, Eliza A.	22,500
Bobb, Mary H	25,500
Bogy, L. V.	191,000
Boisvenue, N.	22,300
Boyle, Joseph	22,000
Boyle, Hugh	21,000
Boyce, Octavin	310,000
Brant, J. B.	312,600
Bredell, E.	51,000
Brewster & Hart	20,000
Bridge & Bro	62,800
Brooks, Magehan & Holliday	31,000
Brown, Mary	21,000
Buckland, Thos. A	22,600
Buchanan, George	29,600
Cabanné, C. J. / Cabanné, Francis	33,000
Cabanné, Julia G.	47,700
Campbell, Robert	28,400
Campbell, Thos	20,000
Carlin, Delphi	33,800
Carr, Wm. C.	128,000
Cartan, D.	29,300
Case & Co	21,300
Cavender, John	32,900
Chamber, Chas.	125,000
Chambers & Knapp	41,000
Chambers, T. B.	21,200
Chambers, B. M.	29,500
Chambers, M. C.	20,000
Charless, Joseph	66,000
Charless, Sarah	23,000
Chouteau, A. P	40,000
Chouteau, P., Jr.	290,000
Chouteau, C. P.	46,400
Chouteau, Cyprean	28,400
Chouteau, P. L.	28,400
Chouteau, Francis	33,700
Chouteau, Henry	85,500
Chouteau, G. S.	75,300
Chouteau, Gabriel S. & Co	25,000
Christy, Wm., est.	93,500
Christy, Howard F.	36,800
Churchill, S. B.	$41,000
Clamorgan, L.	50,000
Clark, Jeff K.	30,800
Clark, George R.	54,800
Clark, R. C. & Co.	20,000
Clark, L. C.	43,000
Clark, Renfrew & Co.	36,000
Clemens, James, Jr.	342,000
Cohen, H. H.	22,000
Collier, George	441,000
Coons, Mary	23,300
Coons, V. E	21,300
Coxe, Henry, est	68,200
Crooks, Emely	38,000
Crow, Wayman	31,800
Daggett, Thomas & Wash	21,800
Dangen, A., est.	47,000
Darby, John F.	30,400
Darst, J. C. & M. A.	23,000
Dean, Harriet M.	63,000
Deaver, Larkin, est.	115,000
Deverill, N. N.	22,200
Dillon, P. M., est	70,700
Dobyns, Edward	23,300
Cowdall, J. T. & Co.	32,000
Duhring, H.	27,300
Eddy, J. A. & J. P.	25,000
Edgell, S. M.	27,000
Erskine, Greene	62,000
Estes, E., est	20,000
Evans, A. H	47,800
Ewing, W. G. & G. W.	79,000
Ewing, Benoist, *et al.*	112,800
Farrer, T. A. C.	21,000
Ferguson, D. K.	21,400
Filley, G. F.	21,000
Filley, O. D.	26,000
Finney, J. & W.	16,500
Finney, B.	21,300
Gamble, Archibald	29,600
Gamble, H. R.	
Gantt, Thomas T.	45,000
Gaty, S.	20,000
Gaty, McCune & Co.	170,000
Gay, J. H	110,000
Gay, E. J.	21,000
Glasgow, E. J.	21,000
Goode, George W.	42,000
Graham, Richard	200,000
Grimsley, Thornton	32,300
Hall, Charles R.	16,000
Hale, S. & J.	20,000
Harney, W. S	20,000
Harney, Mary	18,000
Harrison, James	90,000
Hartnett, John	20,000
Haskill, Stephen	34,000
Hewitt, James	57,000
Hill, James B.	20,000
Hill, David B.	24,000
Hill & Lockwood	20,000
Horrel, Thos., est.	23,000
How, Claflin & Cook.	64,000
Hudson, T. B.	24,000
Hunt, Ann L.	30,000
Hunt, Charles L.	40,000
Husman, H. & L.	20,000
Ind. O. Odd-Fellows	20,000
Janney, N. E., est.	21,000
Januury, D. A	20,000
Johnson, John W.	28,000
Kayser, A. & Henry	27,000
Kearney, Mary	27,000
Kenrick, Peter R.	42,000
Kennett, Luther M.	90,000
Kennett, Simonds & Co	27,000
Kern, John	23,000
Kerr, Matthew	43,000
Kingsland & Lightner	61,000
Kingsbury, J. W.	23,000
Knox, Reuben	23,000

[1] The figures opposite each name do not represent the assessed value of all their real estate, nor the total value of their wealth at that time, but the value of their property *within the city limits*, as affixed by the city assessor.

chill, S. B.....	$41,000
organ, L.....	50,000
k, Jeff K...	50,800
k, George R.....	54,800
k, R. C. & Co.....	20,000
k, L. C.....	43,000
k, Renfrew & Co...	36,000
nens, James, Jr...	342,000
en, H. H.....	22,000
lier, George.....	441,000
ns, Mary.....	23,200
ns, V. E.....	21,300
ke, Henry, est	68,200
ooks, Emely	38,000
ow, Wayman.....	31,800
ggett, Thoma- & Wash	21,800
angen, A., est.....	47,400
arby, John F.....	30,400
arst, J. C. & M. A..	23,000
ean, Harriet M.....	63,000
eaver, Larkin, est...	115,000
ewerill, N. N.	23,200
illon, P. M., est	70,700
obyns, Edward	23,500
owdall, J. T. & Co...	32,000
Duhring, H.....	27,500
Eddy, J. A. & J. P....	25,000
Edgell, S. M.....	23,000
Erskine, Greene.	62,000
Estes, E., est.....	20,000
Evans, A. H.....	43,000
Ewing, W. G. & G. W.	79,000
Ewing, Benoist, et al..	113,800
Farrer, T. A. C.....	21,000
Ferguson, D. K.....	21,400
Filley, G. F.....	21,000
Filley, O. D.....	20,8
Finney, J. & W.....	16,6
Finney, B.....	21,5
Gamble, Archibald....	20,0
Gamble, H. R.....	.....
Gantt, Thomas T.....	43,0
Gaty, S.....	20,0
Gaty, McCune & Co...	17,0
Gay, J. H	11,8
Gay, E. J.....	21,0
Glasgow, E. J.....	21,0
Goode, George W.....	42,0
Graham, Richard.....	20,0
Grimsley, Thornton...	32,0
Hall, Charles R.....	16,8
Hale, S. & J.....	20,0
Harney, W. S.....	26,5
Harney, Mary.....	18,0
Harrison, James.....	20,0
Hartnett, John.....	20,0
Haskill, Stephen.....	41,0
Hewitt, James.....	37,5
Hill, James B.....	20,0
Hill, David B.....	24,3
Hill & Lockwood.....	20,0
Horrel, Thos., est.....	23,1
How, Claflin & Cook..	81,4
Hudson, T. B.....	24,0
Hunt, Ann L.....	35,0
Hunt, Charles L.....	22,0
Husman, H. & L.....	24,4
Ind. O. Odd-Fellows..	20,0
Janney, N. E., est....	21,0
January, D. A	25,5
Johnson, John W.....	37,0
Kayser, A. & Henry..	27,1
Kearney, Mary.....	47,0
Kenrick, Peter R.....	98,0
Kennett, Luther M...	.....
Kennett, Simonds & Co.....	30,7
Kern, John	24,0
Kerr, Matthew.....	43,4
Kingsland & Lightner	61,8
Kingsbury, J. W.....	33,3
Knox, Reuben.....	24,7



as limited by the city assessor.



Orion A. Hall

Krantler, Andrew	$30,400
La Beaume, C. Edmund	20,000
La Beaume, Louis A.	63,800
La Motte, J. H.	21,500
Lane, Hardage, est	73,800
Lane, Margaret B.	24,700
Leduc, Louis	28,200
Lemp, Adam	20,000
Lindell, Jesse G.	102,700
Lindell, Peter	420,000
Lindell, Peter & Jesse G	148,400
Loker, Renick & Co.	23,600
Longuemare, C. & L.	36,100
Lucas, James H	452,000
Lucas & Hunt	593,000
Ludlow, N. M.	28,300
Lyon, Wm. M.	27,200
McAllister & Co.	60,600
McCune, J. S., and others	44,000
McCausland, Harriet	26,000
McLaughlin, Thos	27,900
Mackenzie, K.	94,400
Madt, William	46,000
Magennis, A. L., est.	20,500
Mason, E. R.	25,200
Massure, Mary M.	20,000
Mead, Edward	27,600
Meier, Adolphus & Co.	86,900
Mellon, Thomas	49,700
Menke, George	28,700
Merry, James	20,200
Merry, Samuel	30,700
Mills, A. L.	20,800
Mitchell, D. D.	45,200
Morris, M	37,000
Morrison & Boswell	45,800
Morrison, Wm. M.	49,400
Mullanphy, Bryan	291,000
Mulliken, C.	30,900
Murphy, Owen	38,900
Murdock & Dickson	20,000
Murphy, J	32,700
Newman, S.	33,500
Nidelet, C	41,900
Noreum, Frederick	32,500
O'Bryan, Hugh, est	24,000
O'Fallon, Col. John	328,300
O'Neil, Joseph	23,500
Page, D. D.	427,500
Page & Bacon	54,800
Page & Benoist	48,500
Papin, T	27,000
Papin, A. L.	23,500
Papin, P. D.	38,800
Papin, J. L.	35,700
Papin, S. V., est	42,500
Patterson, H. L.	38,600
Patterson, Nathaniel, est	40,800
Paul, René	37,000
Paul, Adolphe	62,500
Peck, C. H. & Co.	47,000
Perry, Ann M.	46,700
Perry, John, est	45,000
Peugnet, L.	26,350
Philibert, J.	34,000
Pitot, H.	55,600
Piggot, Austin	36,000
Pitk, Trusten	41,100
Powell, Peter, est	27,100
Powell, Jos.	20,000
Pratte, Bernard	118,200
Prather, J. V., est	28,200
Price, Enoch	20,000
Rankin, Robert, est	155,700
Rannells, Charles S.	$37,800
Renard, Hyacinth	34,000
Rice, John	61,700
Ridgway, Jos.	26,400
Ridgley, N. H	20,000
Ridgley, Stephen	35,700
Risley, W. & D.	25,000
Robbins, S. A	44,200
Roberts, J. W.	21,300
Roberts, Evans	41,000
Rogers, W. E. & C	34,900
Rucker, L. F.	24,800
Russell & Bennett	40,000
Rutherford, Thos. S.	23,300
Sarpy, J. B	43,100
Sarpy, Peter A	31,700
Schaumburg, C. W., est	54,200
Schaeffer, Nichols	20,000
Schrerber, John	30,400
Schulenburg, F. & C. W	31,500
Semple, Charles	27,800
Shannon, John	23,600
Shaw, Henry	204,700
Shepherd, David	22,700
Shepherd, Elihu H.	48,800
Shreve, H. M., est	26,100
Sickles, J. B. & Co.	33,700
Sigerson, John	28,100
Simonds, John	54,100
Sire, Jos. A	23,000
Smith, Sol	21,100
Smith, Edwin Bat.	34,400
Smith, William	36,000
Smith, James & Bro.	23,300
Soulard, B. A	84,100
Soulard, H. G.	92,200
Soulard, J. G	26,400
Spaulding, Josiah	23,100
Stickney & Scollay	132,000
Sturgeon, J. L. & T. H.	23,300
Swon, J. C	42,000
Swon, Orange	27,000
Swerengen, J. T.	70,900
Switzer, A. G. & Co.	77,700
Taylor, George R.	98,300
Taylor, J. W	38,800
Taylor, N. P., est	31,900
Thatcher, George W.	30,400
Thomas, B. F.	21,100
Tighe & Phillips	23,000
Todd, G. & Co.	20,000
Turner, Henry S	28,000
Tyler, Robert	337,000
Ulrici, R. W.	71,700
Valleau, C. M.	34,400
Vallé, Amadee	42,400
Vallé, O'Dille	25,300
Von Phul, H.	76,400
Waddingham, Wm.	110,600
Walker, Isaac	307,500
Walsh, Edward	28,500
Walsh, J. & E.	166,500
Warburton, John	35,600
West, Thomas H	32,400
Wiggins, Wm.	30,200
Wiggins, E. C.	26,600
Willi, Samuel	32,800
Wilgus, Asa	39,900
Wilson & Bros	46,000
Wood, James	107,000
Woods, Christy & Co.	30,000
Wright, Mary F.	36,900
Wright, Martha A.	62,000
Wright, Wm. T. F.	48,700
Wright, Thomas A.	21,800
Yeatman, James E.	55,900
Yeatman, L.	31,200

The following was the valuation of the old and new limits of each ward, with the tax paid by each ward:

FIRST WARD.	Valuation.	Tax.
Old limits	$501,794	$5,696
New limits	3,267,934	36,696
Total	$3,769,728	$42,392
SECOND WARD.		
Old limits	$3,652,021	$40,681
New limits	834,265	9,286
Total	$4,486,286	$49,967
THIRD WARD.		
Old limits	$6,263,664	$68,999
New limits	2,519,861	21,654
Total	$8,783,525	$90,653
FOURTH WARD.		
Old limits	$6,379,725	$70,404
New limits	1,952,429	27,790
Total	$8,322,154	$98,194
FIFTH WARD.		
Old limits	$2,920,097	$32,324
New limits	1,287,420	15,044
Total	$4,207,517	$47,368
SIXTH WARD.		
Old limits	$361,992	$4,026
New limits	4,790,021	53,988
Total	$5,152,013	$58,014

Mayor Kennett was elected to his third term in April, 1852. The *Republican*, in commenting upon his re-election, said,—

"To his own ease and comfort Mr. Kennett has made a great sacrifice in accepting this office for a third time. He came to city some thirty years ago a poor boy. By his own energy, industry, and honest qualification he has acquired a competency for himself and family, and, still more, a reputation and a name which all the malice and vituperation of personal and political hostility cannot successfully assail. He fortunately came into office just at the time when the services of a strong and clear mind and great energy of character were required. He has proved himself equal to the emergency, and we trust will be able in this year's administration to consummate the improvements of the city, or at least place them in such a situation as will insure their completion at an early day.

"The election of Mr. Kennett was further made important (and in this it probably had as deep a hold on the popular sentiment as in anything else) from the announcement of Col. Benton at the court-house on Saturday, the 6th ultimo, that this was the commencement of the campaign between him and the parties. In that speech, when the colonel descended from the dignity of a United States senator 'of thirty years' standing' to the city politician, he attempted to give to the canvass an importance which, we trust, it will continue to exercise in the future elections of the State. Through all these conflicting elements of discord Kennett, order, and city improvements have been most signally sustained. May it always be thus with our city."

The annual message, May 10, 1852, remarks that "the property absolutely owned by the corporation (the city of St. Louis) is valued by the assessor at $2,899,340," while the entire bonded debt was only $1,850,096. The property of citizens subject to tax-

ation was valued at $41,500,000, the population being estimated at one hundred thousand persons.

Mayor Kennett's administration ended in the spring of 1853, his successor being John How.

Luther M. Kennett was born at Falmouth, Pendleton Co., Ky., March 15, 1807. His father, Press Graves Kennett, was an influential citizen of Falmouth, holding for many years the office of clerk of Pendleton County and Circuit Court, and was likewise president of the Falmouth Branch of Commonwealth Bank. After receiving a good English education and some knowledge of Latin, Luther M. Kennett was sent to Georgetown, Ky., where he remained for two years under the instruction of the Rev. Barton W. Stone, a distinguished Baptist divine. He boarded in the family of that gentleman, and became a good Latin scholar, and was making a fair progress in Greek and French, when, his father meeting with reverses, he was taken from school at fifteen years of age, in order that he might earn his own livelihood. He obtained a situation as deputy clerk of the county court of his native place, where he remained for eighteen months with his uncle, Wm. C. Kennett, who then had charge of the clerk's office, and at the invitation of Gen. James Taylor, of Newport, who was clerk of Campbell County, he removed to that county and performed the duties of deputy clerk, devoting his leisure hours to the reading of law. In 1825 he came to St. Louis, resolved to prosecute the study of the law. To carry out this design it was necessary that he should make some business arrangement by which he could live while completing his studies; and not being able to effect this double object, he engaged in a store as clerk, and after a short time went to Farmington, St. Francis Co., and served in the same capacity. From Farmington he went to Selma, Jefferson Co., afterwards the residence of his brother, Col. F. Kennett, where he became acquainted with Capt. James M. White, a merchant of St. Louis, and nephew of Hon. Hugh Lawson White, of Tennessee, with whom he formed a copartnership, and with whom he continued fifteen years. This connection in business pursuits proved very fortunate to Mr. Kennett, and he amassed an ample fortune.

In 1832, Mr. Kennett was married to Miss Boyce, daughter of Col. John Boyce, of Farmington, Mo., who survived her marriage but three years, leaving a daughter, who became the wife of Benjamin Farrar; and in 1842, having returned to St. Louis from the mining region, he was elected alderman of the Fourth Ward, and served three years. He was re-elected in 1846, but soon resigned to make a tour of Europe.

Mr. Kennett had returned but a short time from his trip abroad when, in 1849, St. Louis was visited by the cholera. The citizens determined to establish a quarantine, and Mr. Kennett was one of the committee of twelve appointed to select the location and carry out the wishes of the people. On the very day of his appointment, in conjunction with his colleagues, he began to put the design in execution. That year he served as chairman of the committee which got up the Pacific Railroad Convention at St. Louis, and was vice-president of the company which was organized to commence the work. In the next year, 1850, being elected mayor of the city, he removed the first shovelful of earth, as a commencement of the great railroad which has become one of the main arteries of the Union.

As mayor Mr. Kennett was indefatigable in his exertions for the welfare of the city. He looked upon the health of the city as a blessing that could not be measured by dollars and cents, and strongly advocated a system of extensive sewerage, that St. Louis might be drained of its impurities. He was also one of the leading citizens in procuring the raising and widening of the wharf and the construction of the great Illinois dike.

In 1853 he was elected president of the Iron Mountain Railroad, and as vice-president of the Pacific Railroad delivered the address on opening the first division of thirty-seven miles for travel. He was a candidate for the Thirty-fourth Congress in 1854 against ex-Senator Benton, and was elected, proving himself an exemplary and efficient member. While a member of Congress, Mr. Kennett, being a member of the Committee on Commerce, contributed much to secure the appropriations made for the Mississippi rapids, and also to procure the right of way from the general government through the grounds of the arsenal and Jefferson Barracks for the Iron Mountain Railroad. Mr. Kennett resided at his fine country residence, Fair View, in St. Louis County, until 1867, when he sold that estate and again went to Europe, where he resided until his death in Paris, in April, 1873. He married his cousin, Miss Agnes A. Kennett, daughter of the late Dixon H. Kennett, in the spring of 1842, and by his second wife, who survived him, he left seven sons, the eldest a commander in the navy.

Col. Ferdinand Kennett, brother of Hon. Luther M. Kennett, died in May, 1861, at his residence at Selma, on the banks of the Mississippi, in Jefferson County. Col. Kennett was widely known as a generous, hospitable man, and his house was the resort of acquaintances from every quarter of the

country. When quite young he engaged in business in St. Louis, and was eminently successful. After accumulating a handsome fortune he retired to Jefferson County, still retaining a business connection in the Kennett shot-tower in St. Louis, and afterwards engaged as a partner in the "Granby Mining Company," in Newton County, Mo. Col. Kennett was a prominent member of the Democratic party, and represented St. Louis County in the Legislature for one term, and took a leading part in its proceedings. Afterwards he was elected president of the Bank of the State of Missouri, and made himself exceedingly popular in that capacity. When the Mexican war commenced he was among the first to volunteer, was elected major of the St. Louis Battalion, and continued in service until discharged.

At the municipal election in April, 1853, John How, the Democratic candidate, was elected mayor over Charles P. Chouteau by a very large majority. The extension of the city limits, the real matter at issue at this election, was defeated by a large majority. The earnestness of the people of St. Louis in pushing forward works of internal improvement designed to bring from the mines and granaries of the interior of the State the ores and other resources which had so long lain dormant for want of cheap transportation was exhibited in the majority given at the election held for the purpose of ascertaining the public wishes on that important subject. Mayor How, in his annual message, after reciting the progress made in the trade, commerce, and population of the city, called the attention of the City Council to the "concern and annoyance to the people of the city," caused by the system of macadamizing the streets, and urged its abandonment and the substitution therefor of the pavement as laid on the wharf and part of Market Street.

The entire debt of the city in 1854 was $3,250,296, of which $1,246,000 was invested in railroads, leaving $2,013,296 as the actual indebtedness for the improvement of the city and harbor. The revenues for 1853 amounted to $725,966.84, with a surplus over expenditures of $37,434.20. Hence Mayor How, in his message for 1854, said, "We may fairly and without fear of contradiction boldly assert that no city of the Union can rival us in the prosperity of our financial condition." The new reservoir for the waterworks was then being rapidly constructed, the police department was in excellent condition, the streets were being extended, and the railroads were pushing into new territories. The first business to which Mayor How called the attention of the City Council of October, 1854, was the compensation of claimants for damages done by the riots of August of that year. Having appointed a commission consisting of "Messrs. Foster, Knott, and Moore, all competent builders, to examine into and report the damage done," the mayor recommended the passage of an ordinance for the payment of these claims. The cause and description of this riot are fully set forth elsewhere. In this connection it is only necessary to refer to the action of the executive of the city, and that is best described in Mayor How's own language in his message. "Anxious as I am," wrote the mayor, "to erase from my memory all recollection of a time so discreditable to the fair fame of our city, I still cannot depart from this subject without briefly alluding to some of those whose assistance was so cheerfully given in sustaining the laws, and in particular to the military organizations under the command of Cols. Renick and Knapp. To these gentlemen, and to the members of their respective commands, I am deeply indebted. It became my unpleasant duty to order the Continentals, under Capt. Blackburn, and the Washington Guards, under Lieut. Deegan, to fire upon the mob, and the promptness with which they discharged their disagreeable task showed that they were fully alive to the duties and responsibilities of the citizen-soldier, and were fully determined to perform their duties at any hazard, and in this case five of these brave men, members of the Continentals, were wounded, some of them severely. I am also under many obligations to the companies of Capts. Pritchard, Morrow, English, Prosser, Byrne, Laibold, Allen, Stifel, and others for valuable and efficient aid rendered me in these the most anxious hours of my life. If the mob was not suppressed at once it was not for want of assistance from these gallant men, but owing to the continually changing scene of its operations, being hardly quelled at one point before disturbances would burst forth at another and more distant one, and not until a general meeting of the citizens authorized me to enroll a volunteer force of one thousand men under the command of Capt. N. J. Eaton was the public peace restored. This large force, a portion of which was mounted, was distributed in various parts of the riotous districts, and completely put an end to the existing disturbance. In alluding to them, I can only say that they were worthy of their gallant commander, whose cool judgment and promptness of action well qualified him as a valuable auxiliary in a time of doubt and danger." Mayor How also recommended the City Council to ask from the Legislature the passage of "a more vigorous riot act; the one we have now is a mere mockery. If the city is compelled to pay the damages done by a mob, she should have ample powers

to put down one." In compliance with the suggestion the act of March 5, 1855, was passed, "to prevent riots and breaches of the peace." At the session of the Legislature an act was passed "to provide for the reduction of the city debt of the city of St. Louis," by which was created the office of "fund commissioner to manage the sinking fund." By this act there was "created a sinking fund for the city of St. Louis, the proceeds of which shall be appropriated exclusively to the purchase of bonds issued by said city." The fund was made to consist of the sales of the city stores in block No. 7, also three-fourths of the net proceeds of the sales of the city commons in the year 1854, and of subsequent years, of sales of railroad stocks, and of the sum of ten thousand dollars out of the general revenues, to be deposited in said fund by the treasurer of the city on the first Monday in October of every year.

Washington King succeeded John How as mayor in 1855.

Mayor King was born in the city of New York on the 5th of October, 1815. His father, a native of England, emigrated early to this country, and being a well-informed man gave to his children all the advantages which the range of studies pursued in the common schools of New York afforded.

Washington King soon becoming an accomplished scholar turned his attention to teaching, and in a little time could boast of having the largest classical and English school in New York City. On Dec. 2, 1836, he married Miss Cynthia M. Kelsey, of Connecticut, by whom he had two children. Believing that the great Mississippi valley offered a wider field for the exertion of individual enterprise, he emigrated to St. Louis in 1844, and commenced mercantile and manufacturing pursuits, in which he became very successful, but in 1849 his business was interrupted by the fire of that year.

A little while after this disaster Mr. King went to Europe, where he remained several years, visiting the various countries, carefully noting the habits and customs of the people, and studying the languages and examining the policy of the different governments he visited. After spending two years and six months in travel, he returned to St. Louis in the spring of 1852, and in 1855 consented to become a candidate for the mayoralty, and was elected to that office.

When in office Mr. King, who always looked upon the law as obligatory upon all, and created for the general benefit, rigidly compelled the observance of legislative enactments, and was the first mayor who put in effectual force the prohibitory Sunday liquor law. So satisfactory was his term of office, that he was repeatedly solicited again to become the people's candidate, but always declined the honor. He was at the head of the Adams Express Company in St. Louis, and for many years was one of the leading business men of the city. He died on the 27th of August, 1861.

In his first message Mayor King called the attention of the City Council to the wisdom of further aiding the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad in uniting the city with the East. The city had already five hundred thousand dollars invested in the stock of the company, but two hundred and fifty thousand dollars more was needed to open the road from St. Louis to Vincennes. The subject of street-paving and the advisability of abandoning the macadamizing system were also urged upon the City Council by Mayor King.

"A memorial to the General Assembly of the State of Missouri" from "the people of the First, Second, and Third Wards of the city of St. Louis, also of the city of Carondelet, and of the district of land between St. Louis and Carondelet, and of the town of Lowell," was presented in this year protesting against the passage of the Hartnett bill for the extension of St. Louis. The memorial was signed by Cornelius Campbell, chairman, and the following committees:

Henry Pilkington, R. Dowling, John C. Degenhart, Henry C. Lynch, D. B. Hill, committee of First Ward; John F. Thornton, Alexander Kayser, J. S. Dougherty, Frederick Wagner, John D. Daggett, N. Nicholas de Menil, committee of Second Ward; Nathaniel Holmes, John J. Anderson, W. Risley, Fred. Ernst Baumgarten, B. W. Alexander, committee of Third Ward; William Taussig, chairman, William Milburn, F. Kellermann, Gottfried Schoenthaler, N. F. Constant, Dr. Fr. Hill, A. W. Webster, Delph. Carlin, C. Koemle, committee of Carondelet and South Commons; Joseph Kegel, John Lenhard, Xavier Gihr, John William Westermann, James McDonald, chairman, committee of Lowell.

John How was again elected mayor in 1856, over John B. Carson, who was the Know-Nothing candidate.[1]

In his message to the Council Mayor How called attention to the act of 1855, empowering the city to repave the streets, and to the condition of the Pacific, Iron Mountain, North Missouri, and Ohio and Mississippi Railroads. The "Sunday law" of 1854-55 had been enforced, but doubts arising as to its having

[1] Mr. Carson was born in Somerset, Pa., in May, 1813, and spent the early years of his life in Philadelphia, where he received a thorough business education. He removed to St. Louis in 1837, and was employed by the firms of J. Ben & William Smith and Collier, Pettus & Co. He then engaged in the commission business with Thomas P. Saunders, and subsequently in connection with his brother, established a dry-goods commission house on Main Street, which he conducted up to the time of his death, July 23, 1866.

been legally passed, it was re-enacted by the Legislature. The ordinance passed in accordance with the law, requiring all places of business to be closed on Sunday, seems to have caused considerable dissatisfaction and inconvenience. "If," said the mayor, "the Council determine that the law shall continue as it now stands, I would recommend that its operation should be made equal on all classes, alike against the newspaper publishers and venders, livery-stables, druggists, etc., and that we settle down in the observance of the old Connecticut Sabbath."

At the election for city officers in 1857 the "Emancipation ticket" triumphed.

"This result," says the *Republican* of April 10th, "has been brought about by a coalition of the black Republicans and that part of the Know-Nothings who, deserting their own flag, resolved to cast their fortunes with the Emancipationists, and who will hereafter be found acting with them. This has been done, moreover, as there is every reason to believe, in accordance with arrangements made at Jefferson City in February, by which so many of the Americans as could be transferred were to go over to the black Republicans, and they, in turn, were to vote for the American candidate for Governor in August next. As it has turned out, this has proved a most unequal bargain.

"Had the resolutions of the Legislature been suffered to stand just as they are on the statute-book this necessity might not have arisen, but a party has appeared in this city and State which declares that *agitation of the question shall never cease until Missouri is a free State.* This is the issue presented to the people of Missouri to be decided in August next, and that issue we, at least, are prepared to meet. In the city of St. Louis the Emancipation party is triumphant, and now we appeal to the State for a verdict, whether they are in favor of emancipation or not.

"This question cannot be dodged. Here is a party arrayed before us, . . down slavery in Missouri. It becomes, then, a question for the people to decide whether they will yield to the appeals of this party, and if so, how the great object is to be accomplished. The State of Missouri contains now more than one hundred thousand slaves, worth, at a moderate estimate, fifty millions of dollars."

John M. Wimer, the Emancipation candidate for mayor of St. Louis, nominated by an avowed Emancipation Convention, and supported mainly, if not entirely, upon that principle, was elected by about fifteen hundred majority.[1]

Although elected on an emancipation platform, Mayor Wimer gave no prominence to the issue during his administration, but confined himself to the ordinary duties of his office.

A proposition was submitted to the voters of St. Louis at the election April 6, 1857, for the issue of bonds to the amount of one hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars, for the purpose of purchasing a lot of ground for the erection of a city hall. The lot proposed was block 489, situated between Chestnut and Market Streets, and Eleventh and Twelfth, and contained three hundred and fifteen feet on the northern and southern fronts. An ordinance, No. 3805, had passed the Council authorizing the purchase, but under the provisions of the city charter it had to be submitted to the qualified voters of the city at the next election for their approval, and consequently the measure could not be perfected until the action of the Council was ratified and the issue of bonds authorized by the popular vote.

That vote Mayor Wimer regarded "as an expression in favor of the location, but at the same time he doubted the policy of making that purchase when the city already owns a large block of ground only about one hundred feet farther west, and known as Washington Square." He, therefore, in view of the city's indebtedness, recommended the passage of an ordinance authorizing the erection of a city hall upon the northern front of Washington Square, and the repeal of ordinance No. 3805. At the election for municipal officers in 1858, Oliver D. Filley, the "Free-Soil" candidate, was elected mayor over George R. Taylor, the Democratic candidate. Mr. Taylor had been a member of the City Council in 1856 and 1857, and had displayed such capacity for the administration of municipal affairs that he was put forward in 1858 as the Democratic nominee for mayor. Owing, however, to the dissensions in his party growing out of the political questions of the day, he was defeated by Mr. Filley. In 1859 Mr. Taylor was again elected to the City Council, and was chosen president of that body.

Mr. Taylor was born in Alexandria, Va., Nov. 11, 1818, of English ancestry. His father was a merchant at that place, but dying when George was but six years old the education of the boy devolved upon his mother, who, intending him for the law, gave him the preparatory education suitable for that calling. Upon completing his education, George studied law two and a half years at Alexandria, and then attended a law school of high repute at Staunton, Va., under charge of Judge Thompson, an eminent jurist. He also studied law at the University of Virginia, Char-

[1] Capt. Patrick Deegan, a member of the board of aldermen, representing the Seventh Ward, died on Thursday, Jan. 15, 1857, after a short illness. He had been a resident of St. Louis for twenty years, and was highly esteemed by all who knew him. He was an Irishman by birth, but was a naturalized American, and his conduct through life was such as to reflect credit both upon his native land and his adopted country. He had held many responsible offices during his long residence in St. Louis, and always discharged his duties with fidelity. As a member of the board of aldermen, his efficiency marked him out as a probable recipient of higher honors. Capt. Deegan was a soldier as well as a citizen, and served in the Mexican war as a lieutenant of the Montgomery Guards.

lottesville, Va. In 1841 he returned to Alexandria, and was licensed to practice law.

Alexandria was too stagnant a town for his ambitious views, and he removed to St. Louis, arriving in June, 1841. The young attorney soon became known for his energy and public spirit, and rapidly made friends among the leading citizens of St. Louis, among them the Hon. Wilson Primm, with whom he formed a law partnership, which lasted until 1849. He was elected a member of the Common Council, and distinguished himself by the advocacy of liberal measures to beautify the city. After the great fire, which destroyed so much of the lower part of the city, he was the first to advocate the widening of Main Street, whose original dimensions were so inadequate to the magnitude of its business, and secured the adoption of the measure. He also urged the widening of the Levee by the purchase of the strip of land between the river and Commercial Street, but failed to secure the adoption of that project. The same liberal views found expression in other directions, and among the measures which he advocated, but in this instance also without success, was the erection of a city hall. Mr. Taylor was also conspicuously identified with the building interests of St. Louis, and made a permanent impression upon the architecture of the city. Hitherto the buildings had been deficient in height, but he introduced a change in this respect by erecting the first six-story building in St. Louis. At that time the city needed a first-class hotel, and many strenuous efforts for the erection of one had been made without result. Mr. Taylor, however, went forward and built, unsupported, the large and handsome Barnum's Hotel, at the corner of Second and Walnut Streets. Two years were occupied in the work of construction, and its cost was two hundred thousand dollars. He was also the leading spirit in the building of the old Merchants' Exchange, and so pleased were the stockholders with his services that they presented him with a beautiful set of silver at a cost of one thousand dollars. He was also president of the association which erected the old post-office at the corner of Second and Chestnut Streets.

The election of Mr. Taylor to the City Council in 1859 closed his political life, and thereafter he devoted himself to the affairs of the Pacific Railroad, of which he was president for ten years. When he assumed the position the road was completed only to Tipton, Mo., and he at once began the work of its extension, which was prosecuted during the war through a section that was the theatre of active military operations. Mr. Taylor was colonel of a regiment to protect the road, but took no other part in military operations. It was impossible to guard the property effectively, and when the road was nearly destroyed and its rolling-stock rendered worthless, it was chiefly through Mr. Taylor's exertions that loans were secured from the county and State to extend the tracks and repair the bridges and road-bed. It was also through his personal exertions, in connection with D. R. Garrison and others, that the State was finally induced to release its lien on the road and sell it to the company. The report of the committee which persuaded the Legislature to adopt this important measure was written by Mr. Taylor, and attracted great attention as a masterly document. The directors of the company voted the committee the princely sum of one hundred thousand dollars for their services in this connection.

Mr. Taylor was a firm believer in the future of St. Louis. Possessing several extensive tracts of land in the former outskirts of the city, he withheld much of it from sale, and lived to see his "addition" covered with dwellings and business houses, and increased fiftyfold in value. He also invested largely in centrally located property, and refused to sell, believing it to be the best investment that could be made. As a consequence of his forethought he was enabled to leave a princely fortune to each of his children, but he also left them a prouder inheritance, that of an unsullied name, and the reputation of being one of the most active and public-spirited citizens that St. Louis ever had.

Mr. Taylor was noted for his affable manners and gentlemanly deportment, and for his strict observance of the courtesies of life. He was proud of his Virginia blood and his English ancestry, and claimed relationship with the noble family of Marlborough, but was nevertheless a stanch democrat and a thorough American in principle.

In August, 1846, Mr. Taylor married Miss Therese L. Paul, daughter of Gabriel Paul, and granddaughter of Col. Auguste Chouteau, so well known in the annals of St. Louis. He died April 6, 1880, leaving five daughters and three sons. His wife had died several years previously.

The estimate of general revenue of the city presented by Mayor Filley in his first message of 1[illegible] showed a revenue of $859,885, and an expenditure of $1,038,000, with the further sum of $360,500 included. The "interest" item in the expenditure amounted to $363,000. This exhibit demanded, in the opinion of Mayor Filley, "retrenchment of every possible kind, . . . not only to curtail the current expenditures, but to arrest, as far as it is in our power, all improvements contemplated by ex[illegible]

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ordinances, not immediately demanded by the urgent wants of the people." As a first step to this proposed retrenchment Mayor Filley recommended the remarkable and unusual step of "a reduction of one-half of the mayor's salary, and a corresponding reduction of your own compensation." The "merchant's tax" Mayor Filley regarded as "clearly defective," because under its operation the merchant was "only required to furnish a statement of the actual cash value of such (goods) as he may have on hand on the second Monday in April of each year," and not "the full amount of all goods received for sale during the year." City Engineer F. Hassendeubel's report presented the condition of the improvement of streets, their pavement and the material therefor, the public parks, the wharf, and the sewers.

Mayor Filley was re-elected at the municipal election of 1859. The act approved March 14, 1859, entitled "An Act amendatory of and supplemental to the several acts incorporating the city of St. Louis," provided in its second section that "the City Council shall consist of one board, called the board of Common Council, who shall possess all the power and exercise the functions of the board of aldermen and City Council as heretofore constituted." The board was made to consist of twenty members, "two to be elected in each ward," the members of the existing board of aldermen who held over under the existing charter to be members of the Common Council under this law, and to hold their offices for one year. On the first Monday in April, 1859, one alderman was to be elected for each ward for two years, and on the first Monday in April, 1860, and every year thereafter, each ward in the city was to elect one alderman for two years, so that one-half of the members of the Common Council should be elected in each year.

The Sunday law was submitted at the regular election in August, 1859, to a vote of the people on the question for or against the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday, with the following result:

Districts.	For.	Against.
First Ward—Eastern Precinct	807	193
" Western "	60	26
Second Ward—Eastern "	790	201
" Western "	60	20
Third Ward—Eastern "	480	278
" Western "	52	33
Fourth Ward—Eastern "	708	611
" Western "	35	116
Fifth Ward—Eastern "	132	1591
" Western "	137	88
Sixth Ward—Eastern "	116	935
" Western "	15	19
Seventh Ward—Eastern "	288	627
" Western "	44	67
Eighth Ward—Eastern "	403	927
" Western "	246	130
Ninth Ward—Eastern Precinct	412	231
" Western "	165	537
Tenth Ward—Northern "	270	167
" Southern "	303	747
Total	5543	7544[1]

The Sunday reform was energetically carried out by Mayor Filley, who issued an order on Saturday night following the election to the police to notify the proprietors of beer-houses and coffee-houses not to open their establishments on Sunday. Notice was accordingly served, and the establishments remained closed as ordered.

Notwithstanding the adoption of the law, the Common Council, on Aug. 9, 1859, passed an ordinance legalizing and directing the keeping open of drinking-houses on Sunday until nine o'clock in the morning, and after three o'clock in the afternoon of that day. The *Republican*, in noticing this, said, "We refer to the regular account of proceedings for the yeas and nays, by which it will be seen that ten members of the Council voted for and two against it. When it is considered that it is scarcely a week since the people of this city by a majority of two thousand votes declared their opposition to the very practice which this law seeks to justify and to carry out, the effrontery of the one-half of the Council may well be the subject of special wonder."

In view of the utter disregard of the vote of the people exhibited in this action on the part of the Common Council, there is more of ironical than real meaning in that portion of Mayor Filley's message in which he states that "the peculiar feature of our political system is in its representative principle, and this will be likely to endure and claim the willing obedience

[1] "The triumphant vote," says the *Republican*, commenting on the result, "by which the people of St. Louis declared their opposition to the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday is a matter of sincere congratulation to all our best citizens. It was not a party vote, it had nothing to do with party, but was the free declaration of men of all parties and nationalities against the excesses which have been superinduced by a special law of the Legislature, passed two years ago, in effect giving unlimited license, in the absence of a proper police, to these houses being kept open on Sunday.

"At the session of the Legislature in 1857 a law was passed to accommodate the two German representatives from this county with a hobby,—in the House as much in jest as earnest,—submitting this question to a vote of the people. The vote was ordered by the Council, but it was such a sugar-coated pill that nobody paid any attention to it, and the question was carried by the friends of the measure without serious opposition. Since then not only the beer gardens in the suburbs, to which men retire as a place of pleasure and relaxation on Sunday, but all the beer saloons and dance-houses and five or six theatres have been opened on Sunday and Sunday night on every prominent street in the city. This is the evil that is mainly complained of by our citizens."

of all so long as it is justly administered. It will be your duty to devise such amendments (to the election law) as will satisfy our citizens that their rights in this respect are in no danger, and that the result obtained at the ballot-box is the true exponent of those entitled to suffrage." Mayor Filley was re-elected at the municipal election of 1860.

The subject of paving the streets was still under consideration by the people and authorities of St. Louis.[1]

Mayor Filley called the attention of the Common Council, in his message of October, 1860, to the noble design of the Mullanphy bequest. Judge Bryan Mullanphy (deceased) had established a permanent charity under the following conditions: "One equal undivided third of all my property, real, personal, and mixed, I leave to the city of St. Louis, State of Missouri, in trust, to be and constitute a fund to furnish relief to all poor emigrants and travelers coming to St. Louis on their way, *bona fide*, to settle in the West." A careful estimate of the value of the property in 1860 showed that it amounted to five hundred thousand dollars, divided as follows:

Cash	$25,000
Real estate in St. Louis	220,000
Real estate in St. Louis common	50,000
Real estate in Carondelet	95,000
Real estate in Carondelet common	50,000
Real estate in St. Louis County	50,000
Real estate and stocks undivided	15,000

Mayor Filley recommended that the estate be managed by a board of commissioners, and that it be kept out of the field of sectarianism or party politics. At the next election Mayor Filley was succeeded by D. G. Taylor, having served the people most acceptably for three successive terms.

Oliver D. Filley belonged to a family which has long been prominently identified with the commercial, social, political, and religious interests of St. Louis, and himself contributed in no small degree to the prosperity of the community in which he lived so many years. The Filleys are of Welsh origin, and the first of the name who trod American soil was one of the little band of pilgrims who in 1620 landed from the "Mayflower" at Plymouth Rock. Thirteen years later a colony settled at Windsor, Conn., where a record is preserved which shows that William Filley was among the number. From this William Filley have sprung the numerous branches of the Filley family now so widely distributed over the Union.

Oliver D. Filley was born on May 23, 1806, in what is now the town of Bloomfield, Conn. He was one of six children, five sons and one daughter. His brothers, as well as himself, afterwards became leading and influential men in the communities in which they resided. Young Filley was early sent to school, and as soon as he had mastered the branches of a business education began to learn the tinner's trade in his father's shop, assisting him also in agricultural work. During this period he completed his education at an academy, and then began life for himself. He first visited Philadelphia, and subsequently Pittsburgh, where he worked at his trade for a short time. He then returned home, but immediately left for St. Louis in company with his brother, Marcus L. Filley. On arriving in St. Louis he procured work in the tin-shop of a Mr. Mansfield, whom he finally bought out about a year later. Under his management the little shop began to enlarge, and to make a figure in the locality where it stood, and its proprietor came to be regarded as an enterprising and energetic young business man. In 1834 his brother, Giles F. Filley, arrived in St. Louis, and entered the shop in order to learn the trade, after which the two brothers formed a partnership which continued several years. Out of this partnership grew the extensive stove-works conducted by Giles F. Filley. O. D. Filley continued in the hardware manufacture until 1873, when he retired. He was uniformly prosperous, and commanded success because of his strict attention to business and unimpeachable integrity. His trade extended to all important points up the Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois Rivers, for St. Louis at that time commanded the commerce on those rivers and their tributaries, and he had a large acquaintance throughout all these regions. In St. Louis he was recognized as a leading business man, and his aid was regarded as an extremely desirable acquisition in the establishment of any new enterprise. He was a director in the Bank of the State of Missouri, and at a critical financial period resigned rather than sanction the receipt of Illinois money on deposits. He subscribed liberally to the Kansas Pacific Railway, and contributed

[1] The city engineer, Truman J. Homer, advertised for proposals to pave two squares on Olive Street, from Second to Fourth, and two squares on Third Street, from Pine to Locust. There were but two bids to pave with iron, one by William O. Shands, who proposed to do the work for fifty-one dollars per one hundred square feet, and the other by Otto Des Granges, who offered to do it for fifty-five dollars per square. The pavement of the former weighed one ton to the square, while that of the latter weighed one ton and a quarter. The latter kind was the same that was laid at the corner of Chestnut and Main Streets. As regards the practicability, the test was made under the patronage of Col. L. V. Bogy, by Messrs. Titus & Des Granges, on Main north of Chestnut Street, and found satisfactory. This pavement was put down in a bed of concrete under every possible disadvantage, at the beginning of winter, in wet weather, and yet it stood the rigor of two winters and two springs.

erously to the advancement of numerous individual enterprises. As a public-spirited man, he felt it his duty to assist every deserving project that appealed for his aid.

Mr. Filley was originally a hard-money Jackson Democrat, and was an intimate personal friend of Thomas H. Benton. It was a habit of the latter on his return from Washington, after landing from the steamer, to walk up to Mr. Filley's store on Main Street and exchange greetings with him before he went home.

In the political agitation of 1846–48 over the Wilmot Proviso, etc., Mr. Filley declared himself unqualifiedly in favor of free soil, and was prominent among the influential men who were even then discussing the question of emancipation in Missouri. In 1848 he supported Mr. Van Buren as the Free-Soil candidate for the Presidency. From 1856 he might be considered a leader in the Republican party, and did not hesitate to proclaim with Francis P. Blair and others that Missouri ought to be free.

In 1858, much against his wish, he was nominated as the Republican candidate for mayor, and after a hard struggle was elected by a decided majority. He served three years, and his administration was characterized by many important improvements, among which were the introduction of the fire alarm telegraph and the perfecting of the paid fire department system.

Upon the breaking out of the war Mr. Filley was at the head of the movement, with Francis P. Blair, James O. Broadhead, S. T. Glover, Hudson E. Bridge, and other patriotic citizens, for arousing and consolidating Union sentiment, and was allotted the chairmanship of the famed "Committee of Safety," his colleagues being James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, John How, and J. J. Witzig. This body was appointed to co-operate with the military in enforcing the authority of the national government, and the invaluable services which it performed in that direction have already been fully described in the chapter on the civil war. Mr. Filley from the first took a most active and energetic part in the work of the committee, and was untiring in his zeal and devotion to the cause. His course, however, while characterized by great vigor and determination, was marked by a considerate spirit towards his fellow-citizens who sympathized with the South, which exhibited clearly his natural generosity and warmth of heart. In this connection it is worthy of note that Mr. Filley earnestly opposed the military levies of money on Southern sympathizers, believing them to be oppressive and unjust.

His membership on this committee was his last prominent public service, but he was a deeply-interested witness of the great conflict of the civil war, and gave the Union cause the full benefit of his wise and energetic counsel. His personal example and firm, unwavering course undoubtedly contributed immensely to the solidifying of Union sentiment in St. Louis, and to strengthening the hands of the representatives of the government in Missouri.

Mr. Filley was married to Chloe Velina Brown, at his native town, Bloomfield, about the year 1835. He died Aug. 21, 1881, leaving seven children, viz.: Oliver B. Filley, Mrs. Ellen Richards, Mrs. Maria Jennette, wife of John D. Davis, Alice, the wife of Robert Moore, Marcus Filley, Jennie, wife of Isaac Morton, and John Dwight Filley. The first mentioned, Oliver B. Filley, has been for many years one of the proprietors of the well-known Fulton Iron-Works.

Oliver Dwight Filley was a man of marked individuality, and left an impression on the progress and development of St. Louis that will last as long as the city endures. He was a man of the strictest integrity in every relation of life, and was remarkable for the tenacity with which he adhered to what he thought to be right. Always at his desk when not employed upon some public service, he taught his generation the dignity of labor in the most practical and forcible manner. He was always proud of the fact that he had been a successful mechanic, and was never ashamed to be found working at his trade. No more appropriate inscription could be placed on his tomb than "He was an honest workman." He abhorred debt, which he declared to be wrong in principle, and never deferred the payment of an obligation that was due. He never sought office, but, prompted by a keen sense of his duties as a citizen, accepted its obligations when called upon to do so in the interest of the community, and discharged them with rare fidelity and skill. To sum up, Mr. Filley was an ardent patriot, a thoroughly upright man, a good citizen, a faithful public officer, and a true friend.

Daniel G. Taylor was elected mayor in April, 1861, over John How. The "Union Anti-Black Republican" ticket also elected all of its councilmen, except in the First and Second Wards. The official returns were as follows:

WARDS.		Mayor.		Comptroller.		Auditor.		Treasurer.		Register.		Recorder.		City Attorney.		Harbor-master.	
		D. G. Taylor.	John How.	Jas. Fortune.	Wm. Patrick.	F. P. Chilton.	C. W. Irwin.	J. M. Feldman.	C. Stucklin.	Wm. S. Cobly.	F. Haemsler.	V. J. Peers.	T. J. Dailey.	W. H. Lockland.	Geo. Dennison.	G. M. Ratcliff.	Bart. Aldo.
First Ward,	E. P.	547	1420	553	1414	548	1418	533	1423	548	1413	548	1429	559	1406	559	1404
	W. P.	51	114	52	109	52	109	50	109	52	109	52	109	52	109	52	109
Second "	E. P.	433	1195	431	1189	428	1194	420	1197	431	1189	428	1181	441	1182	444	1174
	W. P.	75	73	70	77	75	73	67	79	74	73	72	76	75	73	75	72
Third "	E. P.	682	517	658	520	675	518	660	525	676	516	660	531	688	511	694	502
	W. P.	48	136	47	130	47	137	46	138	46	138	47	137	57	134	49	135
Fourth "	E. P.	1,149	752	1,129	757	1,140	750	1,140	739	1,144	739	1,120	770	1,156	734	1,150	736
	W. P.	197	98	183	104	195	98	189	99	193	98	194	99	197	96	196	97
Fifth "	E. P.	1,590	455	1,526	495	1,567	478	1,556	459	1,588	445	1,555	485	1,597	444	1,573	456
	W. P.	273	239	267	241	270	240	270	237	269	240	274	236	274	234	272	238
Sixth "	E. P.	1,007	343	951	375	993	349	984	342	1,004	336	982	358	1,000	340	988	344
	W. P.	27	26	24	28	27	26	27	26	22	27	28	25	28	25	27	26
Seventh "	E. P.	875	397	846	407	867	403	864	394	880	388	791	478	877	393	865	396
	W. P.	248	261	240	262	245	261	245	261	247	259	211	294	240	257	252	252
Eighth "	E. P.	1,126	820	1,184	848	1,105	841	1,102	832	1,130	808	1,157	884	1,120	808	1,130	806
	W. P.	227	450	224	450	225	450	224	451	228	448	182	491	226	449	224	449
Ninth "	E. P.	1,255	324	1,222	347	1,240	331	1,240	322	1,270	303	1,230	338	1,256	315	1,256	317
	W. P.	927	513	911	519	912	519	925	518	927	507	892	541	922	513	922	512
Tenth "	E. P.	352	420	349	411	346	425	345	423	349	420	350	420	348	421	357	413
	W. P.	1,003	881	929	945	919	965	965	895	996	875	969	907	1,001	884	1,023	859
		12,092	9434	11,996	9633	11,866	8885	10,852	9469	12,074	9431	11,741	9779	12,132	9330	12,100	9255

[1] Majority for Taylor, 2658.

The vote in the several wards for councilmen stood:

First Ward.

Woerner.....1418
Locke..... 692 Majority..... 726

Second Ward.

Nelson.....1197
Keemle..... 488 Majority..... 709

Third Ward.

Thornton..... 748
Ladue..... 590 Majority..... 158

Fourth Ward.

Funkhouser.....1208
Bigelow..... 902 Majority..... 306

Fifth Ward.

Wells.....1709
Cady..... 649 Majority.....1060

Sixth Ward.

Bennett..... 943
Smith..... 370 Majority..... 573

Seventh Ward.

Matlack.....1033
Barnes..... 667 Majority..... 366

Eighth Ward.

Thornburgh.....1290
Kyler.....1228 Majority..... 62

Ninth Ward.

Driscoll.....2023
Stolle..... 914 Majority.....1109

Tenth Ward.

Speers.....1358
White.....1273 Majority..... 85

The civil war, which affected the prosperity and happiness of every portion of the country, deprived Mayor Taylor of the power to congratulate the Common Council, after the usual form, upon the "increasing prosperity and continued happiness" of the city. Political excitement ran high, and much bitterness of feeling was engendered. Collisions, sometimes involving loss of life, were of frequent occurrence, and many incidents of a deplorable character added to the complications of the situation. In the midst of the prevailing excitement, with conflicting rumors and statements unsifted and undetermined, the position of the mayor was full of perplexity and embarrassment. It was, however, a source of no little self-congratulation to the mayor that the mass of the citizens of St. Louis remained loyal to the laws and cordially co-operated with the authorities in their efforts to maintain the high reputation of the city as the home of a peaceable and order-loving people. The commerce of St. Louis was suspended by the war, manufactories ceased to operate, with the exception of those engaged in the production of the materials of war; the steamboat interest was prostrated, real estate depreciated, rents diminished, and building ceased. Missouri was the theatre of war of the worst and most revolting character. Under these trying circumstances Mayor Taylor could only invoke a wise and beneficent Providence "to interpose and restore the blessings of peace, order, and good government."

Daniel G. Taylor was re-elected mayor in 18[illegible] and J. Gabriel Woerner [illegible] served as a member of the City Council in [illegible], was re-elected in [illegible] year and chosen the president of that body. Woerner was again re-elected in 186[illegible]. In the Council he was specially distinguished for great industry and for his thorough mastery of details. In 18[illegible]

and again in 1866 Mr. Woerner was elected State Senator, in which capacity he served on the Judiciary Committee, and was the author of many useful public measures. His Report on the Iron Mountain Railroad, as indicating the future railroad policy of the State, has a permanent value. In 1864, when the bitterness engendered by the war was at its height, he was the Democratic candidate for mayor, but was defeated by James S. Thomas. In 1870 his judicial career began with his election to the position of judge of probate by a majority over both opposing candidates. In 1876 he was re-elected to the same office by an increased majority over an unusually strong candidate, and after six years' further trial was elected, in 1882, a third time judge of probate by a majority of more than twenty-one thousand. This may be termed the climax of a long series of political triumphs.

J. Gabriel Woerner, at present judge of probate, has attained distinction as a politician, lawyer, and literary man. He was born in the village of Moehringen, kingdom of Würtemberg, April 28, 1826. His father, a carpenter by trade, emigrated to America in 1833, and lived in Philadelphia till 1837, when he removed to St. Louis. In these years young Woerner had attended school and acquired the rudiments of education, both in English and German. In 1841 he went to Springfield, Mo., then a small frontier town, where he was employed as clerk in a country store. Here he remained from his fifteenth to his eighteenth year, a time of life in which impressions are most vivid, and his experiences in Springfield, growing out of the country life in the West, have in no small degree influenced his opinions and character, as well as colored a portion of his writings. In 1844 he returned to St. Louis and began his more active life by learning the printer's trade. At the same time he became an ardent politician, attaching himself strongly to the party led by Thomas H. Benton, at that period the greatest intellectual force in the West. In 1848, during the revolution in Germany, he went abroad, desiring to participate in the struggle for freedom in the Fatherland. While in Europe he furnished newspaper correspondence in German for the *Tribune* of St. Louis and for the *New York Herald* in English. At the time his letters attracted a good deal of attention on account of their raciness of style and novelty of view. In 1850 he returned to St. Louis and participated in the Benton movement, which was then at its culminating point. He was at first appointed editor of the *Tribune*, but soon became its proprietor, and stoutly supported the emancipation views of the Germans. Editorial labor, however, was not congenial, and in 1852 he sold out his paper and his journalistic career was brought to a close.

In the same year (1852) he began the study of the law, and his legal career proved to be altogether the most important occupation of his life. He filled a number of responsible positions in rapid succession. In 1853 he was appointed clerk of the recorder's court, and in 1854 was reappointed to the same office. In 1855 he was admitted to the bar, in 1856 he was clerk to the board of aldermen, in 1857 and again in 1858 he was elected city attorney, and also held the political offices we have heretofore mentioned.

The secret of Judge Woerner's success is found in the fact that he is a man of the people in the best sense of the word. Popular to an extraordinary degree in his manners, he supplements them with the most rigid integrity and an unquestioned capacity and fidelity in office. From the time of his admission to the bar in 1855 until his election to his judicial position he enjoyed an active and extensive practice. His decisions as judge have always commanded the highest respect, and have seldom been reversed by the superior courts. His legal opinions are eagerly sought by the profession, and he has become an authority upon the subject of probate law. He has contributed articles to the *Southern Law Review*, and occasionally to the newspapers upon important legal and municipal questions, and is understood to be writing an exhaustive work on probate law, which is intended to be the crowning gift of his life to his profession. Judge Woerner has the rare judicial qualities of fairness, quickness of comprehension, and an unconquerable patience. The chief characteristic of his methods is that he strikes the happy mean between a too rigid adherence to mere technicalities and a too lax observance of legal forms.

Such has been Judge Woerner's varied and interesting career, political, legislative, and judicial, but this sketch would be incomplete without some account of his literary work. With Judge Woerner literature has been a passion all his life. He began early by writing short essays, poems, tales, and translations, which were published in newspapers. In 1850 the novel "Die Sklavin" was first printed as a serial in the *German Tribune*, and afterwards published in book form, meeting with so rapid a sale that the edition was exhausted in two months. Other novels were printed in the newspapers, but not as books. In 1873, during moments of leisure from his judicial duties, he wrote a drama in German, also called "Die Sklavin, or the Female Slave," but quite different from the novel of the same name. This drama has been performed more than twenty times in the German theatres of St.

Louis, always to full houses, and has been produced in all the leading cities of the West. Neither the German original nor an English translation has ever been printed. Judge Woerner is also an excellent literary critic, and his reviews of literary publications never fail to attract attention.

Doubtless the leading intellectual influence of his life was derived from his connection with the Philosophical Society of St. Louis, of which he may be called one of the founders, having been present at its first meeting in 1865. The men with whom he there associated, particularly Dr. William T. Harris and Lieutenant-Governor Brokmyer, inspired him to study Hegel's writings, especially the "Philosophy of Right," which has entered deeply into his juristic attainments. Strong traces of these philosophical studies can be found in all his writings and in his legal decisions.

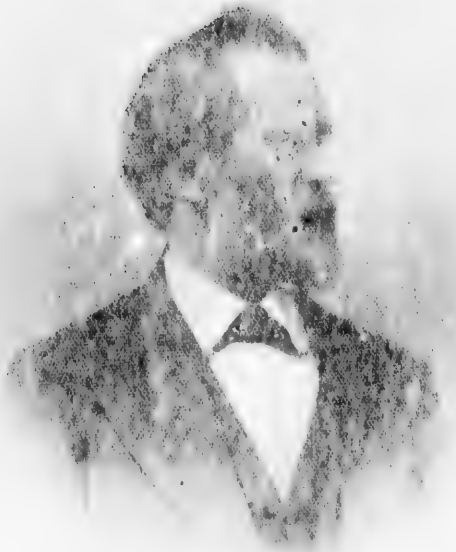
He writes English and German with equal facility, seeming to prefer German for his purely literary works, as the spontaneous flow of his mother-tongue. His German style has a peculiar flavor of its own,—an American flavor, it may be called, since it seems to have been begotten of the influences of this country working upon a deeply sympathetic German spirit. English he adopts for his legal discussions, not so much from necessity as from choice. Most of his literary works bear evidences of the great transition period from slavery to freedom through which he lived and in which he played a not unimportant part.

In Mayor Taylor's message to the Council he said that he considered it to be his duty to regard only the question of capability and honesty, without inquiring into or caring for the political views of appointees to office, and the Common Council, by confirming in all instances the appointments made by the mayor, gave to this policy its emphatic indorsement. Mayor Taylor made no recommendations favoring a change of policy or indicating any considerable improvements that it would be desirable to make. The failure on the part of the city to pay its obligations, he said, was caused by circumstances beyond the control of its authorities; but while recognizing these effects of the existing war, Mayor Taylor opposed deferring "payment a day longer than imperative necessity demands." Mayor Taylor was succeeded by Chauncey I. Filley in 1863.

Daniel G. Taylor was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Nov. 15, 1819, and was of Scotch parentage, one of his parents being born in the Lowlands and the other in the Highlands of Scotland. His parents dying when he was quite young, he was left to his own resources to make his way in the world. He embarked in the steamboat business, entering it first as cabin-boy in Cincinnati, and gradually but surely working his way up, and winning the confidence of his employers. He was the bar-keeper on board the steamer "Oneida" when she was burned at the wharf in Cincinnati, and made a narrow escape. As it was he lost everything he had on board. Coming to St. Louis, he went up the Illinois River as clerk on the "Clermont," and about the year 1845 was in command of the same steamer. He made a trip up to the Yellowstone, an expedition of some risk and enterprise in those days, taking up a load of supplies for the American Fur Company, and returning with a load of furs. After proving his capacity as a commander, he left the river and went into a boat-store at Cincinnati. He afterwards closed out his store at Cincinnati, and returning to St. Louis purchased the boat- and furnishing-store of Wood & Shaw, on the corner of Market Street and the Levee, but in the great fire of 1849 was burned out, just as the papers completing the purchase were made out, and before he had effected an insurance on the property. Mr. Taylor then went into the steamboat agency business with Richard Hopkins, under the firm-name of Taylor & Hopkins, their location being on the Levee. He continued in that business about a year after the great fire, when he engaged in the liquor business with George Harrington, under the firm-name of Taylor & Harrington. During the time he was in that firm he was elected alderman from the Third Ward, and served as such two years, in 1854 and 1855. The firm of Taylor & Harrington was dissolved on the 1st of January, 1857, and Mr. Taylor continued the business under the style of Daniel G. Taylor & Co. On being elected mayor he sold out his interest to his nephew and partner, John G. Prather. At a special election in May, 1870, Mr. Taylor, as the Democratic candidate, was elected city treasurer. His opponent was Dwight Durkee, a gentleman who stood high, and who had been temporarily appointed by Mayor Cole to fill the office. It was the first defeat of the Republican party in St. Louis. In 1872, Mr. Taylor was re-elected, and the trust reposed in him was executed with entire satisfaction. Besides these municipal offices he held positions of trust in various corporations, and was president of the Boatmen's Insurance and Trust Company, and of the Real Estate Savings Institution. In addition to these positions he held directorships in various companies, and was often selected to settle estates involving large sums and requiring a clear head to master the intricate details. Among the large estates thus administered was that of Patrick

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J. G. Haerner.

Rogers, of Cincinnati, and the affairs of the St. Louis Floating Dock Company.

Mr. Taylor gave more in private charities and assisted more young men in business than almost any other man of his means in the city. Actors and actresses, the wives of steamboat-men and pilots came to him for assistance when they got into trouble, and their appeal, if at all worthy, was never made in vain. Occurrences of calamity and disaster, involving human suffering and distress, awakened every sympathetic fibre of his heart, and he was ever ready to contribute of his means or go himself to assist the sufferer. During the flood of 1844 he was among the rescuing party who brought away the nuns, whose convent was nearly overwhelmed by the overflow. When the steamer "Stonewall" was burned funds were raised and boats sent down to recover the bodies, and Mr. Taylor had charge of the expedition.

A terrible domestic misfortune overtook Mr. Taylor in the burning of the steamer "G. H. Crosman," on the 4th of February, 1858, near New Madrid. Mr. Taylor saved one child, but the other, which was placed in charge of the watchman, was lost. His wife, although provided with a life-preserver, also perished, and her body was found fifty miles below the point where the steamer blew up. Mr. Taylor was also present in the memorable Gasconade disaster, and was quite seriously injured. He was a member of Polar Star Lodge of Masons, No. 79, and also of St. Louis Royal Arch Chapter, No. 8. Upon his death, which occurred Oct. 8, 1878, he left a wife and four children, the eldest girl being the daughter of his first wife. Mr. Taylor visited Europe a year or so after his first wife's death, and made a trip to California immediately after the Gasconade disaster in order to regain his health, which had been shattered by reason of injuries received on that occasion.

In private life Mr. Taylor was noted everywhere for the evenness of his disposition, his hatred for all sorts of wrong-dealing, his sympathy for those struggling honestly against adverse fate, his antipathy for shams of every description, and especially for his fidelity to his friends. He was one of the most useful citizens St. Louis ever had, and, while not what is called a statesman and less a politician, his habits and capacities fitted him peculiarly to serve the municipality. When called into the official service of the city, his valuable efforts in the establishment of the present fire department, and the admirable address he exhibited as mayor in the trying year of 1861 in saving the city government from being overthrown by the military power, deserve to be especially remembered.

Chauncey I. Filley was elected mayor in 1863. The practical evidence of reviving industry and trade was furnished in the message of Mayor Filley, wherein it was shown that the receipts from merchants' licenses for the last six months had been more than fifty per cent. greater than the collections for the entire previous year; the same indications of renewed prosperity were given in the increased taxes from real estate and other sources of revenue, which responded promptly to the new life and vigor thrown into all branches of trade by better times. The act "to establish a public park for the use of the inhabitants of the city of St. Louis," approved Feb. 5, 1864, created "the commissioners of the Central Park," and the first board under the act was composed of John H. Lightner, James B. Eads, Henry Shaw, and Wm. McPherson. In April, 1864, Mayor Filley resigned in consequence of ill health.

James S. Thomas was elected mayor for the unexpired term of Mayor Filley. In his message the new mayor called the attention of the Common Council to the fact that "before the 1st of July the city has to inform the Gas-Light Company if it intends to make the purchase of these works, which now amount to from one million to one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars;" and that if it did, arrangements would have to be made for the payment of the same before the end of the year. The legislation in respect to gas-light in force at that time forbade any gas-light company in St. Louis from demanding an advance payment from customers for more than one and a half months' quantity of gas. It also required the mayor to appoint a gas inspector and a deputy; forbade averaging bills, and required bills for the actual amount of gas consumed; prohibited the imposition of a delinquent gas bill by a former tenant upon a new tenant; provided for the purchase of the works by the city of St. Louis, and authorized the issue of bonds, to be designated on their face "special gas-works bonds of the city of St. Louis;" provided a board of commissioners, if the works were purchased, to manage, control, operate, and extend the works; and also provided for the lease of the works by the city. In his message of October, 1864, Mayor Thomas announced that "the prospect which for so many years has been held out to our citizens of placing these works in the hands of the city is now about to be consummated; that the public interest will be better served and the wealth and credit of the city largely increased by their acquisition is very evident." The scheme failed "owing to the raid Sterling Price was just then making into Missouri; and, owing to the doubtful consequences which they supposed it entailed, it was found impossible to make

sale of them (the bonds) at fair prices." Thus the time passed in which the purchase could be made, and the whole matter was deferred by the law until Jan. 1, 1870. The privilege of purchasing the gas-works by the city of St. Louis was provided for in the charter of the Gas-Light Company in twenty-five years after Jan. 1, 1840. Mayor Thomas was re-elected in 1865 on the Republican or Radical ticket by a majority of over three thousand over Daniel T. Wright, the workingmen's candidate.

Fearing another outbreak of Asiatic cholera, Mayor Thomas made various recommendations of a sanitary character, especially for the prevention of fouling the streets and alleys with filth and slops, and against permitting cows and goats to run at large. The provisions of the law of March 14, 1859, authorizing the Council to appoint a gas inspector, never having been carried into effect, the Council, at the recommendation of the mayor, passed an ordinance, Dec. 19, 1865, providing for an inspector of gas. George P. Herthel being appointed Feb. 6, 1866, proceeded to examine into the causes of complaint, and reported that the gas furnished to consumers was of an inferior quality, the average quality being eleven and six-tenths candles, whereas the standard of law was thirteen candles. Upon this exhibit the mayor, on May 2, 1866, notified the St. Louis Gas-Light Company that a reduction of ten per cent. from the price of gas for the month of April, 1866, should be made, and in his message added, "As it is my intention to enforce the deduction to all consumers, I suppose the gas company, being a wealthy corporation, may see fit to take legal steps to enforce their exorbitant demands; but I have no hesitation in saying that the position assumed by the city will be sustained, and the public will feel that the proper corrective to the trickery so long indulged in without opposition by the possessors of this gigantic monopoly has been applied."

An ordinance approved by the mayor on the 18th of December, 1865, for the numbering of the houses fronting upon the public streets provided "that the odd numbers should apply to the north and west sides of the streets, and the even numbers to the south and east sides of the streets running in a northwardly and southwardly direction, the numbering to commence with No. 1 at Market Street, and to increase northwardly at the rate of one hundred numbers for each block, as nearly as the varying series of streets would admit of—Arsenal Street, Arrow Street, Chouteau Avenue, Market Street, Franklin Avenue, Cass Avenue, Spring Street, and Salisbury Street, and their continuations east and west, to be rectified lines of uniformity in numbering north and south. On all streets running in a westwardly direction the numbering to commence at the wharf, and increase, going westwardly, at the rate of one hundred numbers for each block, as nearly as the varying series of streets would admit of,—the wharf, Third Street, Ninth Street, Fourteenth Street, Jefferson Avenue, and Grand Avenue, and their continuations northwardly and southwardly, to be rectified lines in numbering westwardly,—the general rule to be that one hundred numbers should represent each block going westwardly from the wharf, and a like numbering for each block north and south of Market Street, one number to be allotted for every twenty feet of vacant ground."

At the time of the passage of the ordinance the city engineer was authorized to advertise in the usual manner for proposals, and to contract with the lowest and best bidder for the numbering of all the houses in the city, and the sum of two thousand dollars was appropriated for the payment thereof. Shortly after the passage of the above ordinance a new city directory was issued, based upon the old numbering of the houses, which directory was rendered practically useless on account of the changing of the numbers to correspond with the new method of numbering streets.

James S. Thomas was re-elected mayor in 1866.[1]

The division of the Common Council into two branches was authorized by the new charter of 1866. By this charter many ordinances were required to be passed or amended. Mayor Thomas, in his message of May 7, 1867, called the attention of the new Council to Article IV., Section 7, "to provide for regulating the sprinkling of the streets and public thoroughfares of the city," and to the necessity of additional legislation for the prohibition of cattle of every kind from running at large in the city; and for the prevention of the erection of wooden buildings within

[1] The *Republican*, in speaking of the elections in April, 1866, said, "We have on the general city ticket no less a majority than three thousand. We have handsomely elected Steger for street railroad commissioner and Cady for recorder. We have carried four out of the five aldermanic districts (two aldermen to each district), giving the Conservatives full control of the upper board of the City Council. We have elected fifteen out of the twenty members of the board of delegates. We have carried eight of the ten wards in the city, and lost the First by scarcely more than twenty votes. For school directors all the Conservative candidates are elected except in the Eighth Ward.

"At the election for and against the new Constitution, last June, the number of votes polled in the city was 14,550. Yesterday the total vote was fully one thousand less. This shows that the victory over which we now rejoice was gained in large measure by concessions from the Radical party, men disgusted with what Radicalism had done."

prescribed limits, and the stopping by effectual legislation of throwing stones and the use of slings by boys, "whereby many persons had been injured, as well as property destroyed."

Great trouble was beginning to grow out of the defective manner in which private sewers had been constructed, and to remedy existing evils, as well as to prevent serious consequences in the future, Mayor Thomas recommended the passage of a law requiring such "traps as would prevent the reflow of sewer-gas into the surrounding air." The establishment of "Tower Grove Park" having been authorized by an act of the Legislature, the issuing of bonds for that and other purposes was authorized. The cholera in 1866 had found the city in "a filthy condition," and on the 15th of August, 1866, Mayor Thomas appointed sanitary committees in each ward of the city, whose duty it was to inquire into the condition of infected neighborhoods, and to adopt such means for checking it as necessity seemed to demand. These committees immediately went to work, and with such effect that the mortality soon showed a marked decrease. The act of the General Assembly approved March 9, 1869, entitled "An Act for the preservation of the public health of the city of St. Louis," authorized the mayor to appoint a board of health. In compliance with this law the mayor selected Dr. John T. Hodgen, Dr. Jos. Heitzig, Dr. Ellsworth Smith, James Pease, and Constantine Maguire. The board organized on the 16th of March, 1869, and one of its first acts was to make an examination into the quality of the ice supplied by the dealers. An ordinance was in force prohibiting the sale of ice cut from ponds within the city limits, but there was nothing in the ordinance prohibiting dealers in ice from taking their ice from such ponds, and it was found impossible to identify the ice *sold* as that which was known to have been taken from the prohibited ponds. Henry C. Moore, messenger of the board of health, excited the ire of ice dealers by exposing the manner in which the ordinance had been evaded, and elicited such denunciations from them that Mayor Thomas felt called upon to assure the Council that Mr. Moore's report was correct.

Truman J. Homer, for many years city engineer of St. Louis, died on the 8th of October, 1867, and Mayor Thomas urged the Council to secure the valuable papers relating to the local affairs of the city which Mr. Homer had collected during the years he had served in the engineer department.

Huckstering in the markets had been a subject of much legislation in the City Council. In May, 1864, Mayor Thomas had called the attention of that body to the loss sustained by the city, and in consequence of this recommendation the Council had passed an ordinance (No. 5434) prohibiting huckstering in the markets, but subsequently, owing to the drain of the war upon the laboring population and the scarcity of produce caused thereby, the ordinance had been modified by No. 5621, admitting hucksters to the market. This last ordinance, though vetoed by the mayor, was passed over his veto. The connection between this subject and the cholera in 1866 was shown by Mayor Thomas in his message to the City Council in October, 1867. The records of the board of health demonstrated that in 1866, up to the 19th of October, there were three thousand five hundred and eighteen deaths from cholera, whereas up to the same date in 1867 there were only six hundred and ninety-six, with an increase of population of at least twenty thousand. The prohibition of the sale of vegetables and fruit by the board of health in 1867 Mayor Thomas regarded as the means by which the "partial immunity from cholera" was obtained in 1867, "for you will observe," he added, "that while only one hundred and eleven deaths from cholera occurred from the 23d of July to the 3d of September, the period of prohibition, four hundred and ninety-five have occurred since its repeal on the last-mentioned date up to the 19th of the present month" (October, 1867). "On the 2d of September no deaths from cholera were reported, and on the following day the board of health withdrew the prohibition. On the 11th of September, which would be as soon as the hucksters would have an opportunity to bring their produce to our markets, there were eight deaths,—one more than had occurred on any previous day in this year. On the 26th there were forty-three deaths, and on the 27th sixty, which was the largest number during the present year." In view of these facts the mayor again recommended the prohibition of huckstering, and by ordinance No. 7242 it was provided that "no grocer, huckster, or other person shall sell or offer for sale in any market or market-place any produce or other article purchased within the city limits during the market hours, and all farmers, gardeners, and producers are hereby authorized to sell it during the market hours in any market, subject to the provisions of this article."

The custom which in recent years had obtained of settling in the Legislature the affairs of St. Louis was called to the attention of the City Council by Mayor Thomas. "Things that are purely municipal in their character," he said, "such as the blockading of our narrow streets and thoroughfares, and the collection of our revenue, and other kindred local matters, the City Council, and not the General Assembly

of the State, should be the proper law-makers. Such matters are questions not for the Commonwealth, but for the corporation; and in whatever concerns the city alone, and does not involve principles of general application, the city, through its recognized organs, should be consulted before a final decision."

The general prostration of commercial and manufacturing interests which affected the country in 1867 did not spare St. Louis, but, in so far as the city authorities could influence the progress of the city, the prospect was that of a prosperous future. A tide of immigration unparalleled in the history of the country was pouring in, and its effects and influences were fruitful of good to the city. "At no distant day," wrote Mayor Thomas, "the iron horse, with its precious load of human freight, will start out from the Atlantic coast, whirling across the continent for three thousand miles, and across the bridge which is soon to span our mighty river at this point, stopping at St. Louis for wood and water, and then rapidly gliding on until the receding shriek of the locomotive will be heard within the snowy recesses of the Rocky Mountains, and on the slopes that overlook the city of San Francisco and the golden shores of the Pacific. Then will St. Louis be the centre of the American continent, and although New York may be the head, St. Louis will be the heart of the American nation."

During the several preceding terms of Mayor Thomas three great improvements were kept constantly in view by him. These were the extension of the city wharf from North and South Streets to the city limits, a supply of good and wholesome water, and the completion of the sewer system. He had obtained the necessary legislation for all of these improvements, and they were progressing rapidly towards completion. In addition to these purely local matters, the prospective early completion of the railroad system of St. Louis, as well as that of the great bridge, were a source of congratulation to the merchants and business men of the city, by whose efforts and energy these great works were undertaken and sustained.

Mayor Thomas was re-elected in 1868, and in his annual message he congratulated the citizens of St. Louis on "that great advancement and prosperity" which had crowned the efforts and endeavors of citizens and municipality to build up the trade and commerce of the city. The experience of five years in the mayoralty, he added, had shown that the powers with which the mayor was invested were too contracted for the responsible head of the whole city. The legal arrangements for the purchase of Tower Grove Park having been completed, and the sale of the bonds having realized three hundred and sixty thousand dollars, Messrs. Henry Shaw, Charles P. Chouteau, Adolphus Meier, and Judge William F. Ferguson were appointed commissioners, and entered upon the discharge of their duties.

Mayor Thomas again urged upon the City Council the adoption of measures for the purchase of the gas-works. The opportunity offered of securing these works in 1870, he pointed out, would not again occur until 1875.

The oppressive nature of the tax of three hundred dollars on non-resident traders, and the fact that it had become a "dead letter" and was not enforced, were called to the attention of the mayor by Dodd, Brown & Co., Henry Bell & Son, Hurt, Hellmers & Vorhies, John G. Allen & Son, Samuel C. Davis & Co., Crow, McCreery & Co., Smith, Vogel & Co., W. H. Benton & Co., A. Johnson & Co., and H. T. Simon & Gregory. These gentlemen recommended the reduction of the license to twenty dollars, and by ordinance No. 7865 the tax was made ten dollars.

Mayor Thomas' long administration closed in 1869, and Mr. Thomas died Sept. 26, 1874, aged seventy-two, having spent the best years of a long life in the service of St. Louis. He was born in Maryland, May 25, 1802, and came to St. Louis in his twenty-third year, landing at the foot of what is now Morgan Street on the 21st of January, 1825. He passed his first night in the city in the old stone building on the corner of Morgan and Main Streets, since known as the Missouri Hotel. On the 3d of January, 1826, he went into business on Main Street as banker and exchange broker, with a cash capital of two hundred and seventy dollars, and an Eastern credit of [illegible] thousand dollars. It was the first banking-house established in St. Louis, as up to that time the merchants of the city did what little banking and brokerage there was to be done. The population at this time was less than five thousand. He conducted the business individually until 1838, when he entered into partnership with the late L. A. Benoist in a more extensive banking business, under the firm-style of L. A. Benoist & Co. This partnership was dissolved in 1850, at which time Mr. Thomas retired to private life until the exciting scenes of the war again brought him into activity in public affairs. During the time that St. Louis was under martial law, he held several civil positions under military appointment, the principal of which was that of president of the board of assessment.

In April, 1864, he was elected mayor of St. Louis for the unexpired term of Hon. Chauncey I. Filley, who resigned on account of ill health. In 1865

was re-elected, again in 1866, again in 1867, and in 1868, making a period of nearly six years of official life,—the longest term of service of any mayor of St. Louis, with the exception of Dr. William Carr Lane.

During the war term, embracing the period from 1860 to 1867, almost all public work was suspended, and no improvements of any kind were attempted, except such as were imperatively necessary. Immediately upon his installation in office as mayor, in 1864, he inaugurated measures for the purchase of the gas-works; but as the city comptroller on going to New York was unable to negotiate city bonds at over sixty cents on the dollar in currency, the scheme was necessarily abandoned.

His next important official acts embraced a system of general improvement of the thoroughfares of the city, and consisted in part of a general sewer system for the preservation of the public health. This embraced the construction and extension of the great Mill Creek sewer, the Rocky Branch sewer, and the Arsenal Street sewer, with such other connecting sewers as were necessary to perfect a system of drainage. By the issue of bonds and the exercise of perseverance during his official career these great improvements were put well under way. He also advocated and urged the improvement and extension of the wharf north and south, and the improvement of the central wharf. Among the official acts for which St. Louis is more indebted to Mayor Thomas than to any other man is the supplying of the city with new water-works. To this end he devoted all his energies, and after persevering effort succeeded in getting a bill passed by the Legislature authorizing the issue of three and a half million dollars in gold-bearing bonds, and the appointment of a board of water commissioners to contract for and superintend the construction of works which should give the city an ample supply of pure and wholesome water. This great improvement, by the issue of a large sum of additional bonds, Mayor Thomas lived to see completed. He, together with Hon. John F. Thornton, was instrumental in having the munificent proposal of Henry Shaw accepted, in the donation of the ground for Tower Grove Park, and for the improvement of this beautiful place of resort. One of the last of Mayor Thomas' acts was to issue and sell, in accordance with the provision of an act of the General Assembly, bonds to the amount of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, gold. These bonds, owing to the improvement of the city credit, were sold at $1.04. He was up to the time of his death a member of the Tower Grove Park Board of Commissioners. Although during his whole official term his great aim was the inauguration and completion of the above-mentioned improvements, he found time to attend to all minor city affairs with rare fidelity. Owing to the large amount of additional labor which he took upon himself in the discharge of his duty as mayor, and his untiring efforts to serve the people in every capacity called upon, he many times, even at the age of sixty-eight, labored from the dawn of day far into the night, and at times became prostrated by over-exertion, from which his intimate friends feared he would not recover. Upon retiring from office as mayor, he sought privacy and quiet at his residence on Park Avenue, but the troubles of a stormy career as mayor and over-exertion while in office weighed heavily upon him.

At the funeral of Judge Dent he was one of the pall-bearers, and by the breaking of the handle of the coffin he received an injury which he then thought and continued to think would shorten his life. When his last sickness came upon him he had a premonition of death, and in the presence of his assignee in bankruptcy made a very precise and lucid exposition in detail concerning important matters about his estate. He was a very exact man about all business matters, and his accounts and papers were all in the most orderly condition. He had a large insurance on his life, fifty-two thousand dollars of which was for his own benefit. Mr. Thomas was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Curtis Skinner, of St. Louis, and sister to Mrs. Governor Polk. His second wife was Miss Susan H. Hackney, sister of Judge A. H. Hackney, at one time presiding judge of the county court, and also of the second wife of his partner, L. A. Benoist. He left a widow, a married daughter, Mrs. Fowler, of Baltimore, and two grandchildren.

Nathan Cole succeeded James S. Thomas as mayor in 1869. The improvement of the harbor was the chief subject discussed in the first message of Mayor Cole, and an appropriation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was made by the City Council for carrying on the work. The condition of the railroads and the nearness of their completion were fully set forth in the October message of Mayor Cole in 1869. The North Missouri Railroad opened this year a second connection with Kansas City, leaving but a very short gap to be filled to complete the connection with the State of Iowa, and the Missouri Pacific changed its gauge during the year, and was pushing rapidly for connection with the Union Pacific by way of Atchison and Fort Kearney.

On the 26th of February preceding, the City Council had "*Resolved*, That the city of St. Louis will purchase the gas-works of the St. Louis Gas-Light Company, according to their privilege to do so, and

that the mayor be requested to notify the president and directors of the said company of their intention to purchase the same at the time prescribed by law and contract, to wit, on the 1st day of January, 1870." A copy of this resolution was served on the Gas-Light Company, and Mayor Cole reminded the Council that further legislation was necessary to enable him to appoint an appraiser, as well as to authorize the issue of city bonds with which to complete the purchase.

The continually increasing dissatisfaction of the citizens as to slaughter-houses in the city, as well as the earnest recommendation of the board of health for their immediate removal, was brought to the attention of the City Council by Mayor Cole. Ordinance No. 7340, adopted in accordance with his recommendations, provides that "no butcher or other person shall kill or slaughter any beeves, sheep, or other animal within the city unless the house, yard, pen, or place where such killing shall take place be provided with a tight plank floor, or be paved with brick or stone laid in cement; if paved with brick, then the earth below shall be sufficiently solid to prevent its becoming a receptacle of filth and offensive matter. The pavement in every case shall be made with a descent towards a gutter which shall pass through the same, and leading to a public, district, or private sewer, and no slaughtering shall be done in any slaughter-house not provided with a sewer connection, or with suitable tubs to be emptied daily."

Philip McCahill, auditor, estimated the receipts and expenditures of the city for the year 1869–70 as follows:

Revenue applicable for general purposes		$1,486,781.82
Estimated expenditures		1,444,271.16
Excess of revenue		$42,510.66
This would have been a gratifying exhibit but for the fact that there were outstanding bills to be paid during the year amounting to		$857,118.15
Bonds maturing		362,000.00
Balances due funds		839,339.94
Total		$2,058,458.09
Balance in treasury Oct. 11, 1869	$313,862.99	
Excess of revenue, as above	42,510.66	
		356,373.65
Total deficiency		$1,702,084.44

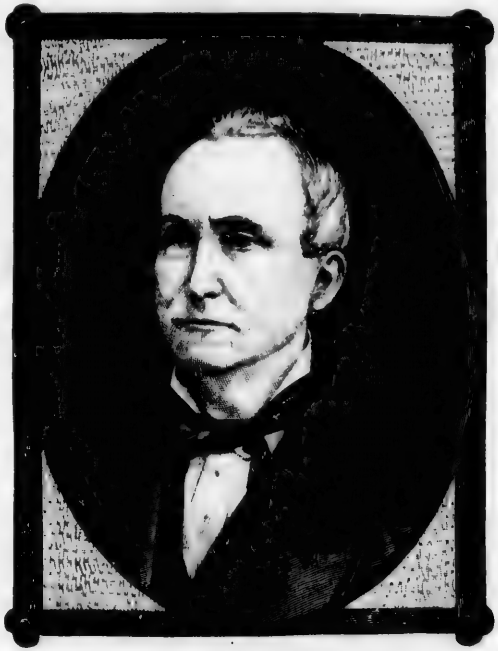
Thus "the condition of our finances," says the auditor's report, "is such as to require the most active and careful measures to protect the good faith and credit of the city; something more substantial than temporary alleviation by loans is requisite, as that, in the end, but increases the evil." The aggregate total of outstanding bonds was $12,335,000 principal, the interest upon which was $877,000; at the same time public property owned by the city was valued at $7,939,361.24.

The condition of public affairs at the end of Mayor Thomas' administration was such as to excite the gravest apprehensions. An investigating committee had reported a state of things in the departments of the city government involving alleged culpable negligence and violation of official obligation on the part of certain city officers.

The "act to revise the charter of the city of St. Louis and to extend the limits thereof," approved March 4, 1870, included the city of Carondelet with the city of St. Louis.

In this year Sylvester H. Laflin, now one of the leading merchants of St. Louis, was prevailed upon by a large number of prominent citizens of the Sixth Ward to allow the use of his name as a candidate for alderman. He was elected, and served with great acceptability. Mr. Laflin has been long and prominently known in St. Louis as the resident director of the Laflin & Rand Powder Company. He was born in Blandford, Mass., May 29, 1822. His father was Luther Laflin, and his mother's name before marriage was Almira Sylvester. When Sylvester was eleven years old his father moved to Saugerties, N. Y., and with his brother Matthew engaged in the manufacture of powder, of which they may almost be said to be the pioneers in America on anything like a large scale. At Saugerties the boy was sent to school for a while, but could hardly be restrained from starting out in business for himself, and at the age of about fourteen he entered a store at Hyde Park, on the Hudson, and remained there two years. He then returned home, and went to school another year; but at the age of nineteen, becoming restless again, he started out with his father's permission to seek his own fortune. The powder company with which his father was connected established a branch depot in St. Louis, and offered the young man an opportunity to commence business; but he was made to understand that he must "begin at the bottom and work up," and show by the business character he developed whether he was capable of managing so important an interest as it was hoped the St. Louis branch would become. He accepted the conditions, and in October, 1842, arrived in St. Louis, under a five years' agreement, the first year's salary being three hundred dollars, with a yearly increase of fifty dollars. He entered upon his business career with remarkable energy, and for eight years managed the humblest details of the agency. Ultimately he was intrusted with the charge of the entire business of the company at St. Louis. His energy increased with increasing responsibilities, and the

business became flourishing and profitable. It was a matter of pride with him to elevate it to a first-class standard, and he succeeded in extending the trade of the house into all the Western States and Territories. He was soon admitted to partnership in the firm of Luther and Matthew Laflin, and ultimately a stock company was formed under the name of the Laflin & Rand Powder Company, which now manages eight powder-mills in various parts of the country, several of them as large and complete, probably, as any in the world, and the aggregate making the company perhaps the largest powder manufacturing establishment in existence. Sylvester H. Laflin, who at the early age of twenty managed the entire business of the company at St. Louis, is now a director in this giant corporation and one of its largest stockholders.



Sylvester H. Laflin

Besides succeeding almost incredibly in building up a business for the powder company, Mr. Laflin has been connected with a number of public enterprises. His energy, enthusiasm, and shrewd, practical sense have been recognized by all classes, and his co-operation has been gladly welcomed as a guarantee of success where success depended upon those requisites. A list of his various business connections would fill much space. For many years he was a director of the old State Bank when its notes were preferable to gold, and is now a director in the St. Louis National Bank and the Covenant Mutual Life Insurance Company. He aided largely in building the first Lindell Hotel, and lost one hundred thousand dollars when it was destroyed by fire, was one of the most active directors of the Pilot Knob Iron Company, and was for years the associate of the late Hon. Thomas Allen in that and the Iron Mountain Railroad, until the sale of the latter to Jay Gould. He is now a prominent director of the Carbondale Coal and Coke Company and the St. Louis Coal Railroad Company, one of the largest enterprises of the kind ever engineered by St. Louis capitalists. Mr. Laflin has always taken great pride in the growth of St. Louis, and this list of his business connections shows that he is always ready to do his share in pushing forward projects intended to build up and benefit the city. In such historic enterprises as the building of the "great bridge" and the erection of the Chamber of Commerce he took the greatest interest.

The rapidity with which Mr. Laflin dispatches business is wonderful. While most other men are planning he is executing; when they have begun he has finished. This is the secret of his success, so marked beyond that of many who had immeasurably the advantage (apparently) of him in his start in life.

Mr. Laflin has seldom taken part in political affairs, yet occasionally at the request of his neighbors has accepted office, and, as we have seen, was chosen alderman from the Sixth Ward in 1870. His services to the city have been performed in other fields than those of legislation; few, indeed, have served her better. His genial manners and social qualities, his strict sense of honor, and his irrepressible energy, which are proverbial in the city, and scarcely less known throughout the West, have rendered him deservedly honored and popular.

In February, 1850, Mr. Laflin was married to Miss Anna W. Staats, daughter of Isaac W. Staats, of Albany, N. Y., by whom he has had eight children, five of whom are living. The eldest son, Addison H. Laflin, is in business with his father, and is a worthy son of such a sire. Mr. Laflin is eminently domestic in his nature, and finds his greatest delight in ministering to the happiness of his interesting family.

The municipal elections under the revised city charter were to be held on the first Tuesday in April, 1871; the mayor and all other elective and appointed officers were to hold their offices for the term of two years, and the mayor, comptroller, and treasurer were *ex officio* a board of fund commissioners to manage and control the sinking fund, which was made to consist of the funds which previous to the passage of the act made up the sinking fund, as hereinbefore set forth. Mr. Cole retired from the mayoralty in 1870, with an enviable record as an able and energetic official.

Nathan Cole was born in St. Louis, July 26, 1825, in a cottage which stood on the square bounded by Eighth, Ninth, Green, and Morgan Streets, and which resisted the march of improvement until about 1865, when it was demolished. His father, Nathan Cole, had emigrated from Ovid, N. Y., to St. Louis in 1821, to repair his fortune, which had been swept away in the commercial depression that followed the war of 1812. He brought to St. Louis his wife and six sons, and Nathan was the seventh. His mother, Sarah Scott, was descended from an old and highly-respected family which settled at an early day on the eastern shore of Connecticut.

During his residence in St. Louis the elder Cole made a heroic but generally unsuccessful struggle against adverse fortune, and the family experienced many vicissitudes. He was an enterprising man, and among his ventures was one that indicated great prescience, although it resulted disastrously. He foresaw that the situation of St. Louis must eventually make it the source of supply of salt meats for New Orleans and other cities, and was the first to embark in the business, but he was before his time and the attempt ended in failure. In 1837 he removed his family to Chester, Ill., and made a determined but fruitless stand against the financial ruin of that year. He died in 1840, leaving nothing to his children but the inheritance of an honorable name and a reputation for great energy of character and unsullied integrity.

In such a school of discipline young Cole grew up, and while the teaching was bitter, it no doubt contributed to strengthen his character to a degree attainable in no other way. He fell under the care of an elder brother, H. C. Cole, who decided that he should have a good education, and who therefore took him from the common school and placed him in Shurtleff College, at Upper Alton, Ill., where for two years he pursued his studies preparatory to a higher course. But young Cole, becoming distressed at the sacrifices others were making on his behalf, left the college, and in 1845 came to St. Louis and began the search for employment. He had neither money nor friends, and no acquaintances even. For some time he canvassed the city in actual privation, but eventually a position was offered him at ten dollars a month, and he gladly accepted it. He fell eagerly to work, determined by faithful service to win the good will of all with whom he was brought into contact, and in this he succeeded admirably. His salary was rapidly advanced, and so efficient and valuable had he become to his employers that in a comparatively brief period he was earning fifteen hundred dollars a year, no small compensation in those days for the services of an employé. It was then his privilege and pleasure to be able to repay the kindness of his elder brother, who was struggling with a load of responsibilities that would have crushed a less brave spirit, and Nathan Cole did not rest until he saw him firmly on his feet and taking that high position among commercial men which his energy and integrity fairly entitled him to.

On the 30th of January, 1851, Nathan Cole was married to Rebecca, daughter of A. W. Fagin, one of the most honorable and successful merchants and manufacturers of St. Louis. From this union has resulted a very large and interesting family.

In July, 1851, Mr. Cole was admitted as a junior partner in the house of W. L. Ewing & Co., wholesale grocers, and during the fourteen years of this connection he contributed his full share towards giving the house its reputation as one of high character and remarkable success. In the year 1864 this partnership was dissolved, when, in conjunction with the brother already mentioned, the house of "Cole Brothers, commission merchants," was established. From that day to this the firm has enjoyed a continuous success, amid all the vicissitudes of the war and the panic which followed it, and to-day it stands among the first in St. Louis in credit and reputation for fair and honorable dealing, and for the faithful discharge of all trusts confided to its care by its numerous patrons.

In 1869, Mr. Cole's fellow-citizens pressed him into the public service and (much against his personal inclination) elected him mayor of the city, to deal with certain evils that had been inflicted upon the people by "rings" in the municipal government. These abuses were of such magnitude that only a man of large business experience and of unsullied



In February, 1850, Mr. Laflin was married to Miss [illegible] have a good [illegible]
Anna W. [illegible]



Yours Sincerely
Nathaniel

character could successfully deal with them. Mr. Cole thereupon withdrew from active participation in his business, and as mayor applied himself zealously to the work of reform. Crying wrongs were redressed, abuses and extravagance were corrected, the routine of city business was simplified and improved, the public debt was reduced, the credit of the city was largely enhanced, a new and improved city charter was adopted, and the whole administration, on account of its beneficence and integrity, will ever constitute a bright page in the political history of St. Louis. Mr. Cole peremptorily declined the renomination which the people of St. Louis seemed disposed to force upon him, and returned to the more congenial associations of private life, and to his old and active position in the house of Cole Brothers.

In 1876 he was summoned to a more important service, to represent his district in the Forty-fifth Congress, and in this case also against his will. He discharged the duties of the office, however, to the general satisfaction of his constituents. He went to Washington as a business man, and devoted himself specially to the commercial interests of St. Louis and the Mississippi valley. He was an ardent advocate of closer business relations with Mexico and South America, and delivered a speech on our commercial relations with Mexico, which was highly praised, and in Mexico was hailed as the commencement of a better era. It was widely reprinted in the Spanish language, and Mr. Cole had the pleasure of receiving copies of it elegantly printed and bound.

Mr. Cole has also held many minor offices and positions in the public service, always, however, unsought on his part. Among the institutions with which he has been prominently connected are the St. Louis National Bank and the Bank of Commerce. Among his fellow-merchants he is held in the highest esteem, and in 1876 their appreciation of his ability was shown in his election as president of the Merchants' Exchange.

In 1863, in connection with his father-in-law, A. W. Fagin, and other spirited gentlemen, he assisted in inaugurating a new and important enterprise, the elevator system of handling grain in bulk. In spite of much disparaging opposition the project was pushed forward, and the result was the erection of the splendid and capacious elevator at the foot of Biddle Street, now known as the St. Louis Grain Elevator. From this beginning grew the present fine elevator system of St. Louis, with a storage capacity of ten million bushels and a handling capacity of sixty million bushels a year, which has made St. Louis the grain exchange of the empire west of the Mississippi River.

Mr. Cole has ever been by education and conviction a religious man. He early identified himself with the Baptist Church, and has labored by personal effort and aided by liberal contributions to advance its interests in city and State, as well as those of the various missionary enterprises, domestic and foreign. While a stanch adherent of his denomination, he is liberal in his views, believing in religious freedom and liberty of conscience, and recognizing him as the best Christian who best follows the example of the Master in doing good to his fellow-men.

Joseph Brown was elected mayor in 1871, and on the 10th of April delivered his inaugural address before the City Council, in the course of which he styled himself "the representative of the liberated ballot-box." For the first time in the history of the State the ballot-box was within the reach of all classes. "For the ten years preceding, the ex-Confederate," he said, "was deprived of all access to the ballot-box, but liberally admitted to all the privileges of paying his taxes promptly; the negro had enjoyed the ballot-box from the first day he was liberated from the bondage of slavery, and used the privilege with all the prejudices which ignorance fostered and political partisanship encouraged." It was under these circumstances that Mayor Brown expressed the hope that as "the ballot-box in the hands of those whose prejudice is stronger than their judgment is more dangerous than the sword," sound judgment would in the future find expression in the ballot-box rather than in ignorant prejudice.

Mayor Brown's first annual message of June 2, 1871, stated that the bonded debt of the city was $12,379,500, with an interest charge of $748,270, and that the estimated value of all taxable property was $142,000,000, yielding at one and a half per cent. tax $2,130,000. The taxable property in the new limits was $4,000,000, and the revenue from all sources was $3,151,489.10. The total expenditures as estimated amounted to $3,133,665.66, leaving a balance for contingencies of $17,823.44. During the administration of Mayors Thomas and Cole the city did not pay for lighting the streets with gas for a period of more than four years. The claim of the Gas-Light Company amounted, April 1, 1871, to $402,868. Mayor Brown took immediate steps to procure a reduction in the price of gas to citizens, and succeeded in having it reduced from $4.50 per thousand feet to $3.50.

On the 26th of September, 1872, Governor McClurg removed Ferdinand Myer, William A. Hequemburg, and Julius Hunicke from the board of police commissioners, and appointed S. M. Randolph, William B. Baker, and William Moran. On November 1st, M. A. Rosenblatt was appointed in the place of Sam-

uel Bomer. Governor B. Gratz Brown reorganized the board as follows: W. F. Ferguson, vice-president, commission dated Feb. 13, 1871, for the unexpired term of S. M. Randolph; William Patrick, treasurer, commission dated Feb. 3, 1871, for the term of four years; Julius Hunicke, commission dated Feb. 15, 1871, for the term of four years; and O. B. Filley, commission dated February 17th, for the unexpired term of M. A. Rosenblatt. The mayor, Joseph Brown, was *ex officio* president of the board. Mr. Hunicke was appointed by the mayor a member of the board of health, as required by the law. The police force consisted of one chief, four captains, thirty sergeants, three hundred and four patrolmen, five detectives, and four turnkeys; total, three hundred and forty-eight.

At the regular November session of the City Council for 1872 the progress of the city was reported as satisfactory and encouraging in all the departments of commercial and manufacturing enterprise, in growth of population, etc. In the city finances the same prosperity was visible; the receipts amounted to $2,359,920.13, and the expenditures to $2,212,672.50, leaving a balance of $147,247.63. The total bonded debt amounted to $13,409,500. This financial exhibit the mayor considered "as healthy and satisfactory." He urged upon the City Council the necessity of early action in the matter of authorizing the issue of $500,000 in city bonds for the payment of property condemned for the approaches of the great bridge, the early completion of which would be retarded unless this matter was promptly disposed of. The utility and commercial necessity of this great work, he added, were so evident that no obstacle ought, in the opinion of the mayor, to be permitted to stand in the way of its completion. While the difficulties of building a bridge across the Mississippi at any point were very great, those that were presented immediately in front of St. Louis were "such as very few men dare to attempt to remove or overcome. But, fortunately," said Mayor Brown, "we have among us those who have the genius sufficient to plan, united with the energy and determination necessary to execute such a work, and they have thus far prosecuted it with success and unrelaxing zeal. It is but due and fitting that we should grant all the support possible to sustain and encourage them in their efforts to complete this gigantic enterprise, not merely on account of its great importance to St. Louis, but in view of the peculiar difficulties connected with its execution. The cost is probably much heavier than was originally estimated, owing to the fact that the means by which the river foundations were laid had to be sought for in a hitherto comparatively unexplored field of engineering science. This great difficulty in the work has been triumphantly overcome, the bridge advances to completion with every prospect of success, and I believe the names of those who conceived and who ventured their means in this great enterprise will forever stand honored and conspicuous in our history." In immediate connection with the great bridge was the "Union Depot," located at the "Chouteau Pond mill tract," and "any temporary inconvenience resulting from the building of the tunnel" to connect the two was, in the opinion of the mayor, "a matter of small consequence, and should create no public dissatisfaction."

The subject of street-paving was again brought by the mayor to the attention of the City Council in 1873, and the message stated that the streets were "in a very unsatisfactory condition." Experience and trial had shown that "when the plank superstructure of the Nicholson pavement is once broken," it was "impossible to put it in as good order as it was at first without entire reconstruction." During the preceding year opportunities had been offered to persons interested in pavements to put down samples of different kinds of street pavements. Samples of wood pavement, of porphyry and red granite, of asphalt and block limestone had accordingly been laid. The conclusion arrived at by the mayor was "that the new kind of wood pavement and limestone blocks are the only pavements at all suitable to our streets and within our reach in price." The regulation of the "social evil" came prominently forward at this time. The ordinance on the subject had aroused the religious sentiment of the people, and a memorial was submitted to the City Council asking its repeal. The so-called license or permit system of the ordinance met with serious objections from the religious mind and the legal countenance which it seemed to give to immorality was deemed repugnant to good morals as well as to religion. The mayor combatted the arguments of those who opposed the ordinance, and expressed himself as being confident that "when it can be put in full operation it will be found to be productive of practical good, and not evil; and therefore he recommended that it be not repealed, at least until a sufficient period has been allowed to test thoroughly its effectiveness."

The biennial election of 1873 resulted in the election of Mayor Brown.

The revised charter, which required the city to be "divided into not less than twelve wards," caused the creation of the Thirteenth Ward, which had representatives in the Council this year.

The outstanding bonded debt of the city had reached $14,086,500, Mayor Brown, while not

sidering this amount of indebtedness a very serious or discouraging burden, nevertheless urged that the most rigid scrutiny be applied to every project which involved its further increase. While it was desirable that all public improvements of general importance should be pushed forward as rapidly as possible, the mayor regarded it as "also essential that the credit of the city should be kept unimpaired, and the annoyances and ill effects of deranged finances and an oppressive debt should be avoided." The ill-advised legislation which a few citizens deeply interested in some particular project had been enabled to procure, whereby the bonded debt had been increased without the sanction of the city authorities, was to be regretted, and for the better protection of the future interests of the city the mayor suggested that the Committee on Ways and Means of the City Council "be instructed to watch the introduction of all bills in the Legislature involving the expenditure of money on behalf of the city, and to take active measures to oppose them as far as possible, unless of an entirely desirable character." The scarcity of money and consequent tightness in financial circles, together with unusual demands upon the city's finances, rendered the utmost carefulness and economy absolutely necessary in the operations of the city during the succeeding fiscal year.

The Thirteenth Ward disappeared on the reorganization of the wards in 1874. In his message in May of that year the mayor significantly remarked that the Council had been "recently reorganized by the people," but expressed his regret at the comments of "some of our citizens who should know better" concerning the city's indebtedness, because at a public meeting during the canvass "exaggerated statements" had been made "which conveyed the impression that the bonded debt of St. Louis was representative of nothing but the wastefulness of the city government during the past twenty or thirty years." This the mayor regarded as a "gross misstatement," and added "that an inspection of the records not only exhibits the public purposes for which the bonds were issued, but establishes the fact that instead of having "nothing to show for the debt," we have everything to show, viz., all our more important public improvements, such as our parks, the sewer system, the harbor and wharf, public railways, subscription to railways in earlier years, our hospitals and other institutions, and, lastly, our waterworks, which represent an expenditure of over one-third of the entire amount. The existence of the debt is, of course, to be regretted, but I see little good in animadversions thereon calculated to mislead the uninformed and injure the good name of the city."

Notwithstanding the bad condition of the streets of St. Louis, the act authorizing the issue of $2,500,000 of reconstruction bonds was voted down at the election, thus depriving the city "for an indefinite period not only of granite pavements on our central business thoroughfares, but of a general system of street improvement which would facilitate business, enhance property values, and assist the progress of the city in every way." The influences which procured their defeat are characterized by the mayor as follows: "First, the fact that the act, unfortunately, embraced a list of streets proposed to be improved which excited a sectional opposition to the measure; second, there is always a class in the population of a large city who are opposed to all expenditures looking to any increase in the taxation, and in St. Louis they have more than once exercised a powerful influence in defeating extensive public improvements; lastly, the true bearing of the measure was not understood, and a violent effort was made to drag in local politics, and the howl of 'corruption' was hurled at one of the most-needed improvements ever sanctioned by the Legislature and sought to be inaugurated by the city government." Notwithstanding this defeat, the mayor was able to make an arrangement with the tunnel company to lay down granite instead of wood at the bridge approach on Washington Avenue and as far west as Fifth Street.

Mayor Brown, on retiring from office at the expiration of his four years of service, reviewed in his valedictory address the condition and future prospects of the city. The wonderful growth of St. Louis in population and in all material interests had been beyond all precedent or expectation. The city directory indicated a population of four hundred and ninety thousand (grossly exaggerated, as it was only three hundred and fifty thousand at the time of the census of 1880), and in manufactures and every other branch of substantial improvements the city had kept pace with any other city on this continent, or, perhaps, in the world. The mayor, forecasting the future, could "see no reason to doubt that before the close of the present century this city will count her population by millions rather than hundreds of thousands." The mayor, after setting forth in succinct terms his views as to what ought to be done, as well as left undone, resigned the office of mayor into the hands of Arthur B. Barret, who had been elected his successor.

Joseph Brown was born in Jedburg, Scotland, and when eight years of age emigrated with his parents to America. The family first located in St. Louis, but afterwards removed to Alton, Ill., where the father died. Joseph received good educational advantages, but left college at the age of eighteen, before completing his course, for the purpose of engaging in

business, in which he was very successful. He was elected mayor of Alton, and lent his support to the efforts made during his administration for the extension of the Chicago and Alton Railroad through instead of around the city, contributing materially to the success of that important enterprise. About the same time Mr. Brown embarked in the steamboat business, and subsequently commanded in succession a number of fine steamers, some of which were constructed under his personal direction. At the beginning of the war, Mr. Brown, who had retired from the steamboat business, and had transferred his permanent residence to St. Louis, where he was largely interested in real estate, espoused the cause of the Union with great earnestness and ardor, and subsequently assisted in the construction of gunboats for the United States navy. In 1868 he was elected State senator as a war Democrat from St. Louis, and on March 28, 1871, was chosen president of the Pacific Railroad Company. Early in the following month he was elected mayor of St. Louis, and re-elected, continuing to serve until 1875. Mayor Brown was an able and successful officer, and was conspicuous for his zeal in fostering all benevolent and humanitarian enterprises.

Mayor Barret, who succeeded Mayor Brown, delivered his inaugural address on the 17th of April, 1875, and in it expressed his "firm conviction that no increase of taxation will be so willingly accorded as that which would secure to our citizens relief from the terrible dust clouds that permeate every house, shop, and manufactory, carrying destruction to many of our industries, and proving no less an inconvenience than an incalculable loss, from every point of view, to our entire community." Mayor Barret died during the same month (April 24, 1875).

Arthur Buckner Barret was born in St. Louis, on the 22d of August, 1835. His father was Dr. R. F. Barret, Professor of Materia Medica in several medical schools, and his mother was a daughter of the late Hon. R. A. Buckner, for many years judge of the Supreme Court of Kentucky, who was also at one time a member of Congress from the Green River District, and on terms of intimate friendship with Henry Clay. After his removal to St. Louis, Mr. Buckner became Professor of Law in the St. Louis University.

In 1866, Arthur B. Barret, then in his thirty-first year, was elected president of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association. At this time many of those who had been connected with the enterprise thought it had proved a failure, and predicted for the young president speedy disaster. The Fair Grounds were then held by the government. Mr. Barret brought to his aid youth, energy, and an enterprising spirit, and in a short time succeeded in bringing the affairs of the association into a condition which had not been reached before. The first exhibition under the new management was a success, and each successive year the prosperity of the association increased, until at the close of the eighth year of President Barret's administration the annual exhibition had become famous not only throughout the United States but in Europe. In 1874, Mr. Barret was succeeded in the presidency of the Agricultural and Mechanical Association by Julius S. Walsh. His interest in its affairs, however, was not abated; he still retained the position of director in the association, and was its vice-president. He was also a director of the Butchers' and Drovers' Bank, and one of the board of Fellow Park commissioners. In March, 1875, he was nominated as the Democratic candidate for mayor of St. Louis, and though opposed by two of the most popular gentlemen in the city as leaders of the Republican and Independent parties, he was elected. He had only been inducted into office and had performed but few official acts before he was stricken down by the illness which terminated in his death.

Mr. Barret was a gentleman of fine presence, and of the most genial disposition and address. His social qualities made him a universal favorite, and his honorable and upright nature gained him the respect of the whole community. He was retiring and modest in his habits, and preferred not to place himself in conspicuous positions. The most notable instance of his deviation from this practice was his acceptance of the position of grand marshal at the celebration of the 4th of July, 1874, in honor of the completion of the Illinois and St. Louis bridge. He only consented to serve in this capacity, however, in obedience to the unanimous call by the committee of arrangements. In 1859 he married the only daughter of the late James L. Swearingen, one of the oldest and wealthiest merchants of St. Louis. His wife and several children survived him.

After Mr. Barret's death, H. Rectien acted as mayor, and in a message to the Council he remarked that "the prolongation of the contest as to the occupancy of the executive office now threatens to seriously impair the material interests of the city by stopping public works, closing public charities, hindering needed repairs of streets and wharves, and impeding, if not stopping, the administration of municipal laws." At the special election of April 15, 1875, Col. J. H. Britton was declared elected mayor by the judges of election, but was unseated

by the Council after a protracted and exciting contest, and Hon. Henry Overstolz was installed as mayor when nearly one-half of the official term had elapsed.

James H. Britton was born in Shenandoah County, Va., on the 11th of July, 1817. His ancestors were of Welsh origin, and emigrated to this country at an early period. At the age of thirteen James entered a country store at Sperryville, Va., and subsequently managed a similar establishment at Thompsonville, Va. At the age of nineteen he was admitted to a partnership by the proprietor, George Ficklen. In 1840, Mr. Britton removed to Missouri and settled at Troy, where he opened a store for the sale of general merchandise. His business at Troy prospered until his removal, in 1857, to St. Louis, to assume the position of cashier of the Southern Bank, of which he became president in 1864. He was subsequently chosen president of the Third National Bank, and afterwards of the National Bank of the State of Missouri. Mr. Britton was also largely interested in other enterprises, and filled the important position of president of the Life Association of America, and treasurer of the company which erected the great bridge across the Mississippi River, of which project he was one of the earliest and most enthusiastic promoters. In politics he belonged to the Democratic party, of which he was an active and influential member. In 1848 he was elected secretary of the Missouri State Senate; in 1852, and again in 1854, was elected to the Legislature from Lincoln County, and served as chief clerk of the House of Representatives during the session of 1856–57. For several years also he was postmaster at Troy and treasurer of Lincoln County. On the 10th of May, 1875, he was nominated for mayor by the Democratic party, but after having been returned as elected, was, as previously stated, dispossessed by the opposing candidate, Hon. Henry Overstolz.

Mr. Overstolz assumed charge of the mayoralty under trying and unusual circumstances, but discharged its duties with conspicuous ability. On the 20th of March, 1877, a "call," embracing several thousand names, was published in the *Republican*, asking Mr. Overstolz to be a candidate for re-election at the ensuing April election. This "call" was by far the most comprehensive one that had ever been published in St. Louis, and indicated a very general desire that Mr. Overstolz should continue to serve the city. Among the signers were bankers, brokers, commission merchants, dry-goods merchants,—in brief, representatives of every mercantile, professional, and industrial pursuit in the city.

The Democratic Convention nominated Mr. Overstolz for mayor, and the Republican Convention paid that gentleman the unusual compliment of indorsing him. This was an extraordinary tribute to the worth of an official who had so administered the affairs of the mayor's office as to have gained the approbation of nearly the whole community irrespective of party.[1]

The delay incident to the contested election prevented the mayor from entering upon his duties contemporaneously with the opening of the fiscal year, and compelled him when installed in office to request the resignation of appointive officers, so as to enable him to discharge the duty assigned to the mayor of organizing the administration for which he was responsible. These unusual circumstances restricted the participation of Mr. Overstolz in the financial administration of the city to the last three months of the fiscal year. Unusual difficulties and new responsibilities met the mayor at the very threshold of his administration. "In population," the message said, "in building, and foreign credit we were never in a more prosperous condition, but, at the same time, our bonded indebtedness, incurred in the execution of public works, is larger than at any other period in our history, the demands of our current expenses were never heavier, and the depreciation of real estate and the depression pervading business interests have seriously affected our revenues, irrespective of the direct decrease caused by the provisions of the new Constitution. In addition to these facts, the problem arising from the condition of our streets, the unsettled questions with the gas companies, and the pending scheme for the separation of the city and county, involving as it does the direct increase of our bonded debt by about six millions of dollars,[2] and also a considerable addition to our annual expenses, all contribute to the gravity of the situation and call for the soundest judgment and the most careful action on the part of the city authorities." The total bonded debt was $16,318,000, involving an annual interest charge of $1,250,000; the floating debt amounted to $622,000 and interest claimed by the St. Louis Gas Company, $300,000 outstanding city treasury war-

[1] In the Democratic Convention there was a trifle of opposition to Mr. Overstolz, but the grounds of the same were so well understood that it had been discounted in advance, and the infinitesmial "bolt" that occurred created neither surprise nor indignation, but rather amusement and gratification.—*Republican*, March 22, 1877.

[2] Section 23 of the miscellaneous provisions under the charter provided that in the adjustment of the relations between the city and county the city should take upon itself the entire park tax, and, in consideration of the city becoming the proprietor of all the county buildings and property within its enlarged limits, that it should assume the whole of the existing county debt, and thereafter the city and county of St. Louis should be independent of each other.

rants or "brown-backs," $105,000 overdue coupons due sinking fund, and about $10,000 old street opening claims. The total resources for the year were $3,915,043.74, and the total expenditures for general purposes $3,864,841.81.

The Constitution of the State of Missouri, adopted in 1875, provided for the separation of the county of St. Louis from the city of St. Louis, and for a separate government for each. In accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, the board of freeholders therein provided for, consisting of Geo. H. Shields, president, Silas Bent, Jas. O. Broadhead, M. Dwight Collier, F. H. Lutkewitte, Henry T. Mudd, Geo. Ward Parker, Geo. Penn, M. H. Phelan, and Samuel Reber, reported on the 3d of July, 1876, the "scheme for the government of the county and city of St. Louis and charter for the city of St. Louis," which was adopted by the qualified voters of the city and county. On March 5, 1877, the Court of Appeals, after four days' deliberation and careful examination, declared the "scheme and charter" ratified, the former by a majority of twelve hundred and fifty-three, and the latter by a majority of three thousand two hundred and twenty-one. This scheme and charter thus became the organic law, and under its provisions the county was separated from the city, the corporate name and style of the city becoming "the city of St. Louis."

The corporate limits of the city as established by this charter were as follows:

"Beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River, and running thence westwardly at right angles to said channel to a point on the west bank of said river two hundred feet south of the centre of the month of the River des Peres; thence westwardly and parallel to the centre of the River des Peres and two hundred feet south thereof to the eastern line of the Lemay Ferry road; thence westwardly to a point in the west line of said Lemay Ferry road at its intersection with the centre of the Weber road; thence westwardly along the centre of the Weber road to its intersection with the east line of lot 1 of the Carondelet commons south of the River des Peres; thence westwardly to the southeast corner of Rudolph Overman's, or northeast corner of B. H. Haar's land; thence westwardly to said Haar's northwest corner; thence northwestwardly to a point in the centre of the Gravois road six hundred feet southwardly from the centre of the bridge across the River des Peres; thence northwestwardly to the southeast corner of lot 31 of the sub-division of the McKenzie tract in United States survey 1953; thence northwestwardly in continuation of said last-mentioned line to the southern line of lot 21 of the sub-division of the said McKenzie tract; thence northwestwardly to a point in the southern line of United States survey 2035, twenty-six chains eastward from the southwest corner of said survey; thence northerly to a point in the north line of the sub-division of East Laclede, six hundred feet west of the McCausland road; thence northwardly and parallel to the centre of the McCausland road to a point on the Clayton road six hundred feet west of its intersection with the McCausland road; thence northerly and parallel with the Skinker road, and six hundred feet west thereof to its intersection with the old Bonhomme road; thence northeasterly to the intersection of the centre lines of McLaren Avenue and Mead Street; thence in a northeasterly direction to a point in the Bellefontaine road six hundred feet north of its intersection with the Columbia Bottom road; thence northerly and parallel with the centre line of the Columbia Bottom road to the northern boundary line of United States survey 114; thence easterly along said line to the centre of the main channel of the Mississippi River; thence with the meanderings of said channel southwardly to the point of beginning."

The city was divided into twenty-eight wards, the boundaries of which are as follows:

"*First Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, on the south by the line dividing the First and Second Congressional Districts, on the west by Twelfth Street, and on the north by Pine Street.

"*Second Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, on the south by Pine Street, on the west by Eleventh Street, and on the north by the line dividing the [illegible] and Third Congressional Districts.

"*Third Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, south by Rutger and Autumn Streets, west by Stoddard Avenue and Twelfth Street, and on the north by the line dividing the First and Second Congressional Districts.

"*Fourth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, south by the line dividing the Second and Third Congressional Districts, west by Eleventh Street, and north by Webster Street.

"*Fifth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, south by Geyer Avenue and Emmet Street, west by Rosatti Street and Stoddard Avenue, and north by Rutger and Autumn Streets.

"*Sixth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, south by Webster Street, west by Thirteenth Street, and north by Herbert, Eleventh, and Robert Tyler or Harrison Streets.

"*Seventh Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, south by Victor Street, west by Rosatti Street, and north by Geyer Avenue and Emmet Street.

"*Eighth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, south by Robert Tyler or Harrison Street, west by Bellefontaine road, and north by the present city limits.

"*Ninth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, south by Arsenal Street, west by Jefferson Avenue, and north by Victor Street.

"*Tenth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by Eleventh Street, south by Pine Street, west by Jefferson Avenue, and north by the dividing line between the Second and Third Congressional Districts.

"*Eleventh Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, west by Jefferson (?) Avenue, and north by Arsenal Street.

"*Twelfth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by Eleventh Street, south by the line dividing the Second and Third Congressional Districts, west by Jefferson Avenue, and north by a line running from its western boundary along Waterway Street to Twentieth Street; thence south along Twentieth Street to Mullanphy Street; thence along Mullanphy Street to Thirteenth Street; thence north on Thirteenth Street to Webster Street; thence east on Webster Street to Eleventh Street.

"*Thirteenth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by Re[illegible]

Street, south by Victor Street, west by Jefferson Avenue, and north by Lafayette Avenue and Lafayette Street.

"*Fourteenth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by Thirteenth Street, south by the Twelfth Ward, west by Jefferson Avenue, and north by Herbert Street.

"*Fifteenth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by Rosatti Street, Stoddard Avenue, and Twelfth Street, south by Lafayette Avenue and Lafayette Street, west by Jefferson Avenue to Chouteau Avenue, thence west along Chouteau Avenue to Jefferson Avenue, and on the north by the line dividing the First and Second Congressional Districts.

"*Sixteenth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by Eleventh Street and Bellefontaine road, south by Herbert Street and the new St. Charles Rock road, and west by the present city limits.

"*Seventeenth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by Twelfth Street, south by the line dividing the First and Second Congressional Districts, west by Jefferson Avenue, and north by Penrose Street.

"*Eighteenth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by Jefferson Avenue, south by the line dividing the First and Second Congressional Districts, west by present city limits, and north by the line dividing the Second and Third Congressional Districts.

"*Nineteenth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the south by Victor Street and Shenandoah Street extended to the present city limits, west by the present city limits, north by the line dividing the First and Second Congressional Districts to Jefferson Avenue, thence south along Jefferson Avenue to Chouteau Avenue, thence east along Chouteau Avenue to Jefferson Avenue, thence south along Jefferson Avenue to Victor Street.

"*Twentieth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by Jefferson Avenue, south by the line dividing the Second and Third Congressional Districts, west by the present city limits, and north by the new St. Charles Rock road and Herbert Street, and a line from the new St. Charles Rock road to Herbert Street.

"*Twenty-first Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by Jefferson Avenue, south by Chippewa Street extended to the present city limits, west by the present city limits, and north by Victor and Shenandoah Streets.

"*Twenty-second Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River and Jefferson Avenue, south by Fillmore Street and Wilmington road, west by the present city limits, and north by Chippewa Street.

"*Twenty-third Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the present city limits and the Mississippi River, on the south by the line dividing the Second and Third Congressional Districts, and on the west and north by the city limits herein established.

"*Twenty-fourth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, south and west by the present city limits, and north by Wilmington road and Fillmore Street.

"*Twenty-fifth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the present city limits, south and west by the city limits herein established, and north by Gravois and Clark roads, King's Highway, and the line dividing the First and Second Congressional Districts.

"*Twenty-sixth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the present city limits, south by the Twenty-fifth Ward, and west and north by the line dividing the First and Second Congressional Districts.

"*Twenty-seventh Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east and south by the line dividing the First and Second Congressional Districts and by the present city limits, west by the city limits herein established, and north by Lindell Avenue and Lindell Avenue extended to the limits of the city as herein established.

"*Twenty-eighth Ward*—Shall be bounded on the east by the present city limits, south by Twenty-seventh Ward, west by the city limits as herein established, and north by the line dividing the Second and Third Congressional Districts.

"The Municipal Assembly shall, every five years after the adoption of this charter, establish corrected ward limits, which correction shall be made as near as practicable so as to equalize the number of registered voters in each ward; but in making the division the present eastern and western boundaries of wards as herein established shall be retained, so that Rosatti, Twelfth, and Eleventh Streets, Jefferson Avenue, and the present city limits shall remain division lines."

The term of elective officers was fixed at four years, and a general election was directed to be held on the first Tuesday in April, 1877, and every four years thereafter. The legislative power of the city was vested in a Council and a House of Delegates, to be styled the "Municipal Assembly of the city of St. Louis." The Council was made to consist of thirteen members chosen on a general ticket by the qualified voters of the city for four years; the House of Delegates to consist of one member for each ward, to be chosen every two years by the qualified voters of the several wards. The elective officers of the city are the mayor, comptroller, auditor, treasurer, register, collector, recorder of deeds, inspector of weights and measures, sheriff, coroner, marshal, public administrator, president of the board of assessors, and the president of the board of public improvements.

The duties of each elective officer are clearly and distinctly defined and set forth. The charter is perhaps the most elaborate and carefully prepared municipal document to be found in this country.

At the election in April, under the charter, Mr. Overstolz was elected by the largest majority ever given in St. Louis to a candidate for mayor.[1]

Mayor Overstolz's message to the special session, July, 1877, reviewed the railroad riots and the efforts of the city government to suppress them and to restore order. The "strike," which was attended in many cities with riotous proceedings and great destruction of property and life, was confined in St. Louis to a total suspension of labor, unattended, ow-

1 "The bolt, as was feared, has had the effect to give the Republicans the control of the Municipal Assembly, and to defeat nearly all of the Democratic candidates for the general offices. Had there been no opposition on the part of dissatisfied Democrats to the ticket nominated at Armory Hall, with Overstolz at the head, we do not doubt that the entire Democratic ticket would have succeeded by a handsome majority. The fight against Overstolz brought out the full German Republican vote, and while this was not disadvantageous to Mr. Overstolz, it was very damaging to his colleagues on the regular Democratic ticket."—*Republican*, April 4, 1877.

ever, with either loss of life or destruction of property. By the suspension of business on all railroads centring at East St. Louis eastern freights were stopped, and a heavy loss entailed upon St. Louis merchants. During an entire week the strikers at East St. Louis had complete control over all railroad property there, and both State and city were powerless to remove the blockade which existed not in Missouri alone, but in Illinois. It was only by the interruption of business that St. Louis suffered from this blockade. The proclamation of the mayor calling for volunteers to protect the city was so promptly responded to and in such spirit and numbers that the lawless spirits were at once overawed. In a single day "thousands of citizens of all classes sprang forward to maintain the honor and peace of the city, and arming and organization were the work of a few hours, and the same afternoon companies of well-equipped volunteer soldiery were available for guard and patrol duty." Arms and ammunition, supplied at the United States arsenal, and two thousand Springfield rifles, furnished by Governor Phelps, enabled the city authorities to arm the volunteers, and their prompt and energetic action prevented confusion and, probably, bloodshed. The mayor took advantage of this episode to urge upon the Municipal Assembly the importance of increasing the police force. The force at the time of the strike amounted to but three hundred and twenty-five men, which, "when divided for day and night service, hardly admits of one hundred and fifty men available for active duty at one time, inasmuch as there is always a percentage of sick and absent on leave." The establishment of an armory at the Four Courts was also recommended by the mayor. The city bonded debt under the new charter was $23,067,000, including $6,820,000 assumed by the city under the separation scheme. The total receipts for the year were $5,734,701.41, and the total expenditures $5,067,777.05.

It was not until a fiscal year had elapsed after the city government had been recast and reorganized under the charter and separation scheme that a fair opportunity was presented of summarizing and examining the results of the new system. This opportunity presented itself at the May session of 1878, when the mayor stated that the immediate results had been reduction in taxation and in the expenses of departments, an improved system of public works, and an improved management of public institutions. The reduction in taxation in 1876–77 was sixty-two and a half cents per one hundred dollars. The reduction in expenditures for the same years showed a difference in favor of the city of fifty-two thousand three hundred and forty-one dollars, or a reduction in cost at the rate of more than twenty-five per cent. in one year.

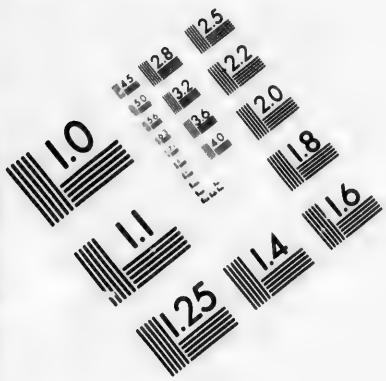
The "social evil" was found not to have been abated by the repeal of the regulation system, the law substituted for that system having increased the difficulty of proof and enlarged the opportunities for evasion, leaving the evil almost wholly unchecked as to cause and effect.

The municipal affairs of the city for the fiscal year ending in June, 1879, were prosperous and satisfactory to no ordinary degree. The penal and charitable institutions were in excellent order and economically managed; the fiscal and improvement departments were conducted with integrity and energy, and at no period in the history of the city had its credit been better, or had a more practical and efficient system controlled the expenditure of the city revenue, the management of the city debt, and the operations on public works. These results Mayor Overstolz attributed to the change in the organic law of the city, which placed the full control of its own affairs in the hands of its selected officers, abolished the irresponsible and conflicting jurisdiction of the county court, increased the stability of departments, and enabled a local system of civil service reform to be practically enforced by removing municipal patronage from the domain and dictation of partisan politics. The good effects of the new charter and separation scheme continued to demonstrate the wisdom of their adoption throughout the administration of Mayor Overstolz. He closed the four years of his service in 1881, when a long period of business depression was passing away, and the city was advancing rapidly in all the elements of prosperity and progress. No other period of four years in the history of St. Louis presents so many evidences of purity in administration and ability in the performance of executive duties as does that of the administration of Mayor Overstolz.

Henry Overstolz was born in the city of Münster, Westphalia, Prussia, on the 4th of July, 1822. His full name is Henry Clemens Overstolz, but in his signature he omits the Clemens.

He resided in his native town until 1836, and retains vivid recollections of his boyhood days spent near the historic home of his ancestors. After enjoying a thorough course of collegiate education in the celebrated Gymnasium of Münster, he came to America in company with his father and mother, and settled with them in St. Clair County, Ill., about seven miles from St. Louis. In 1846 he removed to St. Louis, which he has ever since made his home, and towards whose prosperity he has ever





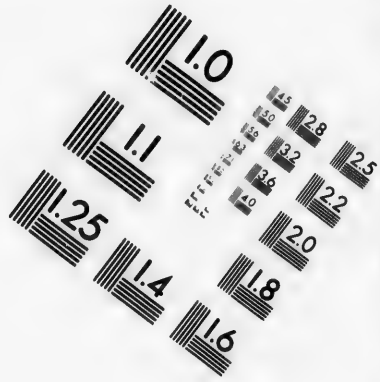
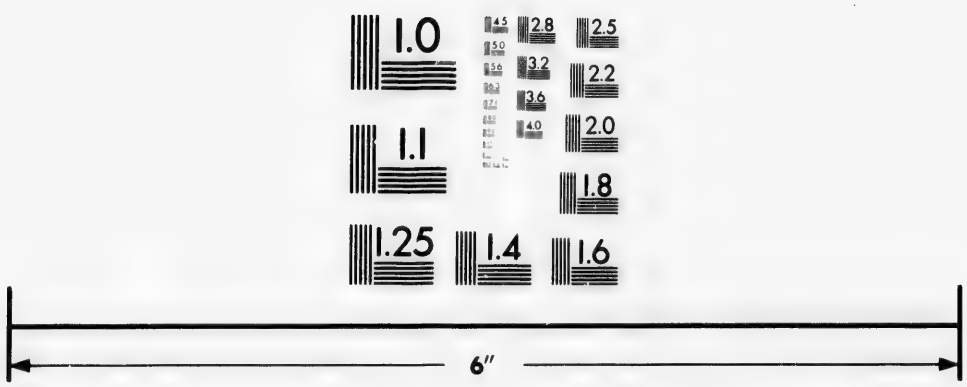
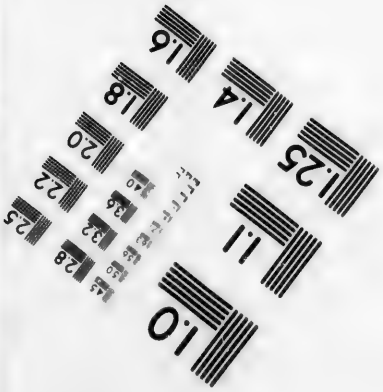
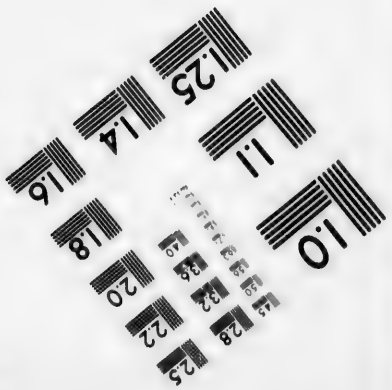


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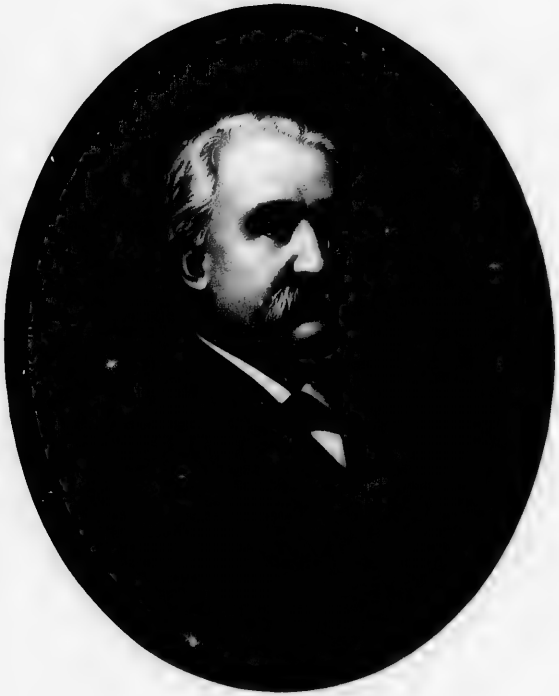






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Henry Owens Wagstaff

tributed much by the exercise of his energy, integrity, and patriotism. Soon after locating here he opened a store (in 1847) for general merchandise, in which it was then customary to find the necessary supplies for the farmers of the surrounding districts. In this business he met with such success that in 1853 he retired, and two years later purchased an interest in saw-mills and a lumber business. Again he prospered, and once more retired from active business life in the year 1867 with a handsome fortune. Prior to this his high character and energy had won for him the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and he was induced in 1860 to organize the Tenth Ward Savings Institution, which was changed in 1882 under the National Banking Act to the Fifth National Bank of St. Louis, of which he is still the president. About the same time he became and still remains the head of a successful fire insurance company.

Henry Overstolz is the direct descendant of the oldest patrician family of Cologne. His father, William Overstolz, was born in Duisburg, Westphalia, in 1780, and died in St. Louis in 1853. His mother's maiden name was Thérèse Buse. She was born in Paderborn, Westphalia, in 1790, and died in St. Louis in 1862. The Overstolz stock is a sturdy one, and noted for its longevity. The ancestral family was one renowned in war and civil life. They were the merchant-princes of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and the name is held in high esteem in their native city of Cologne.

On Oct. 15, 1268, Mathias Overstolz, a knightly prince, and one of the most celebrated of this name, headed a successful resistance to the assaults of the forces of the archbishop, who had often endeavored to deprive the free city of its charter. Mathias lost his life in this struggle, and the grateful citizens erected to his memory a statue which is still to be seen in their city hall, and which bears a striking resemblance to the living representative of the hero.

Johann Overstolz, a brother of Mathias, was the mayor of Cologne in 1275.

Gerhard von Overstolz, son of Mathias, fell in the battle of Worringen in 1287, for a patriotic cause similar to that espoused by his father.

It had been the hereditary right of the patricians to have the chief magistrate of Cologne selected from among their number only, and for opposing the forcible abrogation of this right the landed estates of the Overstolz house were confiscated, and they, together with fifteen other celebrated patrician families, were banished from the city, and most of them fled to Westphalia.

Although legal steps were early instituted for a restitution of their property by the Overstolz claimants, the question remains undetermined, and the records of the German courts are still encumbered with the proceedings of this celebrated suit.

As an additional mark of appreciation of the eminent services rendered by Mr. Overstolz's ancestors, the city of Cologne purchased the ancient mansion of the family, and takes pride in preserving it in its original solidity, unimpaired by age.

Aside from his business prosperity, Mr. Overstolz can lay claim to eminent services rendered his fellow-citizens in a political life as satisfactory as it is honorable.

In the year 1849 he was elected a member of the City Council, which position he held until 1853, when he was elected comptroller of the city, and re-elected the following year. A third time he received the nomination of his constituents for the comptrollership, but was defeated by the Know-Nothing or Native American party. It is worthy of remark that he was the first German ever elected to a city office in St. Louis; and when in the autumn of 1856 he was elected a member of the State Board of Public Works, a body with great powers and responsibilities, he was also the first German to be elevated to a State office in Missouri. On this board he served the full term of four years.

In the spring of the same year he was elected alderman, the duties of which office he performed until he resigned to accept the position on the State Board of Public Works.

He was in 1871 again elected to the Council, and was subsequently chosen president of that body, over which he presided with dignity and satisfaction to all. His firmness and tact, his great experience in public matters, and his unsurpassed knowledge of men made his influence felt to such a marked degree among his colleagues and associates in public and private life, that in 1872 he was re-elected to the Council, and placed at the head of that body as presiding officer in 1873.

In 1875 he was called on by his constituents to represent his fellow-citizens in the capacity of chief magistrate of St. Louis. He accepted the candidacy on an independent ticket, but his opponent, Mayor Barrett, was declared elected. The latter's death only a few months after his installation made it necessary to again call an election, and once more Mr. Overstolz submitted his name as an independent candidate against Mr. Britton. Although his opponent was declared elected, Mr. Overstolz contested the election, and after an exciting contest before the deciding body and in the courts, lasting nearly a year,

established his title to the mayoralty by a rightful election of a majority vote. He was duly inaugurated Feb. 9, 1876, and served the remainder of the term until 1877, when he was re-elected under the provisions of the new charter which fixed the term at four years. During these four years he applied himself with untiring energy to the work of inaugurating a complete change in the government of the city and county.

The adoption of the charter marked a new departure in the political career of St. Louis. It was a radical severance of the city and county governments, and the emancipation of local questions from the control of the State Legislature. Under it the citizens now enjoy the privileges so jealously guarded by the free cities of Continental Europe. On the other hand, it introduced a new and untried system of local self-government, and it devolved on Mayor Overstolz to bring order out of chaos, and to set the machinery running in harmonious accord with the conflicting elements always present at such a revolution. How well he succeeded the result has shown. During this period, until the separation was satisfactorily accomplished, Mr. Overstolz possessed an irresponsible power that in the hands of many another man would have been abused, but he wielded it carefully and loyally for the public good alone. At length he succeeded in carrying out the wishes of the people, and in ridding them of the objectionable features of which they had so long complained under the previous dual government of city and county. The reorganization of the municipal government is a work to which Mayor Overstolz can look back as the proudest achievement of his political career, and for which the tax-payers of St. Louis will ever hold him in grateful remembrance.[1]

Mr. Overstolz's writings are confined to matters of a public nature, and bear evidence of that keen discernment and ripe knowledge which have formed such prominent elements in all his efforts. His address

[1] In an interesting address before the Missouri Historical Society on the public career of Mayor Overstolz, Col. T. T. Gantt paid the following tribute to that gentleman's services to the city during the critical period of the reorganization of its government:

"Prior to 1877," said Col. Gantt, "the municipal government of St. Louis was in a constant state of change. At no time from 1836 to 1876 did its charter continue for three years the same, and during the period from 1852 to 1876, when we had virtually annual sessions of the General Assembly, its charter scarcely escaped serious transformation in every period of twelve months. During all this time the city, being a part of the county of St. Louis, was subject to county government by taxation. The county outside of the city, having less than a fifth of its population and less than one-tenth of its wealth, outnumbered and outvoted the city on the bench of the county court, and the abuses consequent on this anomalous state of affairs was such as any one might have readily anticipated. It is not my purpose to enlarge upon the mischiefs of the dual government, by which the city was made tributary to the county, or the still more intolerable abuses by which it was pillaged. For more than ten years before 1875 it had been the hope of some of the most public-spirited of our citizens that some means might be devised of putting an end to these evils. At one time it was seriously contemplated, as something preferable to the double-headed and certainly double-handed system by which we were plundered, to extend the city government to the farthest limits of the county, as had been done in the case of Philadelphia; but the objections to this plan seemed too formidable. At length the convocation of a Constitutional Convention which met in 1875 gave an opportunity for grappling with the difficulty, and a provision found its way into the new Constitution of the State which not only made the proposed reforms possible in St. Louis, but in any other city of the State as soon as its population reached a certain figure.

"It is not out of place to say here that although the evils of the old condition of things were known to thousands, the bulk of the citizens of St. Louis took very little interest during the session of the convention in its action on this important subject. It happened that among the delegates from this city were some few who were very zealous in the promotion of such organic changes as would lead to the system under which we now live. But they were the smallest possible minority of those delegates, and those who represented St. Louis County were at first strenuous in their opposition to what they called 'a divorce.' A large majority of those who represented the city itself were either adverse or indifferent to the change, and a total failure to effect anything was imminent, when an earnest appeal was made by the friends of the measure to their constituents at home to come up and help them. The reply was very characteristic of the indolence of our citizens until abuses reach a point which makes further toleration out of the question. A statement was drawn up and signed by perhaps twenty property-holders, declaring in a languid way their approval of the proposed measure, with a promise that if it were altogether convenient some of them would visit Jefferson City in the ensuing week to urge its adoption. Of all these only one actually went to Jefferson City, and I shall die in the belief that to him more than to all others, certainly more than to all others not members of the convention, the passage of the measure itself was due. My belief further is that those of the convention who were apathetic and adverse were wrought upon by the zeal displayed by this one 'lobby-member' as they could not have been by any other agency, and whereas at the beginning of the last fortnight of the session of the convention the prospect of the amendment seemed almost desperate, within that time it received the approval of that body in the form which it now wears in the Constitution of the State.

"The Constitution being ratified by the popular vote, it remained to be seen whether the people of the whole city and county of St. Louis would avail themselves of the privilege extended to them by the organic law, and here again there were several noteworthy occurrences. Against the adoption of the amendments, against the acceptance of the privileges tendered, and in favor of adherence to the obstructions, the cost and complexity of the old system, were arrayed solidly the whole mass of what may be called the machine politicians. All who fattened upon the existing corruptions, and all the friends and relatives of this greedy tribe, were clamorous against a change which would put an end to their power to pick the public purse. The press of the city was divided, but, most fortunately, the

delivered before the convention held in St. Louis to encourage immigration to Missouri occupies a prominent place among the masterly pleas delivered on that occasion.

His home life is indicative of a mind of elegant attainments and studious tastes. His library is choice and large, and harmonizes well with the liberal taste displayed in a valuable gallery of pictures and art

oldest and most influential of the journals was in favor of the reform. The election came off, and it was at first declared by the officials of the old dispensation that the people had condemned the measure; but a canvass of the returns revealed the fact that most audacious frauds and falsehoods had been made use of in order to give color to this pretension, and it was judicially ascertained and declared that the separation of the city and county governments had been decreed by the people of the city and county.

"Time does not permit the mention of the particulars of the change of our municipal government effected by what is called the scheme and charter, framed by the freeholders called to that high duty by the new Constitution. I will only say that in the management of the public works, in the composition of the legislative department of the city, in the tenure of the office of mayor, in the fixing of the time when appointments to office shall be made, in the mode of obtaining supplies for the city, in the mode of contracting for public work, and in the freedom from legislative tinkering enjoyed by the charter now existing the changes are radical, and it is believed, without exception, most salutary.

"It was the lot of Mayor Overstolz—and I consider it a piece of rare good fortune—to be elected in 1877 as mayor of the city under the new system. His term of office was four years, a period long enough in which to give a fair trial to his administration. Here again I must be brief, but while I call attention to the great success which has marked him, I think it is proper to say that he has not had during the whole of his voyage the advantage of halcyon weather. In the very first year of his administration, the city was visited by the storm which laid waste many parts of our country. The strike of 1877 will not be soon forgotten by those who were in St. Louis during the week following the 21st of July. During that arduous crisis Mr. Overstolz acted as became the chief magistrate of a great city. The emergency was most alarming. He met it courageously, and strove with energy against the disorder which threatened us with ruin. He called to his aid, as was his duty, the citizens of St. Louis. They answered to his call, and with their assistance, without taking a single life, without a trace of that destruction of property and that disgraceful overthrow of lawful authority which marked the history of the strike in other cities, and without invoking the assistance of the Federal arm, the rioters were crushed and order restored in St. Louis in less than twenty-four hours after the Governor of the State, who fearlessly and well discharged his duty on that occasion, had placed a sufficient number of arms at the disposal of the mayor.

"Of course I do not mean to say that Henry Overstolz did all this with his single arm. The days are past when a single warrior was more than a match for a host of common men. The mayor was energetically and gallantly aided by the citizens of St. Louis, who gave proof on that occasion, as they so often have before, that though long suffering and slow to anger, they are, when fairly aroused, a body which it is not easy nor wise to withstand. To the gallant young men who on that occasion so patriotically tendered their services no stinted praise is due. They were under arms for several days, for they continued to watch over the good order of the city for seventy-two hours after all show of forcible resistance to authority had ceased, and, what was more trying, they assembled before they had sufficient arms, and with such imperfect weapons as private resources could supply, and held the disturbers of the public peace at bay until they grasped the means of enforcing submission to the law. All honor to them.

"There was no repetition of civil disorder in 1878, '79, and '80, but in the first two of these years we were menaced with a peril before which the bravest often shrinks. The yellow fever ravaged Memphis and threatened St. Louis. It was needful to enforce stringent sanitary measures, and to be vigilant not only in compelling all visitors from the South to comply with quarantine regulations, but to take care that every requirement of cleanliness was strictly observed in our own city. This duty was faithfully performed and the plague was stayed.

"On former occasions St. Louis had shown her capacity to deal with the trials of fire, of pestilence, of civil commotion and commercial disaster. In 1849, in 1854, in 1855, and in 1857 she had nobly endured all these tests. I am proud of St. Louis, and perhaps a little partial to a city in which I have spent the best years of my life, but I really think that an indifferent person, being now for the first time made acquainted with her fortitude under the conflagration which in 1849 laid in ashes almost the whole of the business houses of the city, the courage with which in that same year of desolation we, unaided and not asking for aid, met and overcame the terrors of a pestilence unexampled in the history of our land, the fraternal spirit with which, in 1855 and 1857, our men of property made themselves and their estates the security for our bankers, and the thoroughness with which, in 1854, after the demonstration of the powerlessness of the police force then in service of the city to repress the rioters who for two days and nights spread terror throughout her limits, the citizens embodied themselves and quelled the disorder, would be disposed to concede that the people capable of such things have a right to think not meanly of themselves. Our citizens have never shut their hearts or closed their purses when others in distress have appealed to their compassion. When smitten as no other place was by fire and pestilence in 1849, they performed their whole duty and asked for no aid from abroad; when some of those we had befriended on a former occasion tendered some small requital of our generosity we respectfully declined the offer; when commercial disaster impended we bore each other's burdens and enabled all to stand; and in 1877, when civil disturbances, which had wrapped other cities in flames and given them over to rapine, approached our border, we once more performed our duty, preserving the good order and peace of society by the performance of those duties which in a popular government belong to the people. Neither in 1854 nor in 1877 did we have occasion to invoke the interposition of the Federal arm to suppress an insurrection too strong to be dealt with by our State government. In saying this, and declaring that I, as a Missourian, am proud of it, I wish to say that I have no sort of jealousy of legitimate Federal authority. The whole is greater than any of its parts, and when necessity arises I have no sort of objection to calling on the Federal arm to do its duty. But it becomes a State or a city or a man to do without extraneous assistance whenever it or he can do the things which rest with the weight of obligation on it or him, and if to think thus be sinful, then am I 'the most offending soul alive.'

"But I must hasten to matters to which I cannot omit to call your attention without neglecting the principal purpose for which I am before you this evening. Conflagrations, pestilence,

objects. A happy home, graced by a wife and six children, crowns the labors of an active and honored citizen. The maiden name of Mrs. Overstolz is Philippine Espenschied. She is the daughter of one of the oldest and most successful wagon-makers of the West, and a citizen of the highest standing in the community. Mr. Overstolz is in the enjoyment of vigorous health, and in the full flush of a career of exceptional success and conspicuous usefulness to his fellow-citizens.

Mayor Overstolz was succeeded in 1881 by Hon. William L. Ewing, the present mayor of St. Louis.[1] William L. Ewing was born in St. Louis on the 16th of March, 1843. His father was a wholesale merchant, and his mother was a member of the old Berthold family. He was one of eleven children, six of whom are living. As soon as he arrived at the proper age he entered the college of the Christian Brothers, where he acquitted himself with credit. Immediately after leaving college he entered his father's business house in a clerical capacity, and largely contributed towards securing the great prosperity which enabled his father to leave at his death a large fortune to his family. On the dissolution of the firm, consequent upon the death of William L. Ewing, Sr., Mr. Ewing retired from commercial business, devoting most of his time during the several succeeding years to the care of the estate and to some farming interests in which he had invested. Being of an outspoken, impulsive nature, and a very positive character, young Ewing, boy and man, made many friends and not a few enemies. But, as is always the case where such traits are conspicuous, those who knew him best liked him most; and when in 1877 he was named for a seat in the lower house of the City Assembly, very little canvassing was necessary on his part to achieve success. At the organization of the House he was elected Speaker, which action, in view of his lack of parliamentary and political experience, was a rare compliment. He applied himself at once to his difficult duties, and the wealth of common sense which had served him so well in other walks of life was soon conspicuously exhibited. In his rulings the same positive, almost stubborn, characteristics above alluded to invariably manifested themselves; but while they at times irritated those to whom they were adverse, the ring of an honest purpose commanded a respect where concurrence was denied. Long before the close of his first term of public service Mr. Ewing had demonstrated a sagacity and earn-

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and riot are of rare occurrence in our history. The incidents of municipal administration are with us always, and what more than anything else concerns the citizens of St. Louis is that its municipal administration should be efficient, economical, and pure. Under the present charter we have experienced improvements of which very few of our people have any idea. I have no time on this occasion to speak fully on this subject,—I wish that I had,—but some few matters I will lay before you. Between April, 1876, and April, 1880, there has been a reduction of the bonded debt of the city of $720,000, almost three-quarters of a million. The floating debt of the city accumulating for the year ending April, 1876, was $422,000. The floating debt of the city accumulating during the years ending April, 1877, April, 1878, April, 1879, and April, 1880, was—how much do you suppose? Just nothing at all. The deficiency in the revenue to meet expenditures in the year ending April, 1876, was $452,736.43. In the years 1877, 1878, 1879, and 1880 not only was there no deficiency, but a surplus applicable to the payment of our bonded debt of a large sum in each year. To particularize, the surplus was in 1877, $164,336.02, in 1878 it was $310,751.71, in 1879 it was $256,932.86, and in 1880 it was $307,446.58.

"In the fiscal year 1870–71 it was necessary to furnish revenue by issuing anticipation bonds (which bore interest of course; no account here will be taken of the discount at which they were sold in the market) amounting to $1,050,000. For the fiscal year 1871–72 anticipation bonds were issued to the amount of $1,100,000; in 1872–73, $1,523,000; in 1873–74, $1,625,000, and in addition city treasury notes to the amount of $300,000; in 1874–75, $1,150,000; in 1875–76, $1,550,000; in 1876–77, $1,500,000; in 1877–78, $725,000; in 1878–79, $420,000; in 1879–80, $350,000: and thus far in the fiscal year 1880–81, none at all. Yet you can all bear witness that though in arranging the scheme and charter the city took upon itself the whole debt of the old county and the maintenance of all its eleemosynary institutions, the taxes paid since 1877 are much less than those of the years 1873–76, and although the condition of our streets and the administration of criminal justice, both preventive and remedial, leave much to be desired, there is in the first particular at least a marked improvement upon the times before the charter. Less money is expended by the board of public improvements, but the expenditure is more judicious and the improvements are of a better character. In brief, immense advantage has come to us from the board of public works, which is one of the features of the present charter, and for that reason the machine politicians and all the enemies of good and economical administration of municipal affairs desire vehemently to abolish the board of public works, even if they cannot in all other respects destroy the present charter.

"Now to what essential and distinctive features in the present administration of city affairs are the improvements, of which I have only instanced a few, mainly ascribable? In my judgment to this: that the affairs of the city have been for about four years managed nearly, not quite, upon what are called 'business principles.' The public work has been mostly committed to men whose qualifications for doing good work were the motive of their appointment to do it. Faithful performance of their duties has been demanded, and in most cases the demand has been complied with. As part of this new departure, the city government has not been wholly governed by rules of party expediency. To his honor, the mayor has in some instances overlooked party lines while retaining or selecting an efficient officer."

[1] To Lyndon A. Smith, Esq., the popular and efficient secretary to the mayor, the author is greatly indebted for much valuable assistance in the preparation of this work,—assistance made all the more acceptable by the prompt and obliging manner in which it was rendered.

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Wm. L. Ewing

as receiver of public money.

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estness of purpose which augured success to any measure to which he lent his support. Before he retired from the legislative body the suggestion was made in various quarters that he would prove a popular candidate for mayor, and give the city an honest and able administration. In April, 1881, the Republican party, of which he had always been a consistent member, canvassed the field for a man of sufficient strength to contest the election with Hon. Henry Overstolz, who had performed the duties of the mayoralty for six years with rare acceptability to the people, and who was justly regarded as a most formidable candidate for re-succession. It was necessary, moreover, that the Republican nominee should not only be Mayor Overstolz's equal in character and popularity, but that he should be so strong as to carry with him the balance of the Republican ticket in a city which had hitherto been overwhelmingly Democratic. Mr. Ewing was at that time absent from the city, accompanying his mother on a pleasure trip. The party leaders, however, agreed that he was the man for the emergency, and when far away from home he received intelligence that he had been chosen to lead the ticket. With limited oratorical ability, and with only a crude idea of the science of politics, he seemed a strange choice to those whose observation was superficial; but when election day came, and a majority of fourteen thousand votes was given for William L. Ewing, and the triumph of the entire Republican ticket secured, the wisdom of the selection was sufficiently demonstrated.

Mr. Ewing carried into the mayor's office the same democratic characteristics that had always been conspicuous in him, and the doors of his office have always been open to the humblest citizen, while his duties have never been so pressing that he could not find time to listen to those who had a right to speak. His appointments were such as to prove that he was a vigilant servant of the people rather than of party, and although he may have disappointed place-hunters, he has proved himself worthy of the confidence of those who gave him the largest majority ever received by a mayoralty candidate in St. Louis. At this writing (1883) he has two years of official life still before him.

William L. Ewing, father of Mayor Ewing, was born at Mont Clair, the family homestead, near Vincennes, Ind., Jan. 31, 1809, the eighth of ten children, and the third son of Nathaniel and Mary Breading Ewing, who were natives of Pennsylvania, and had moved to Indiana in 1807. Nathaniel Ewing, who was a man of considerable prominence, removed to Vincennes in order to accept an appointment from the government as receiver of public money.

He subsequently became a member of the Territorial Legislature, and was distinguished for legislative talents of a very practical and high order. His name is associated with those of the men who, in spite of great pressure, insisted that Indiana upon her admission to the Union should be a free State. Nathaniel Ewing died at Mont Clair in 1846, aged seventy-four, having exerted a marked influence upon the times in which he lived.

Young Ewing enjoyed very scanty school privileges at his early home, but made the best of what were afforded there, and at the age of twelve (in 1821) accompanied Dr. William Carr Lane (who had married his sister Mary) to St. Louis, where for a season he attended St. Louis College. Among his classmates were many who afterwards became prominent citizens of Missouri and other States. Elihu H. Shepherd was professor of the English language at the time he was a student there, and in his autobiography mentions young Ewing among those whom he had instructed, and who subsequently became leaders in St. Louis. In later years, and with better opportunities, Mr. Ewing's habits of application overcame to a great extent the deficiencies of early life, and he became unusually well informed on all matters of general interest.

On leaving college he served as clerk with Messrs. Hough & Co., and then with the *Missouri Republican* as book-keeper. In 1833 he returned to Vincennes, and engaged in mercantile business with John Ross, afterwards one of Indiana's most prominent bankers. After a successful career of some three and one-half years he returned to St. Louis, determined to try his fortune in a city which he was confident would become of commanding prominence in the commercial world, and on Jan. 1, 1839, he embarked in the wholesale grocery and commission business with Pierre A. Berthold and Louis P. Tesson.

Mr. Ewing had previously (in February, 1838) married Mr. Berthold's sister, Clara Berthold, who was the daughter of Bartholomew and Pelagie Berthold. During his lifetime Bartholomew Berthold was the manager of the American Fur Company in the West, of which John Jacob Astor, America's first millionaire, was the head. Mrs. Ewing's maternal grandfather was Pierre Chouteau, who with his brother Auguste came to St. Louis with Pierre Laclede Ligueste, its founder, in 1764.

Thus connected, Mr. Ewing began a prosperous career. The firm of Berthold & Ewing won a high place in the estimation of the business world, and was rapidly advancing to fame and fortune, when in 1849 it was swept away by the "big fire," and Mr. Ewing was compelled to make a new beginning. Nothing

daunted by the unexpected calamity, he resumed business under the title of William L. Ewing & Co., and his indomitable energy and high reputation as an honorable business man enabled him to establish the house firmly and conduct it to a remarkable success.

The establishment soon became one of the largest in the city, and its head was recognized as a representative business man. In his later years his health obliged him to withdraw from active participation in business personally, but the house continued under his name and control until his death, and there was scarcely one that was better known in all parts of the West and South.

Mr. Ewing was public-spirited, and liberally aided any project that seemed likely to advance the prosperity of the city and State. He was a great promoter of the steamboat interests, and owned at one time many fine vessels. One of the handsomest boats on the river bore his name. He was also identified with many other public enterprises, and for many years was president of the Merchants' National Bank, of which he was a director from its foundation. He was also a member of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association, was one of the original members of the Merchants' Exchange, and was a stockholder and director in numerous other enterprises of importance to the city and State. He was liberal though unostentatious in his charities, and subscribed largely to the various public beneficiary institutions. While extremely careful in business matters, he acquired his wealth not by the practice of parsimony, but by the application of large and liberal views, supplemented by remarkable energy, perseverance, and industry. As a man, he was approachable and genial, and enjoyed to an uncommon degree the love and respect of his fellow-citizens.

In politics Mr. Ewing was an "Old-Line" Whig, but after the disruption of that party he took little interest in political affairs except in connection with local matters. After his marriage he became a member of the Catholic Church. He died Oct. 26, 1873, at Bailey Springs, near Florence, Ala., where he had gone for his health, and was buried in Calvary Cemetery, St. Louis.

Mr. Ewing left surviving him six children, three sons and three daughters, of whom William L. Ewing, the present mayor of St. Louis, is the second son.

Among the most popular and prominent of the public officials of St. Louis at the present time is Capt. Isaac M. Mason, sheriff of the city. In 1876 he was elected county marshal of St. Louis County, and in 1877 was elected city marshal for four years for the city of St. Louis. In 1880 he was chosen sheriff of St. Louis by a majority of ten hundred and thirty over two opponents, and his administration of the office was such as to win unstinted praise even from his political adversaries, all of whom cheerfully testified that he made as good a sheriff as St. Louis ever had. His administration was marked by the introduction and enforcement of reforms, and so efficiently did he discharge the duties of the office that in the summer of 1882 he received the nomination for a second term by acclamation in the two Republican Conventions, not a single voice being raised in opposition. The people, recognizing his eminent fitness for the place, elected him after a heated canvass by a majority of sixteen hundred and ninety-two over one of the most popular and dashing young Democrats in the city.

Capt. Mason's grandfather emigrated from Winchester, Va., to Pennsylvania in 1794, his supplies being transported in crossing the mountains by pack-horses. After locating in Pennsylvania he made two trips to Virginia by pack-horse modes of traveling. Mr. Mason settled first in Fayette County, Pa., and afterwards in Washington County, Pa., where, at the residence of his son, Morgan Mason, he died at the age of seventy-six, surrounded by four generations of his descendants. To Morgan and Pamelia S. Mason, who were both natives of Pennsylvania, Isaac M. Mason, the subject of this sketch, was born at Brownsville, Fayette Co., Pa., March 4, 1831. His ancestors on the father's side came from England to Virginia about 1700; on the mother's (Stevenson) side, also from England, settling in Baltimore in 1703. One of Capt. Mason's great-uncles was sheriff of Baltimore.

As a boy he attended the public schools at Brownsville, and received a fair English education. His early tastes were mechanical, and the machinery in his father's flouring-mill was a constant source of attraction, but his great desire was for a career on the river, and eventually, after spending a year in a store as a dry-goods clerk, he gained his father's consent to try a river life, and accordingly we find him employed on the steamboat "Consul," then running from Brownsville to Pittsburgh. The life suited him, and he brought to it such industry and fidelity that he soon gained the favor of his superiors, and rose rapidly in his calling. At the early age of nineteen he became captain of the "Summit," and for fourteen years acted as captain and clerk on different boats in the following order: "Consul," "Atlantic," "Summit," "Editor," "Australia," "Honduras," "Alma," "Belle Golden," "Vixen," "Denmark," "Fred Lorenz," "Savannah," and "Hawkeye State."

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for the city of St. Louis. In 1880 he was chosen sheriff of St. Louis by a majority of [illegible] over two opposing candidates, one of the other was supported by a portion of the Democratic party. His administration was so efficiently conducted that he was elected by a majority of [illegible] over one of the most popular Democrats in the city.

Capt. Mason's grandfather [illegible] Chester Co., Va., to Pennsylvania, being transported in crossing the mountains on horses. After residing in Pennsylvania for a few years, he made trips to Virginia by pack-horse. Mr. Mason settled first in Fayette Co., Pa., and afterwards in Washington County, Pa., where he resided [illegible] of his son, Morgan Mason, at the age of seventy-four, surrounded by his descendants. To Morgan Mason, who was born a native of Fayette Co., Pa., the subject of this sketch, Uniontown, Fayette Co., Pa., March 27, 1818, his ancestors on the father's side came to Virginia about 1700; on the mother's side also from England, settling in Virginia. One of Capt. Mason's great-grandfathers was a Baltimorean.

As a boy he attended the [illegible] ville, and received a fair English education. His tastes were mechanical, and his father's flouring mill was a favorite resort. His education, however, was his great desire was to go to sea, and eventually, after several years in the goods store, he gained his father's consent, and accordingly went to Pittsburgh, on the steamboat "Consul," then plying between Louisville and Pittsburgh. The [illegible] brought to it much industry and energy, and soon gained the favor of the captain, who gave him a position on the boat. At the early age of [illegible] he was captain of the "Steamer," and [illegible] acted as captain and clerk on the following orders: "Consul," "Argo," "Eclipse," "Westmoreland," "Hibernia," "Belle Golden," "Vixen," "Lorenz," "Savannah," and "Hawkeye State."



Isaac M Mason

In 1851 he first visited St. Louis, and being highly pleased with the city and its prospects, determined to make it his home. He did not remove his family to St. Louis, however, until 1862. During the civil war his boats, the "Fred Lorenz" and "Savannah," were employed in transporting supplies to the Federal army at various points on the leading Western rivers.

In 1865 he retired from active steamboat service, but retained his connection with river business, being agent for the Northern Line Packet Company for sixteen years. While on the river he traveled over fourteen States of the Union, chiefly those penetrated by navigable rivers, and his careful observation supplied him with a fund of experience which made him an extremely valuable counselor in the various deliberations held for the improvement of the navigable streams of the West. Capt. Mason has always taken an active part in every feasible enterprise for increasing the commerce of St. Louis by improving the channel of the Mississippi and other rivers, as well as by the building of railroads. At one time he was president of the St. Louis Board of Trade, and for many years was a member of the Merchants' Exchange, in whose deliberations he always took an active part, his judgment being prized as that of one of the most sagacious of its members.

In November, 1852, Capt. Mason married Miss Mary Ann Tiernan, a native of Brownsville, Pa. Six children resulted from this union, five of whom are now living. Capt. Mason was reared a Baptist, but after marriage, his wife being an Episcopalian, he joined that communion, and has since been a member thereof, having been for many years a vestryman in St. George's Church. Without a particle of bigotry in his nature, he is a hearty supporter of every non-sectarian enterprise for benevolent purposes, whether the object be religious or merely charitable, and more recently has been among the leading promoters of the "Bethel's Home," a shelter for houseless and homeless unfortunates along the Levee.

Capt. Mason's social qualities are generally recognized, and he is a member of several societies, among which may be mentioned the Masonic order (which he joined in 1854), the Odd-Fellows (of which he became a member in 1853), the Knights of Honor, the St. Louis Legion of Honor, and the Ancient Order of United Workmen.

He was a Whig in politics as long as the party existed, and ever since its dissolution has been continuously a Republican. On several occasions, as we have seen, he has been conspicuously honored by his party, and in each instance has shown himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him.

Capt. Mason is still in the vigor and prime of manhood, and performs the duties of his laborious office to the satisfaction of the community. Uniformly courteous in his intercourse with all, of whatever station, probably no man in St. Louis is more universally popular. Those who know him most intimately speak of him most highly. He possesses an unusually well-balanced mind, is one of the quietest and most unassuming of gentlemen, and his constant success from youth to the present time constitutes a cogent argument in favor of earnest endeavor and the faithful discharge of duty as the pathway to high and honorable station.

Municipal Officers.

CITY ELECTIVE OFFICERS, FROM APRIL, 1881, to APRIL, 1885.—*Mayor*, William L. Ewing (Lyndon A. Smith, *Secretary*); *Comptroller*, Edward L. Adreon (Fred. Gabel, *Deputy*); *Treasurer*, Jacob S. Merrell (Frank W. Deidesheimer, *Assistant Treasurer*); *Auditor*, A. J. Smith (G. F. Rausser, *Deputy*); *Register*, Nicholas Berg (Henry Woods, *Deputy*); *Collector*, N. C. Hudson (H. A. Voelkner, *Deputy*); *Marshal*, Emile Thomas; *Inspector of Weights and Measures*, W. H. Rudolph; *President Board of Assessors*, David Powers; *President Board of Public Improvements*, Henry Flad; *President of the Council*, George W. Parker; *Coroner*, John N. Frank.

CITY APPOINTED OFFICERS, 1882–83.—*Board of Public Improvements*, 1879–83, John W. Turner, Street Commissioner; Thomas J. Whitman, Water Commissioner; Charles Pfeifer, Harbor and Wharf Commissioner; Eugene F. Weigel, Park Commissioner; William Wise, Sewer Commissioner; Emory S. Foster, Secretary of Board. *City Counselor*, Leverett Bell; *Assistant City Counselor*, Vernon W. Knapp; *Jailer*, Jeremiah Ryan; *Judge of Police Court, First District*, John Jecko; *Judge of Police Court, Second District*, George Dennison; *Clerk Police Court, First District*, Henry J. Bischoff; *Clerk Police Court, Second District*, W. F. Linck; *City Attorney*, Samuel Erskine; *Assistant City Attorney*, Daniel O'C. Tracy; *Chief Engineer Fire Department*, H. Clay Sexton (Geo. W. Tennille, *Secretary*); *Superintendent Fire-Alarm Telegraph*, Ernst Hilgendorf; *Superintendent Workhouse*, Wm. Kuns; *Inspector of Boilers*, John Holland; *Commissioner of Supplies*, Ferdinand Garesche; *Assessor and Collector of Water Rates*, Gen. John D. Stevenson (Charles W. Ohm, *Deputy*). *Board of Police Commissioners*, the Mayor, *ex officio President*; Samuel Cupples, *Vice-President*; Commissioners, E. C. Simmons, Jno. H. Maxon, Alex. Kinkead, Capt. Ferd. B. Kennett, *Chief*; George Gavin, *Secretary*. *Board of Health*, William L. Ewing, *Mayor and ex officio President*; Charles W. Francis, *Health Commissioner*; Members, George W. Parker, *President of the Council*, Joseph Spiegelhalter, M.D., W. B. Conery, M.D., John H. Maxon; *Clerk Board of Health*, Robt. Luedeking, M.D.

MAYORS FROM THE INCORPORATION OF THE CITY TO 1883.

1823–28. William Carr Lane.	1833–34. John W. Johnston.
1829–32. Daniel D. Page.	1835–37. John F. Darby.
1833.[1] Samuel Merry.	1838–39. William Carr Lane.

[1] Disqualified in consequence of holding office under the general government. J. W. Johnston elected mayor in his place.

1840. John F. Darby.
1841. John D. Daggett.
1842. George Maguire.
1843. John M. Wimer.
1844–45. Bernard Pratte.
1846. Peter G. Camden.
1847. Bryan Mullanphy.
1848. John M. Krum.
1849. James G. Barry.
1850–52. Luther M. Kennett.
1853–54. John How.
1855. Washington King.
1856. John How.
1857. John M. Wimer.
1858–60. Oliver D. Filley.
1861–62. Daniel G. Taylor.
1863. Chauncey I. Filley.
1864–68. James S. Thomas.
1869–70. Nathan Cole.
1871–74. Joseph Brown.
1875. Arthur B. Barret.[1]
1875. James H. Britton.
1876. Henry Overstolz.[2]
1877–81. Henry Overstolz.
1882. William L. Ewing.

CITY ALDERMEN.

1823.—Archibald Gamble, Prest., Thomas McKnight, James Kennerley, Philip Rocheblave, William H. Savage, Robert Wash, James Loper, Henry Von Phul, James Laknan, Joshua Barton.[3]

1824.—John Shackford, Prest., Bernard Pratte, Joseph V. Garnier, Hugh Richards, Matthew Kerr, Joseph C. Laveille, J. L. Sutton, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., David C. Walker.[4]

1825.—Joseph Charless, Sr., Prest., Philip Rocheblave, Elisha S. Beebe, Jacob Hawken, Hugh Richards, Hubert Guion, Louis T. Honore, Pierre Chouteau, Alfred Skinner, Charles Bosseron.[5]

1826.—Archibald Gamble, Prest., Asa Wilgus, Thornton Grimsley, William K. Rule, Joseph C. Laveille, Thomas F. Riddick, Joseph V. Garnier, David B. Hill, Henry Von Phul.

1827.—*North Ward*, John Mullanphy, Prest., William K. Rule, John D. Daggett; *Middle Ward*, Frederick L. Billon, Edward Charless, Christopher M. Price; *South Ward*, Joseph C. Laveille, John L. Sutton, David B. Hill.

1828.—*Middle Ward*, Joseph C. Laveille, Prest., Edward Charless, Frederick L. Billon; *North Ward*, George H. Kennerly, Michael Reily; *South Ward*, John L. Sutton, John Smith, John Smith, Jr.

1829.—*Middle Ward*, Joseph C. Laveille, Prest., Thomas Cohen, Edward Charless; *North Ward*, John Mullanphy, Michael Reily, Jabez Warner; *South Ward*, Hubert Guion, Herman L. Hoffman, John L. Sutton.

1830.—*Middle Ward*, Joseph C. Laveille, Prest., Thomas Cohen, Edward Charless; *North Ward*, John D. Daggett, William K. Rule, Edward Dobyns; *South Ward*, Elkanah English, Hubert Guion, Herman L. Hoffman.

1831.—*Middle Ward*, Joseph C. Laveille, Prest., Peter Ferguson, Jabez Warner; *North Ward*, Joseph Bates (resigned), Edward Dobyns, William K. Rule (resigned), Jesse Colburn (resigned), Hugh O'Neill; *South Ward*, John Pigott, Michael Rourke, Robert Simpson.

1832.—*Middle Ward*, Joseph C. Laveille, Prest., Edward Charless, Peter Ferguson; *North Ward*, Edward Dobyns, Hugh O'Neill, Solomon P. Ketchum (resigned), Robert Moore; *South Ward*, Michael Rourke (died), Robert Simpson, Cotton M. Tabor, Calvin Francis.

1833.—*Middle Ward*, Joseph C. Laveille, Prest., Edward Charless, Peter Ferguson; *North Ward*, Edward Dobyns, Hugh O'Neill, Jr., Robert N. Moore; *South Ward*, Sullivan Blood, Robert Simpson, Caleb Lockwood.

1834.—*First Ward*, Benjamin W. Ayres (resigned), Michael Gorman (resigned), George Morton, Benjamin W. Ayres, Wilson Primm; *Second Ward*, Horatio N. Cross, John Shannon, James P. Spencer; *Third Ward*, Thomas Andrews, John F. Darby, Hugh O'Neill, Prest.; *Fourth Ward*, Edward Dobyns, Robert N. Moore, Hugh O'Brien.

1835.—*First Ward*, George Morton, Wilson Primm, John P. Reily; *Second Ward*, Joseph Charless (resigned), James J. Purdy, James P. Spencer, Prest., Joseph C. Laveille; *Third Ward*, Thornton Grimsley, Hugh O'Neil, Dunham Spalding; *Fourth Ward*, Charles Collins, John Lee (removed), Joseph Bates (resigned), Solomon P. Ketchum, Bryan Mullanphy.

1836.—*First Ward*, George Morton, Wilson Primm, James J. Purdy; *Second Ward*, Thomas Cohen, Joseph C. Laveille, James P. Spencer, Prest.; *Third Ward*, William Preston Clark, Thornton Grimsley, Hugh O'Neil; *Fourth Ward*, Charles Collins, Hugh O'Brien, Bryan Mullanphy.

1837.—*First Ward*, Wilson Primm, Prest., Joseph S. Pease, Joseph W. Walsh; *Second Ward*, Thomas Cohen, David B. Hill, James P. Spencer (died), Stuart Ma..ews; *Third Ward*, Thomas B. Hudson, Peter Tiernan, Asa Wilgus; *Fourth Ward*, Charles Collins, Abel Rathbone Corbin, Hugh O'Brien.

1838.—*First Ward*, Benjamin W. Ayres, Joseph S. Pease, Joseph W. Walsh; *Second Ward*, Lewis V. Bogy, David Coons (president), Stuart Matthews; *Third Ward*, Merriwether Lewis Clark, Hugh O'Neil, Peter Tiernan; *Fourth Ward*, Abel Rathbone Corbin (resigned), Hugh O'Brien, John M. Wimer, Giles A. Lindley.

ALDERMEN AND DELEGATES.

1839.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, Benjamin W. Ayres, James G. Barry; *Second Ward*, Beverly Allen, Edward Tra..; *Third Ward*, George Collier (president), John B. Sarpy; *Fourth Ward*, John Lee, Archibald Carr. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Elkanah English, Charles Coutts (resigned), William Horine, George Maguire; *Second Ward*, Wil..am Glasgow, Theodore Papin, David B. Hill; *Third Ward*, Bazil W. Alexander, Asa Wilgus, George Trask; *Fourth Ward*, George K. Budd (president), Abel G. Farwell, Samuel Gaty.

1840.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, James G. Barry, Benjamin W. Ayres; *Second Ward*, Beverly Allen, Prest. (resigned), Adam L. Mills (president), Thomas Cohen; *Third Ward*, William Burd, Archibald E. Orme; *Fourth Ward*, Archibald Carr, Horatio N. Davis. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Elkanah English, George Maguire, Hiram Shaw; *Second Ward*, Edward Brooks (president), James Clemens, Stewart Matthews; *Third Ward*, Thomas Dresser, George Trask, Thomas H. West; *Fourth Ward*, George K. Budd, Samuel Gaty, David Weston.

1841.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, John Corcoran (resigned), James C. Lynch, Brannock Jones; *Second Ward*, B. Ayres, Stewart Matthews; *Third Ward*, Thomas Cobb, A. L. Mills (president); *Fourth Ward*, James H. Lucas, Archibald E. Orme; *Fifth Ward*, Robert Cathcart, Samuel Gaty. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Joseph M. Magehe, Daniel H. Donovan, Thomas Denny; *Second Ward*, Elkanah English, Hiram Shaw, Henry McKee (resigned),

[1] Died April 23, 1875. James H. Britton elected to fill the vacancy.

[2] Declared elected by the City Council, Feb. 9, 1876, instead of James H. Britton.

[3] Joshua Barton having been killed on July 2, 1823, in a duel with Thomas C. Rector, Joseph V. Garnier was elected to fill the vacancy.

[4] Upon the death of Mr. Walker, William K. Rule was elected.

[5] Mr. Bosseron was elected in the place of Alfred Skinner, resigned.

Edward Walker; *Third Ward*, Henry S. Coxe, Edward Brooks (president), Henry E. Stone; *Fourth Ward*, Thomas H. West, George Trask, Ebenezer Young; *Fifth Ward*, Thomas H. Duncan, Theodore Labeaume (resigned), A. R. Corbin, John M. Wimer.

1842.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, James C. Lynch, William B. Wood; *Second Ward*, James G. Barry (president), Nathan Ranney; *Third Ward*, Edward Brooks, Adam L. Mills, Prest. (resigned), Adam B. Chambers; *Fourth Ward*, Archibald E. Orme, Joseph B. Crockett (resigned), B. S. Hollingsworth; *Fifth Ward*, John M. Wimer (resigned), Samuel Gaty (resigned), C. Campbell, Charles Todd. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Daniel H. Donovan (resigned), Thomas Denny (resigned), Henry C. Lynch, John C. Mueller, John Stewart; *Second Ward*, Hiram Shaw, Ezra C. English, Ellis Wainwright; *Third Ward*, George K. McGunnegle, Francis Jones, William H. Jones (resigned), Beriah Cleland; *Fourth Ward*, Vital M. Garesche, Louis A. Labeaume, J. S. Wood; *Fifth Ward*, Abel R. Corbin, T. O. Duncan (president), Charles R. Anderson.

1843.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, Matthias Steitz, John Withnell; *Second Ward*, Wilson Primm (president), Stuart Matthews (resigned), John Black; *Third Ward*, Edward Charless, Louis A. Labeaume; *Fourth Ward*, Luther M. Kennett, John B. Camden; *Fifth Ward*, Anthony Bennett, Thomas Watson; *Sixth Ward*, Joseph S. Hull, William S. Stamps. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Jacob Smith, James Caldwell; *Second Ward*, Ellis Wainwright, Charles Bobb; *Third Ward*, George K. McGunnegle, Francis Jones; *Fourth Ward*, George A. Hyde (president), John Finney; *Fifth Ward*, Abel R. Corbin, Rufus Kayser; *Sixth Ward*, Charles R. Anderson, Jacob Tice.

1844.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, Matthias Steitz, John Withnell; *Second Ward*, John Black, Ellis Wainwright; *Third Ward*, Edward Charless (president), George K. McGunnegle; *Fourth Ward*, Luther M. Kennett, John B. Camden: *Fifth Ward*, Thomas Watson (resigned), Archibald Carr, J. W. Ormsbee; *Sixth Ward*, William S. Stamps, George Mead. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, John Corcoran, Edward Warrens; *Second Ward*, Charles Bobb, George Morton (president); *Third Ward*, David Chambers, Francis Jones: *Fourth Ward*, George A. Hyde, Charles Todd; *Fifth Ward*, Samuel Knox, Charles J. Carpenter; *Sixth Ward*, James Gordon, Hugh Rose.

1845.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, Matthias Steitz, Daniel H. Donovan; *Second Ward*, Ellis Wainwright (resigned), James G Barry, B. W. Ayers; *Third Ward*, George K. McGunnegle, Edward Charless; *Fourth Ward*, Henry D. Bacon (resigned), Luther M. Kennett, Charles Collins, John B. Higdon (in lieu of Collins); *Fifth Ward*, Archibald Carr (president), George K. Budd; *Sixth Ward*, George Mead, John Hall. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Edward Warrens (resigned), Amadee Vallé, Ezra O. English; *Second Ward*, Thomas B. Targee, Robert Holmes; *Third Ward*, Singleton H. Kimmel, William Glasgow, Sr.; *Fourth Ward*, Charles Hequembourg, Isaac T. Greene (resigned), Charles M. Valleau; *Fifth Ward*, Samuel Knox (president), Charles Jabine: *Sixth Ward*, Henry Loane, Nathaniel Childs, Jr.

1846.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, Matthias Steitz, Daniel H. Donavan (resigned), George Maguire; *Second Ward*, James G. Barry, Daniel D. Page; *Third Ward*, Edward Charless, Adam L. Mills; *Fourth Ward*, Luther M. Kennett (resigned), John B. Higdon, Stephen W. Adreon; *Fifth Ward*, George K. Budd (president), Reuben Knox; *Sixth Ward*, John Hall, Nathaniel Childs, Sr. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, A. Vallé (resigned), W. Tighe, John Dunn; *Second Ward*, C. P. Morse, Robert Holmes; *Third Ward*, S. H. Kimmel, Prest. (resigned), W. Glasgow, Jr. (resigned), P. C. Morehead, James Glasgow; *Fourth Ward*, C. Hequembourg (president), C. M. Valleau; *Fifth Ward*, John Whitehill, James H. White; *Sixth Ward*, Joseph S. Hull, Robert B. Bell.

1847.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, George Maguire (president), Richard S. Blennerhasset; *Second Ward*, D. D. Page (resigned), J. G. Shelton, Wilson Primm; *Third Ward*, Adam L. Mills, James Glasgow; *Fourth Ward*, Isaiah Forbes, Samuel Hawken; *Fifth Ward*, Reuben Knox, L. Riggs (resigned), Louis Bach; *Sixth Ward*, Nathan Childs, Reuben B. Austin. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Jacob Smith, H. C. Lynch; *Second Ward*, J. P. Thomas, E. W. Decker (died), Louis Du Breuil; *Third Ward*, W. H. Jones, William Robb; *Fourth Ward*, D. A. Magehan (president), J. H. Lightner; *Fifth Ward*, A. P. Ladue, Hugh Rose; *Sixth Ward*, D. W. Dixon, R. N. Moore.

1848.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, R. S. Blennerhasset (resigned), George Maguire (president), Edward Haren; *Second Ward*, John G. Shelton, George R. Taylor (resigned and re-elected); *Third Ward*, James Glasgow, Adam L. Mills, Daniel D. Page (to fill vacancy); *Fourth Ward*, Samuel Hawken (resigned), James H. White, Demetrius R. Magehan; *Fifth Ward*, Louis Bach, Robert Cathcart (vacated seat), T. J. Beirne; *Sixth Ward*, Reuben B. Austin, Isaac H. Sturgeon. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Henry C. Lynch (president), A. C. Cordes; *Second Ward*, Jacob P. Thomas, Edward E. Hunter; *Third Ward*, Thomas Cohen, Charles Robb; *Fourth Ward*, William M. Morrison, Joseph F. Franklin; *Fifth Ward*, Thomas Jackson, Frederick Laumann; *Sixth Ward*, Thomas Harsant, Erastus Wells.

1849.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, George Maguire, Prest. (resigned), Edward Haren (resigned), William Freund, John Dunn; *Second Ward*, William Palm, George R. Taylor; *Third Ward*, Daniel D. Page, Adam L. Mills; *Fourth Ward*, C. M. Valleau (president), William Bobb; *Fifth Ward*, Thomas J. Beirne, J. B. Gibson; *Sixth Ward*, Henry Holmes, Isaac H. Sturgeon. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, H. C. Katz, William R. Price; *Second Ward*, J. P. Thomas, William Walton; *Third Ward*, E. R. Mason, Francis Jones (president); *Fourth Ward*, R. Kayser, George W. Rucker; *Fifth Ward*, Peter Miller (died), George Bushey, Thomas Harsant; *Sixth Ward*, A. Ward (died), H. Overstolz, Willis R. Pritchard.

1850.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, John Dunn, R. S. Blennerhasset; *Second Ward*, William Palm, Louis Dubreuil; *Third Ward*, Joseph Charless, John J. Anderson; *Fourth Ward*, C. M. Valleau (president), John W. Rucker; *Fifth Ward*, J. B. Gibson (resigned), J. S. Freligh (resigned), Charles H. Pond, E. C. Blackburn; *Sixth Ward*, Henry Holmes, Isaac H. Sturgeon. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Stephen Stock, Frederick W. Beckwith; *Second Ward*, Benjamin B. Chamberlain (died), E. B. Taylor, William Smith; *Third Ward*, William Carroll, C. Edmund Labeaume; *Fourth Ward*, Edwin Smith, George Trask (president); *Fifth Ward*, John Shore (resigned), George Bushey, C. L. Holthaus; *Sixth Ward*, Henry Overstolz, Willis R. Pritchard.

1851.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, John C. Dagenhardt, Henry C. Lynch; *Second Ward*, William Palm, Robert Clarkson; *Third Ward*, John J. Anderson, Louis A. Labeaume, Prest.; *Fourth Ward*, George W. Rucker, Edward C. Blackburn; *Fifth Ward*, Charles W. Lightner, Charles H. Pond; *Sixth Ward*, Henry Overstolz, Thomas L. Sturgeon. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, George Bremermann, Samuel B. Pilkington; *Second Ward*, J. T. Moore (resigned), Philip B.

Reily, John McDowell; *Third Ward*, Joshua W. Owings, David R. Risley; *Fourth Ward*, Rufus Kayser, Prest., Benjamin C. Farrar; *Fifth Ward*, George Bushey, James McNichol (resigned), —— Garrison; *Sixth Ward*, Daniel Crouse (died), Stewart McKee, John Brotherton.

1852.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, John C. Degenhardt, Henry C. Lynch; *Second Ward*, Philip B. Reily, Robert Clarkson; *Third Ward*, John J. Anderson (resigned), Louis A. Labeaume, George K. Budd; *Fourth Ward*, George W. Rucker, Edward C. Blackburn, Prest.; *Fifth Ward*, Thomas J. Beirne, Charles W. Lightner; *Sixth Ward*, Thomas L. Sturgeon, John W. Thornburgh. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Samuel B. Pilkington, Frederick P. Sanguinette; *Second Ward*, C. C. Simmons, Charles Mehl (resigned), Martin Dubbs; *Third Ward*, David R. Risley, Prest., Joshua W. Owings; *Fourth Ward*, J. K. Burtis, James Ham; *Fifth Ward*, Thomas Harsant, W. R. Pritchard; *Sixth Ward*, Daniel G. Taylor (resigned), Cyrus Spear, John Sexton, Jr.

1853.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, John C. Degenhardt, Samuel B. Pilkington; *Second Ward*, Philip B. Reily, Cornelius Campbell; *Third Ward*, Louis A. Labeaume (resigned), David R. Risley (resigned), William M. McPherson, Theophile Papin; *Fourth Ward*, Edward C. Blackburn, John Hartnett; *Fifth Ward*, Thomas J. Beirne, Eneas McFaul; *Sixth Ward*, John W. Thornburgh, Alfred Heacock. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, George W. Sherrick, Charles W. Gottschalk; *Second Ward*, Charles A. Clarke, John H. Rohlf; *Third Ward*, Isaac M. Veitch, Charles H. Tillson; *Fourth Ward*, James Ham, Franklin Weston; *Fifth Ward*, Davis Moore, George Kyler; *Sixth Ward*, Charles W. Horn, James Graham.

1854.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, S. B. Pilkington, C. W. Gottschalk; *Second Ward*, Cornelius Campbell, Prest., Philip B. Reily; *Third Ward*, Theophile Papin, Daniel G. Taylor; *Fourth Ward*, Edward C. Blackburn, John Hartnett; *Fifth Ward*, Eneas McFaul, Norman J. Colman; *Sixth Ward*, J. W. Thornburgh, Albion T. Crow. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, George W. Sherrick, H. J. Hillsdorf; *Second Ward*, Charles A. Clarke, Henry Graefenkamp; *Third Ward*, Isaac M. Veitch, Charles H. Tillson; *Fourth Ward*, Franklin Weston, Joshua Houston; *Fifth Ward*, Davis Moore, George Kyler, Prest.; *Sixth Ward*, John Sexton, Jr., John H. Niermeyer.

1855.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, C. W. Gottschalk, George W. Sherrick; *Second Ward*, Philip B. Reily, Henry B. Belt; *Third Ward*, Daniel G. Taylor, Erastus Wells; *Fourth Ward*, E. C. Blackburn, Prest. (died), Franklin Weston, John Shore; *Fifth Ward*, N. J. Colman, George Kyler; *Sixth Ward*, J. W. Thornburgh, Prest., John Sexton, Jr.; DELEGATES: *First Ward*, H. J. Hillsdorf, Christian Staehlin; *Second Ward*, Henry Graefenkamp, Thomas M. Wannell; *Third Ward*, James F. Small, Charles H. Tillson, Prest.; *Fourth Ward*, Joshua Houston, Jesse W. Heath; *Fifth Ward*, William S. Cuddy, Charles E. Loring; *Sixth Ward*, James H. Vail, Benjamin L. Van Court.

1856.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, Godfrey Schoenthaler (resigned), Henry C. Lynch, David Bayles; *Second Ward*, Cornelius Campbell (resigned), Charles W. Gottschalk, Brannock Jones; *Third Ward*, C. C. Simmons, William Palm; *Fourth Ward*, George R. Taylor, Prest., John Kern (died), Amadee Vallé; *Fifth Ward*, Erastus Wells, Charles H. Tillson; *Sixth Ward*, John Shore, Unit Rasin; *Seventh Ward*, Patrick Deegan (died), Henry Dusenbury; *Eighth Ward*, C. D. Colman, George Kyler; *Ninth Ward*, James Graham, Charles W. Horn; *Tenth Ward*, Henry Overstolz, Charles R. Anderson. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Henry Olmstead, Henry C. Kats; *Second Ward*, John H. Abelin, Henry Graefenkamp; *Third Ward*, Gerhard Schepmann, Theophile Papin; *Fourth Ward*, Samuel Simmons, Prest., Smith Litchfield; *Fifth Ward*, John F. Long, C. C. McClure; *Sixth Ward*, Jesse W. Heath (resigned), Augustus Pomeroy, Edward S. Wheaton; *Seventh Ward*, W. S. Bachman, C. Tiernan; *Eighth Ward*, John C. Vogel, David Moore; *Ninth Ward*, William McKee, Robert Graham; *Tenth Ward*, Andrew Getty, Daniel McGill.

1857.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, Henry C. Lynch, L. Babcock. *Second Ward*, John H. Fisse, Brannock Jones; *Third Ward*, C. C. Simmons, R. M. Renick; *Fourth Ward*, George R. Taylor, Prest., Amadee Vallé; *Fifth Ward*, Charles Tillson, Erastus Wells; *Sixth Ward*, John Shore, C. C. McClure; *Seventh Ward*, Charles G. Stifel, E. M. Powers; *Eighth Ward*, C. D. Colman, George Kyler; *Ninth Ward*, James Graham, Charles W. Horn; *Tenth Ward*, Charles R. Anderson, John Sexton. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, James Gorman, Henry Olmstead; *Second Ward*, Theophile Papin (resigned), Thomas S. Nelson, William D'Oench; *Third Ward*, E. P. Tony, J. H. Graefenkamp; *Fourth Ward*, Samuel Simmons (resigned), Frederick Buschmann, Solomon J. Levi; *Fifth Ward*, A. D. Pomeroy, John W. Burd; *Sixth Ward*, James H. McClure, Thomas R. Axtell; *Seventh Ward*, Thomas J. Dailey, Robert Kinnear; *Eighth Ward*, John C. Vogel, Prest., Davis Moore; *Ninth Ward*, Wm. McKee, Conrad Doll; *Tenth Ward*, Felix A. McDonald, James R. Dobyns.

1858.—ALDERMEN: *First Ward*, L. Babcock, Thomas Allen; *Second Ward*, Brannock Jones, F. W. Cronenbold; *Third Ward*, R. M. Renick, J. H. Graefenkamp; *Fourth Ward*, Amadee Vallé, John G. Shelton; *Fifth Ward*, Erastus Wells, Charles Tillson; *Sixth Ward*, S. W. Adreon, C. C. McClure; *Seventh Ward*, Thomas J. Dailey, F. W. Corbitt; *Eighth Ward*, George Kyler, John C. Vogel; *Ninth Ward*, Charles W. Horn, Patrick Gorman; *Tenth Ward*, John Sexton, James Doyle. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, Frederick Hohenschildt, Henry Almstedt; *Second Ward*, Thomas S. Nelson, Prest., J. G. Vogel; *Third Ward*, Philip H. Bishop, Wm. Horine (resigned), George Bayha; *Fourth Ward*, Solomon J. Levi, Ira Stout (resigned), John Young; *Fifth Ward*, Bernard Pratte, Jr., Peter Ames; *Sixth Ward*, James S. Wilgus, Dwight Durkee; *Seventh Ward* John J. Wilshusen, Jesse W. Heath; *Eighth Ward*, David Moore, Horatio Wood; *Ninth Ward*, Daniel McGill, Casper Stolle; *Tenth Ward*, James R. Dobbins, Nicholas Hatch.

COUNCILMEN.

1859.—*First Ward*, Thomas Allen, Henry Kayser; *Second Ward*, F. W. Cronenbold, Thomas S. Nelson; *Third Ward*, J. A. Graefenkamp, Theophile Papin; *Fourth Ward*, J. H Shelton (resigned), George R. Taylor, Prest., John H. Andrews; *Fifth Ward*, Charles H. Tillson, Erastus Wells; *Sixth Ward*, S. W. Adreon, Dwight Durkee; *Seventh Ward*, Francis H. Manter, Casper H. Holthaus; *Eighth Ward*, John C. Vogel, George Kyler; *Ninth Ward*, Patrick Gorman (resigned), Casper Stolle, John Reilly; *Tenth Ward*, James Doyle, John Sexton, Jr.

1860.—*First Ward*, Henry Kayser (resigned), Thomas C. Chester, Joseph H. Locke; *Second Ward*, Thomas S. Nelson, F. W. Cronenbold; *Third Ward*, Theophile Papin (resigned), G. W. Dreyer, P. A. Ladue; *Fourth Ward*, Jotham Bigelow, John H. Andrews (resigned), Thomas Burke; *Fifth Ward*, Erastus Wells, Joseph H. McBride; *Sixth Ward*, Dwight Durkee, S. W. Adreon; *Seventh Ward*, H. H. Manter, Prest., J. W. Crane; *Eighth Ward*, Geor

Kyler, John C. Vogel; *Ninth Ward*, Casper Stolle, Isaac T. Greene; *Tenth Ward*, John Sexton, Jr. (resigned), L. W. Mitchell, Thomas M. Speers.

1861.—*First Ward*, Thomas C. Chester, J. Gabriel Woerner; *Second Ward*, F. W. Cronenbold, Thomas S. Nelson; *Third Ward*, G. W. Dreyer, John F. Thornton; *Fourth Ward*, Thomas Burke, Robert M. Funkhouser; *Fifth Ward*, Jos. H. McBride, Erastus Wells, Prest.; *Sixth Ward*, S. W. Adreon, Dr. S. B. Burnett; *Seventh Ward*, J. W. Crane, Earl Matlack; *Eighth Ward*, John C. Vogel, Robert Thornburgh; *Ninth Ward*, Isaac T. Greene, Patrick Driscoll; *Tenth Ward*, L. W. Mitchell, Thomas M. Speers.

1862.—*First Ward*, J. Gabriel Woerner (president), John C. Rust; *Second Ward*, Thomas S. Nelson, F. W. Cronenbold; *Third Ward*, John F. Thornton, G. W. Dreyer; *Fourth Ward*, Robert M. Funkhouser, Tony Niederwieser; *Fifth Ward*, Erastus Wells, John Cairns; *Sixth Ward*, J. B. Burnett, Joshua Cheever; *Seventh Ward*, Earl Matlack, Thomas J. Dailey; *Eighth Ward*, Robert Thornburgh, Charles W. Horn; *Ninth Ward*, Patrick Driscoll, Solon Stark; *Tenth Ward*, Thomas M. Speers, Aaron W. Fagin.

1863.—*First Ward*, John C. Rust, J. Gabriel Woerner; *Second Ward*, F. W. Cronenbold (president), Charles W. Gottschalk; *Third Ward*, G. W. Dreyer, Hermann Schepman; *Fourth Ward*, Tony Niederwieser, Henry McKee; *Fifth Ward*, John Cairns, Erastus Wells; *Sixth Ward*, Joshua Cheever, Samuel Plant; *Seventh Ward*, Thomas J. Dailey, Frederick Doering; *Eighth Ward*, Charles W. Horn, John Grether; *Ninth Ward*, Solon Stark, Patrick Driscoll; *Tenth Ward*, Aaron W. Fagin, Benjamin Charles (resigned), Charles Sessinghaus (died).

1864.—*First Ward*, J. G. Woerner, A. Krieckhaus; *Second Ward*, Charles W. Gottschalk, Henry C. Gempp; *Third Ward*, Hermann Schepman, Amadee Vallé; *Fourth Ward*, A. S. W. Goodwin, Tony Niederwieser; *Fifth Ward*, Erastus Wells, John Cairns; *Sixth Ward*, Samuel Plant, Joshua Cheever; *Seventh Ward*, Jesse W. Heath, Henry Stagg; *Eighth Ward*, John Grether (president), Charles W. Horn; *Ninth Ward*, Patrick Driscoll, Daniel McAuliffe; *Tenth Ward*, Charles Schoenbuck, Charles Borg.

1865.—*First Ward*, A. Krieckhaus, Christopher A. Stifel; *Second Ward*, Henry C. Gempp, F. W. Cronenbold (resigned), Louis Gottschalk; *Third Ward*, Amadee Vallé, Herman Schepman; *Fourth Ward*, Tony Niederwieser, A. S. W. Goodwin (resigned and re-elected); *Fifth Ward*, John Cairns, Erastus Wells; *Sixth Ward*, Joshua Cheever, Samuel Plant; *Seventh Ward*, Henry Stagg (resigned), John O'Brien, Charles F. Walther; *Eighth Ward*, Charles W. Horn, John Grether (president); *Ninth Ward*, Daniel McAuliffe, Patrick Driscoll; *Tenth Ward*, Charles Borg, Charles Schoenbeck.

ALDERMEN AND DELEGATES.

1866.—ALDERMEN: *First District*, A. Krieckhaus, Isidore Bush: *Second District*, John F. Thornton, John Finn; *Third District*, Erastus Wells, M. J. Hartnett; *Fourth District*, J. Philip Krieger, William Fruedeneau; *Fifth District*, P. Driscoll, H. C. Brockmeyer. DELEGATES: *First Ward*, C. August Stifel, August Etling; *Second Ward*, Louis Gottschalk, Christopher Overbeck; *Third Ward*, Philip H. Bishop, James R. Lake; *Fourth Ward*, Peter G. Gerhardt, Klon G. Smith; *Fifth Ward*, John Cairns, Hampton Woodruff; *Sixth Ward*, Henry B. Belt, Ewing C. Ketchum; *Seventh Ward*, R. D. Lancaster, John Houston; *Eighth Ward*, William Henry, Edward Herzog; *Ninth Ward*, James Ashworth, Daniel McAuliffe; *Tenth Ward*, Robert S. King, Edgar A. Richardson.

COUNCILMEN.

1867.—*First Ward*, August Etling; *Second Ward*, A. Krieckhaus, John C. Finck; *Third Ward*, Charles W. Gottschalk, Henry Amelung; *Fourth Ward*, George Friedrich, Anthony Ittner; *Fifth Ward*, Tony Niederwieser, David Powers; *Sixth Ward*, Erastus Wells, Charles A. Mantz; *Seventh Ward*, George Babcock, Charles W. Horn; *Eighth Ward*, R. D. Lancaster, William Bosbyshell; *Ninth Ward*, John O'Brien, Solomon J. Quinlivan; *Tenth Ward*, Patrick Driscoll, M. W. Hogan; *Eleventh Ward*, Charles Schoenbeck, H. S. Parker; *Twelfth Ward*, Charles E. Borg.

1868.—*First Ward*, August Etling; *Second Ward*, A. Krieckhaus, F. Cratz; *Third Ward*, Charles W. Gottschalk, Henry Amelung; *Fourth Ward*, Anthony Ittner, George Friedrich; *Fifth Ward*, Elon G. Smith, David Powers; *Sixth Ward*, Erastus Wells, Charles A. Mantz; *Seventh Ward*, James Coff, George Babcock; *Eighth Ward*, J. McCord, William Bosbyshell; *Ninth Ward*, John O'Brien, Solomon J. Quinlivan; *Tenth Ward*, P. Driscoll, M. W. Hogan; *Eleventh Ward*, Charles Schoenbeck, J. M. Jordan; *Twelfth Ward*, Horace Fox.

1869.—*First Ward*, Archibald Douglas; *Second Ward*, Frederick Cratz, A. Krieckhaus; *Third Ward*, H. H. Smith, Charles W. Gottschalk; *Fourth Ward*, F. G. Fitzgerald, George Friedrich; *Fifth Ward*, David Powers, Elong G. Smith; *Sixth Ward*, Charles A. Mantz, Samuel Pepper; *Seventh Ward*, James Coff, Henry C. Yaeger; *Eighth Ward*, James McCord, William Bosbyshell; *Ninth Ward*, John O'Brien, Henry Hannibal; *Tenth Ward*, Patrick Driscoll, M. W. Hogan; *Eleventh Ward*, John M. Jordan, William K. Patrick; *Twelfth Ward*, Samuel B. Stannard.

1870.—*First Ward*, Frederick Hill, Archibald Douglas; *Second Ward*, A. Krieckhaus, F. Cratz; *Third Ward*, H. H. Smith, Charles W. Gottschalk; *Fourth Ward*, George Friedrich, George Bain; *Fifth Ward*, David Powers, Elon G. Smith; *Sixth Ward*, Samuel Pepper, S. H. Laflin; *Seventh Ward*, Henry C. Yaeger, D. B. Gale; *Eighth Ward*, William Bosbyshell, John O'Brien; *Ninth Ward*, Henry Hannibal, John O'Brien; *Tenth Ward*, M. W. Hogan, L. S. Bargen; *Eleventh Ward*, W. K. Patrick, Henry Overstolz; *Twelfth Ward*, Samuel B. Stannard, Henry Schwaner.

1871.—*First Ward*, H. J. Hinsman, Archibald Douglas; *Second Ward*, A. Krieckhaus, Frederick Cratz; *Third Ward*, Charles W. Gottschalk, J. H. Amelung; *Fourth Ward*, George Bain, James Tiernan; *Fifth Ward*, Elong G. Smith, (president), Jeremiah Ryan; *Sixth Ward*, Charles A. Mantz, James Garvin; *Seventh Ward*, Henry C. Yaeger, D. B. Gale; *Eighth Ward*, James C. Rogers, John O'Brien; *Ninth Ward*, Hugh Hawkins, John O'Brien; *Tenth Ward*, L. S. Bargen, Michael Madden; *Eleventh Ward*, Henry Overstolz, W. K. Patrick; *Twelfth Ward*, S. B. Stannard, H. Rechtien.

1872.—*First Ward*, A. McHose, H. J. Hineman; *Second Ward*, Augustus Krieckhaus, John Pauly; *Third Ward*, August Koch, J. H. Amelung; *Fourth Ward*, George Bain, James Tiernan; *Fifth Ward*, Elong G. Smith, Jeremiah Ryan; *Sixth Ward*, James Garvin, Lewis V. Bogy (president); *Seventh Ward*, Henry C. Yaeger, William Currie; *Eighth Ward*, John E. Hagerty, James C. Rogers; *Ninth Ward*, Daniel McAteer, Hugh Hawkins (died); *Tenth Ward*, Michael Madden, John P. Mullally; *Eleventh Ward*, Henry Overstolz, William K. Patrick; *Twelfth Ward*, Herman Rechtien, Samuel B. Stannard.

1873.—*First Ward*, A. McHose, James Meegan; *Second Ward*, John Pauly, A. Fischer, Sr.; *Third Ward*, August Koch,

J. H. Amelung; *Fourth Ward*, George Bain, James Tiernan; *Fifth Ward*, Elong G. Smith, James S. Foster; *Sixth Ward*, Theophile Papin, A. W. Mead; *Seventh Ward*, William Currie, Nicholas Schaeffer; *Eighth Ward*, James C. Rogers, John E. Hagerty; *Ninth Ward*, Daniel McAteer, Thomas Morris; *Tenth Ward*, John P. Mullally, Michael Madden; *Eleventh Ward*, Henry Overstolz (president), William K. Patrick; *Twelfth Ward*, H. Rechtien, L. S. Metcalfe; *Thirteenth Ward*, S. F. Ramsdell, J. J. Schmitt.

1874.—*First Ward*, James Meegan, L. A. Steber; *Second Ward*, A. Fischer, Sr., Theodore Horman; *Third Ward*, J. H. Amelung, C. E. Salomon; *Fourth Ward*, James Tiernan, C. W. Francis; *Fifth Ward*, James S. Foster, L. J. Clark; *Sixth Ward*, Theophile Papin (president), Henry S. Turner; *Seventh Ward*, Nicholas Schaeffer, M. D. Collier; *Eighth Ward*, James C. Rogers, John E. Hagerty; *Ninth Ward*, Thomas Morris, John O'Brien; *Tenth Ward*, Michael Madden, John P. Mullally; *Eleventh Ward*, William K. Patrick, J. B. Woestman; *Twelfth Ward*, L. S. Metcalfe, H. Rechtien.

1875.—*First Ward*, L. A. Steber, B. W. Etling; *Second Ward*, Theodore Horman, A. Fischer, Sr.; *Third Ward*, C. E. Salomon, J. H. Amelung; *Fourth Ward*, Charles W. Francis, William Keating; *Fifth Ward*, L. J. Clark, James S. Foster; *Sixth Ward*, Henry S. Turner, James L. Patterson; *Seventh Ward*, M. Dwight Collier, W. E. Kortkamp; *Eighth Ward*, J. E. Hagerty, A. J. Geraghty; *Ninth Ward*, John O'Brien, Thomas Morris; *Tenth Ward*, John P. Mullally, Michael Madden; *Eleventh Ward*, J. B. Woestman, J. H. Pohlman; *Twelfth Ward*, H. Rechtien (president), Samuel B. Stannard; *Thirteenth Ward*, James Meegan, P. Leahy.

1876.—*First Ward*, B. W. Etling, L. A. Steber; *Second Ward*, A. Fischer, Sr., Theodore Horman; *Third Ward*, J. H. Amelung, C. E. Salomon; *Fourth Ward*, William Keating, Charles W. Francis; *Fifth Ward*, James S. Foster, C. A. Spalding; *Sixth Ward*, James L. Patterson, George H. Loker; *Seventh Ward*, W. E. Kortkamp, John J. Sutter; *Eighth Ward*, A. J. Geraghty, John O'Malley; *Ninth Ward*, Thomas Morris, Thomas J. Hennessy; *Tenth Ward*, Michael Madden, John P. Mullally; *Eleventh Ward*, J. H. Pohlman, William H. Woodward; *Twelfth Ward*, S. B. Stannard, D. S. Irons; *Thirteenth Ward*, P. Leahy, M. J. Brennan.

COUNCIL.

1877-79.—S. D. Barlow, Thomas Foley, John J. O'Brien, George W. Parker, George Rinkel, Jr., John Rude.

1877-81.—John H. Lightner (president), Nicholas Berg, A. L. Bergfeld, Given Campbell (resigned, and was succeeded by Robert M. Parks), Moses Fraley, Edward S. Rowse, William H. Scudder.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

1877-79.—*First Ward*, A. C. L. Haase; *Second Ward*, Joseph Crawshaw; *Third Ward*, C. A. Stifel; *Fourth Ward*, John McManus; *Fifth Ward*, J. H. Amelung (resigned, and was succeeded by Philip A. Meinberg); *Sixth Ward*, W. C. Van Dillen; *Seventh Ward*, C. H. Reichman; *Eighth Ward*, P. Gundlach; *Ninth Ward*, E. H. Vordtriede; *Tenth Ward*, Frank Backof; *Eleventh Ward*, A. N. De Menil; *Twelfth Ward*, Patrick Sullivan; *Thirteenth Ward*, John Williams; *Fourteenth Ward*, H. C. Meyer; *Fifteenth Ward*, William B. Ryder; *Sixteenth Ward*, Otto Kulage; *Seventeenth Ward*, A. W. Henry; *Eighteenth Ward*, George W. Updike; *Nineteenth Ward*, Conrad Rose; *Twentieth Ward*, William F. Cozzens; *Twenty-first Ward*, William L. Ewing, Jr. (Speaker); *Twenty-second Ward*, R. L. Jones; *Twenty-third Ward*, Louis Nolte; *Twenty-fourth Ward*, P. O'Brien; *Twenty-fifth Ward*, Richard Merkel; *Twenty-sixth Ward*, A. B. Barbee; *Twenty-seventh Ward*, Jacob Thorp; *Twenty-eighth Ward*, Christopher Comrades.

1879-81.—*First Ward*, Michael O'Malley; *Second Ward*, J. G. Haas; *Third Ward*, John A. Wolfinger; *Fourth Ward*, John Tighe; *Fifth Ward*, Philip A. Meinberg; *Sixth Ward*, Amos S. Partridge; *Seventh Ward*, Paul Young; *Eighth Ward*, Peter Gundlach; *Ninth Ward*, Joseph G. Marriott (Speaker); *Tenth Ward*, Bernard Donnelly; *Eleventh Ward*, George Weisenburger; *Twelfth Ward*, Thomas J. Cornelius; *Thirteenth Ward*, Henry Ziegenhein; *Fourteenth Ward*, Frederick Siefker; *Fifteenth Ward*, William B. Ryder; *Sixteenth Ward*, Frank Hussman, Jr.; *Seventeenth Ward*, G. W. Carmichael; *Eighteenth Ward*, Thomas R. Garard; *Nineteenth Ward*, Frank H. Hecker; *Twentieth Ward*, John J. O'Neill; *Twenty-first Ward*, E. B. Kirby; *Twenty-second Ward*, John B. Dunn; *Twenty-third Ward*, William L. Hickman; *Twenty-fourth Ward*, Peter Bouchein; *Twenty-fifth Ward*, Ferdinand Kaiser; *Twenty-sixth Ward*, A. B. Barbee; *Twenty-seventh Ward*, Jacob Thorp; *Twenty-eighth Ward*, Peter G. Gerhart.

1882-83.—*First Ward*, A. Thoman; *Second Ward*, W. V. Rutledge; *Third Ward*, John A. Wolfinger; *Fourth Ward*, James H. O'Brien (succeeded by Patrick Brennan); *Fifth Ward*, John H. Amelung; *Sixth Ward*, William Aston (succeeded by Mr. Hortsbrink); *Seventh Ward*, Frederick Zelle; *Eighth Ward*, Peter Gundlach; *Ninth Ward*, Joseph G. Marriott (Speaker); *Tenth Ward*, Cyrus H. Walbridge; *Eleventh Ward*, George Weisenburger; *Twelfth Ward*, Samuel J. Somerville; *Thirteenth Ward*, Henry Alt; *Fourteenth Ward*, B. Hoffman; *Fifteenth Ward*, E. W. Donk; *Sixteenth Ward*, Frank Hussman, Jr.; *Seventeenth Ward*, Eugene C. Slevin; *Eighteenth Ward*, Joseph Stern; *Nineteenth Ward*, Conrad Rose; *Twentieth Ward*, John J. O'Neill; *Twenty-first Ward*, E. F. W. Meier; *Twenty-second Ward*, John W. Dunn; *Twenty-third Ward*, W. L. Hickman; *Twenty-fourth Ward*, Peter Bouchein; *Twenty-fifth Ward*, Ferdinand Kaiser; *Twenty-sixth Ward*, A. B. Barbee; *Twenty-seventh Ward*, George J. Davis; *Twenty-eighth Ward*, Louis Schaefer.

Clerk, James C. Broadwell; Assistant Clerk, William N. Belt, Jr.; Sergeant-at-Arms, M. Chartrand.

COUNCIL.

1881-85.—A. N. De Menil, E. C. Kehr, N. G. Larimore, P. McGrath, G. W. Parker (president), H. S. Parker, E. S. Rowse, Web M. Samuel, W. H. Scudder, R. P. Tausey, J. P. Vastine, F. E. Zelle, H. Ziegenhein, vice-president; William E. Raynor, secretary; Joseph M. Brown, assistant secretary; James T. Smith, sergeant-at-arms.

CHIEF CITY OFFICIALS NOT ELSEWHERE GIVEN IN THE CIVIL LIST FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT IN 1823 DOWN TO AND INCLUDING THE YEAR 1846.

1823.—Mackey Wherry, register and collector to 1826, inclusive; Henry Von Phul, auditor; Jean P. Cabanné, treasurer to 1824, inclusive; Joseph C. Brown, surveyor; Rémi Paul, surveyor to 1828, inclusive; Asher F. Cook, lumber-master; Sullivan Blood, constable to 1828, inclusive; John Bobb, street commissioner; Joseph C. Laveille, street commissioner; Peter Ferguson, assessor to 1826, inclusive; Marie P. Leduc, assessor to 1825, inclusive.

1824.—Henry Gratiot, harbor- and lumber-master; Joseph C. Laveille, street commissioner.

1825.—John B. Sarpy, treasurer to 1826, inclusive; George H. C. Melody, harbor- and lumber-master to 1826, inclusive.

1826.—Daniel Hough, street commissioner.

1827.—Joseph A. Wherry, register and collector to 1842, inclusive; Daniel Hough, auditor to 1830, inclusive; William Higgins, treasurer to 1828; John Simonds, Sr., harbor- and lumber-master to 1839, inclusive; Jacob Rupley, street commissioner; David B. Hill, street commissioner; Elliott Lee, assessor to 1828, inclusive.

1828.—Isaac C. McGirk, attorney to 1829, inclusive; A. B. Dewitt, constable.

1829.—Joseph C. Brown, surveyor to 1831, inclusive; Jacob Cooper, constable; Charles Dumont, constable; Thomas Cohen, John S. Sutton, Jabez Warner, street commissioners; Patrick Walsh, assessor.

1830.—Theodore L. McGill, treasurer to 1831; Beverley Allen, attorney to 1831; Alpha O. Abbay, constable to 1832, inclusive; Louis A. Benoist, assessor to 1833, inclusive.

1831.—A. E. Hough, auditor to 1832; James J. Wilkinson, inspector of beef, pork, and flour, to 1840.

1832.—Herman L. Hoffman, treasurer to 1838, inclusive; John Newman, attorney to 1833; Réné Paul, surveyor to 1838, inclusive; Abraham Fox, superintendent of water-works to 1834; Cornelius Campbell, health officer to 1837, inclusive.

1833.—Jos. C. Laveille, acting mayor; Richard B. Dallam, auditor to 1835, etc.; Thomas J. Jones, constable; Daniel Busby, constable.

1834.—Arthur L. Magenis, attorney; James S. Mayfield, attorney; John Cowie, weigher of hay and coal; James Martin, constable; Augustine Kennerly, collector to 1842, inclusive; Joseph V. Garnier, assessor.

1835.—Charles D. Drake, attorney; Alonzo W. Manning, attorney; John M. Wimer, superintendent of the water-works to 1836; John Cowie, weigher of hay and coal at Centre scales to 1842; Hugh O'Neil, weigher of hay and coal at North scales; James Gordon, constable; John McCausland, assessor.

1836.—A. W. Manning, attorney to 1838; R. B. Dallam, auditor and clerk of the market to 1839; John McEvoy, weigher of hay and coal at North scales; George W. Rucker, constable; John H. Gay, assessor.

1837.—Trusten Polk, attorney; John Calvert, superintendent water-works; John Leach, weigher of hay and coal, North scales; Jacob Cooper, constable; Robert N. Moore, John Pitcher, street commissioners; John D. Daggett, assessor.

1838.—William Burd, superintendent of water-works; Peter Brooks, superintendent of water-works to 1845; C. J. Carpenter, health officer to 1839, inclusive; John Blackmore, weigher of hay and coal at North scales; John Atkinson, constable; John D. Daggett, street commissioner; James I. Reily, street commissioner; Solomon P. Ketchum, assessor.

1839.—Robert Simpson, comptroller to 1846; William Renshaw, treasurer to 1841; Charles D. Drake, attorney; Henry Kayser, engineer to 1845; Alexander Kayser, street commissioner; W. W. Kitzmiller, harbor- and lumber-master; Elliot Lee, marshal to 1841; John Leach, weigher of hay and coal, North scales; John McCausland, assessor to 1842; R. B. Dallam, auditor.

1840.—Logan Hunton, attorney; Wilson Primm, attorney to 1841; John H. Ferguson, harbor- and lumber-master to 1841; J. B. McDowell, health officer to 1841; John Paca, street inspector; Elijah Grant, clerk of the market; B. S. Hollingsworth, clerk of the market.

1841.—William F. Chase, attorney; M. Lewis Clark, engineer; John H. Ferguson, harbor-master; J. J. Wilkinson, inspector of flour; William K. Rule, inspector of beef and pork; John H. Carl, inspector of liquors; A. F. Parmlee, inspector of weights and measures; Archibald Carr, recorder to 1842; John L. Gray, captain city guard; George B. Brun, captain city guard; Samuel Daniels, superintendent of the workhouse; Henry C. Lynch, street inspector, First Ward; P. E. Bouis, James Martin, Second Ward; John Paca, William H. Pococke, Third Ward; John Shade, Fourth Ward; John McIlvain, Fifth Ward; John Lee, weigher of hay and coal, North scales.

1842.—Samuel Willi, treasurer; Thomas B. Hudson, counselor; James Dougherty, attorney; James S. Lane, harbor-master; Peter Tiernan, lumber-master; Jacob Feickart, inspector of flour; James L. Thorp, inspector of beef and pork; James V. Prather, health officer; John Atkinson, marshal; John F. Long, captain city guard; John Shade, superintendent of workhouse; Joseph M. Magehan, street inspector, First District; William H. Pocoke, street inspector, Second District; T. M. Darlington, street inspector, Third District; Peter Stoffle, clerk of the market; John Sefton, weigher of hay and coal, Market Street scales; James McKenna, weigher of hay and coal, North scales.

1843.—John M. Parker, register to 1846; John Bell, treasurer to 1845; Trusten Polk, counselor; John M. Eager, attorney; Joseph H. Conn, harbor-master; John H. Scott, lumber-master; Enoch Scott, inspector of weights and measures; John S. Moore, health officer; M. Lewis Clark, recorder to 1844; Stephen O. Coleman, marshal; James McDonough, captain city guard; D. H. Donavan, street inspector, First District; W. H. Pococke, street inspector, Second District; Sylvester V. Papin, clerk of recorder's court; J. D. G. Mauny, city weigher; Frederick J. Lynch, assessor, First Ward; James Caldwell, assessor, Second Ward; Stuart Matthews, assessor, Third Ward; Thomas H. West, assessor, Fourth Ward; Edward Dobyns, assessor, Fifth Ward; Brannock Jones, collector, First Ward; Ferdinand Provenchere, collector, First Ward; Henry Almstedt, collector, Second Ward; John R. Dicks, collector, Third Ward; Chauvin V. Le Beau, collector, Fourth Ward; Ferdinand Spencer, collector, Fifth Ward; Henry McKee, collector, Sixth Ward; Peter Stoffle, clerk of the market; Daniel Lloyd, weigher of hay and coal at Front Street scales; John C. Vogel, weigher of hay and coal at North scales; Charles Kick, sexton of cemetery; Charles D. Drake, counselor to 1845; James Daugherty, attorney; Wm. W. Greene, harbor-master; Henry Spence, lumber-master to 1845; Aloysius Z. Hilbert, inspector of flour, to 1845; Wm. Risley, inspector of butter, lard, and tallow, to 1845; J. N. McDowell, health officer; M. M. Pallen, health officer; Charles D. Priddy, marshal; James McDonough, captain of the city guard, to 1845.

1844.—Luther M. Shreve, attorney to 1845; Gideon Wood, inspector of beef and pork; Baltzer G. Goll, inspector of butter, lard, and tallow; John S. Moore, health officer; Solomon P. Ketchum, recorder; James S. Dougherty, marshal.

1846.—Wm. Glasgow, Sr., treasurer; Samuel Knox, counselor; Charles C. Carroll, attorney; Clement W. Coote, engineer; Sullivan Blood, harbor-master; Daniel F. Wright, lumber-master; Eli Anderson, wood-master; David Grant, wood-master; Joseph Morrow, inspector of flour; Wm. S. Stewart, inspector of liquors; Samuel Tilford, inspector of butter, lard, and tallow; Joseph Foster, superintendent of water-works; M. M. Pallen, health officer; Joseph W. Hall, health officer; Joseph T. Sutton, marshal; Abram Allen, captain city guard; Richard Condon, superintendent of workhouse.

FOREIGN CONSULS AT ST. LOUIS, 1882.

Belgium.—R. Mackwitz.
Brasil.—Alfonso De Figueiredo, vice-consul.
France.—Emil Karst, consular agent.
Germany.—Herman Gerlich. O. Stuebel, acting consul.
Italy.—Domenico Ginocchio.
Mexico.—John F. Cahill.
Netherlands.—B. B. Haagoma.
Spain.—Robert H. Betts, vice-consul.
Sweden and Norway.—Oscar Audreen, consular agent.
Switzerland.—Charles F. Mathey.

CHAPTER XIX.

MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS.

City Hall.—The first movement after the incorporation of St. Louis as a city for the erection of a town hall was made in 1827, in which year the board of aldermen passed an ordinance providing a loan of thirteen thousand dollars for the erection of a market-house and town hall on the old Place D'Armes, between Market and Walnut Streets. On the 19th of June, 1841, an ordinance was approved by the mayor appropriating three thousand dollars to improve and repair the town hall, and instructing the city engineer to draft a plan for erecting an additional story upon the town hall "suitably arranged for the accommodation of the two branches of the Council, and also for the alteration and arrangement of the rooms at present occupied by the Council and city officers, so as to accommodate the mayor, auditor, comptroller, register, engineer, superintendent of the water-works, and street commissioner." In 1849 a project for the building of a new town hall was set on foot, and the following act was passed by the General Assembly (approved March 5, 1849), authorizing the city of St. Louis to erect a city hall:

"*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri:*

"1. The City Council of the City of St. Louis is hereby authorized to erect a building suitable for a city hall and offices for the use of the city government of said city, and for a convenient market-house, which building shall be erected on the square of land belonging to said city situate east of Main Street and between Market and Walnut Streets.

"2. For the purpose of erecting such building and defraying the cost thereof, the said City Council is hereby authorized to borrow a sum of money not exceeding seventy-five thousand dollars, and issue the bonds of the city therefor; and the rents and revenue derived from such building and market-house, after deducting the expenses of collecting the same, shall be set apart and exclusively appropriated for the payment of the interest and principal of the money borrowed for the purpose aforesaid.

"This act shall take effect from its passage."

Referring to the proposed erection of the city hall, the *Republican*, in its issue of March 29, 1849, said, "A foolish effort is making to array some feeling about the erection of a new market-house, stores, town hall, and offices for the city officers on the square occupied by the old market and town hall." On the 20th of March, 1851, the mayor and a committee of the Council solicited proposals for the donation or sale of a square of ground for a city hall and other municipal offices. Propositions were requested for property within the limits of Poplar Street on the south, Thirteenth Street on the west, and Fifth Street on the east. Among the propositions submitted was one for the sale of a block in "Lucas' common opposite Yeatman's row." This proposition was referred to a committee of the City Council, which reported in favor of the purchase, and offered a bill authorizing the mayor to issue bonds to the amount of sixty-eight thousand dollars, the proceeds to be applied to the purchase of the property. The bonds were to bear six per cent. interest, and were made payable in New York twenty-five years after date. The grounds were described as being ample, extending three hundred feet on Olive Street and two hundred and ninety feet on Eleventh Street. The proposition, however, failed to pass the City Council. "It will be learned with regret," said the *Republican* of Feb. 17, 1853, "that nearly all prospects for the purchase of a lot on which to erect the new town hall have been abandoned for at least the present session of the City Council. A bill drafted with a view to the proposed edifice, and allowing Mr. James H. Lucas sixty-eight thousand dollars for the greater portion of the square bounded by Eleventh, Twelfth, Olive, and Locust Streets, has been under consideration of the Council for the past month or more, but was definitely killed at the sitting of Tuesday."

On the 14th of October the same paper added,—

"We understand that J. H. Lucas, Esq., of this city, has proposed to the mayor to sell to the city a block of ground between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets, and Olive Street and Lucas Place. The block is numbered 514, and has a front of two hundred and eighty-one feet on Thirteenth Street and three hundred and thirty-six on Olive.

"Those who are familiar with the locality know that two splendid buildings occupy a part of this block, for which Mr. Lucas has arranged, in case the City Council should accept the offer. The price asked for the entire block is eight thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars. Upon this ground it is stipulated that the city hall shall be erected, the only condition being that a calaboose shall not be built upon it. If this proposition is accepted, then Mr. Lucas proposes to donate to the city block No. 825, immediately north of the above block, to be donated and improved as a public square. This block is one hundred and fifty-five feet front on Thirteenth by three hundred and thirty-five on Lucas Place. It is valued at thirty-six thousand dollars. The entire space which would be left for public use is six acres, and the cost to the city only about forty-seven thousand dollars."

In his message to the City Council during the same year (1853) Mayor How strongly urged the importance of erecting a municipal hall, particularly on the ground that the archives of the city were unprotected from fire, and "almost, I may say," he added, "from thieves." He further recommended, if the City Council was unwilling to purchase land especially for the purpose, that the necessary building be erected on property belonging to the city called Washington Square. None of the various propositions submitted or suggested to the Council were carried into effect, and in 1861, during the administration of Mayor D. G. Taylor, it was found necessary to lease a portion of the new county court-house for municipal purposes. In announcing the consummation of this arrangement in his annual message to the City Council on the 14th of October, 1861, Mayor Taylor said,—

"It is an additional source of pleasure to be able to inform your honorable body that we have at last obtained a suitable city hall. By the liberality of the honorable board of county commissioners and under authority of your ordinance No. 4871, I have leased for that purpose the just completed north wing of the county court-house for the term of ten years, at the almost nominal rental of one thousand dollars per annum. It affords ample accommodation for every department of the municipal government except the Health Department, which, by the terms of the contract with the county, is to be elsewhere located. . . . The hall set apart for the Council chamber has been fitted up and furnished under the direction of a committee appointed by your body, and I believe is now ready for occupation. The remainder of the building is now being sub-divided under direction of the city engineer, and I am informed will be ready for occupation about the first of the coming month. Thus has a change of great importance been effected. The archives of the city, its records, title-deeds, and other important documents, which for many years past have been subject to decay and destruction, will for the future be perfectly secure in a perfectly fire-proof building."

The offices thus secured, and which were occupied late in December, 1861, comprised four floors of the court-house, including the basement. The latter was occupied by the register of water rates and superintendent of water-works; the second floor by the mayor, comptroller, register, auditor, and treasurer; the third floor by the City Council and the city engineer; and the fourth floor by the board of assessors, superintendent of sewers, and sergeant-at-arms. All the offices were conveniently and tastefully fitted up, and the more important were supplied with new furniture. The office of the board of health was shortly afterwards removed to No. 17 Chestnut Street, almost immediately opposite to where it had been located.

In the early part of the year 1868 the subject of erecting a city hall was revived, and the City Council passed an ordinance, which was submitted to the approval of the voters of St. Louis, for the erection of the proposed building on Washington Square, Market Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets. The terms of the ordinance did not provide for the immediate erection of a city hall, but merely for the preparation of the ground. In October, 1872, was commenced the erection of the present city hall on Eleventh Street, extending from Market to Chestnut. In his message to the City Council, November 11th of that year, Mayor Joseph Brown stated that work on the new building intended for a temporary city hall was progressing satisfactorily, and would be completed within a few months. "In its original design," he added, "the building was only intended for the temporary accommodation of the city departments, but it now promises to answer all the purposes required for a number of years to come, and at a cost quite insignificant compared with the accommodations



THE CITY HALL.

provided. It is to be regretted that the present financial condition of the city does not seem to warrant the outlay necessary for a city hall commensurate with our existing needs and future growth; but I am glad to say that in the building now in course of construction we shall have all that public convenience will require, and we will be enabled to group the different departments in a manner that will greatly facilitate the transaction of business."

On the 30th of July, 1873, it was announced that the building was approaching completion. "It is not a very sightly building outside," added the local chronicler in his reference to it, "and, in fact, cuts rather a sorry figure in this day of ornate fronts and Mansard roofs, but when it is considered that it was built merely for temporary purposes, and that it admirably serves its purpose, a little homeliness can be excused. . . . The original estimate of cost was forty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars, which was the contract price, but it was afterwards concluded to put on a third story, which involved an additional outlay of thirteen thousand three hundred dollars.

By the time the building is ready for occupancy it will have cost about seventy thousand dollars." The new building was occupied for the first time by the mayor, comptroller, auditor, and treasurer on the 22d of October, 1873, and they were subsequently followed by the other city officers. The city hall is situated on city block No. 489, and has a frontage on Eleventh Street of three hundred and fifteen feet, with a depth of two hundred and twenty-one feet and six inches extending from Chestnut to Market. It is three stories in height and is built of brick. The lot and improvements are estimated to be worth about one hundred and fifty-three thousand two hundred dollars. As already indicated, the building is regarded as merely temporary, and must sooner or later be replaced by a more commodious and expensive structure. In his message to the City Council in May, 1880, Mayor Overstolz declared that the time had arrived when the municipal government should seriously consider the enterprise of erecting a new city hall. "The building now occupied by the municipal departments," he added, "was not intended to be permanent, and was not built in a substantial manner, and does not afford the necessary accommodations. It has stood the test of use and time very indifferently, and for several years past it has cost a considerable amount annually for repairs, and its condition to-day is certainly not favorable for the safety of the valuable archives, records, and other property stored therein. In character and size it is inadequate to the wants of the government, and its appearance is discreditable to a city of the reputation, wealth, and influence of St. Louis." In order to secure the needed accommodations the mayor suggested "the extension of the wings of the present court-house as the best method to adopt." The mayor's recommendations, however, were not carried into effect, and the old structure is still used as the city hall.

Court-House.—The first building erected in St. Louis for the purposes of a court-house was located on the west side of Third Street, between Spruce and Almond, and was constructed about 1817. It was a small one-story frame structure, fronting on Third Street, and the site was afterwards occupied by the hospital of the Sisters of Charity. In 1820 the courts were removed to a frame building which had been used as a boarding-house, adjoining a log cabin on the west side of Second Street, and were subsequently transferred to a building on the southwest corner of Third and Market Streets. The erection of a Baptist Church on this site had been commenced, but the unfinished structure had been torn down and the court-house built in its place. The building was used as a court-house until 1827, when the records and papers were transferred to the new court-house, and the old building was transformed into the National Hotel, the proprietors of which were Stickney & Knight. In December, 1822, the Legislature passed an act providing for the erection of a court-house and jail. The text of the section providing for the building of the court-house is as follows:

"AN ACT *concerning a court-house and jail in the county of St. Louis, approved Dec.* 14, 1822.

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri*, That Thomas Sappington, of Gravois, Ludwell Bacon, of Bonhomme, Robert Quarles, of St. Ferdinand, and Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and William Carr Lane, of the town of St. Louis, be and they are hereby appointed commissioners, for and in behalf of the county of St. Louis, to select a proper site within the town of St. Louis whereon to erect a court-house for said county; and the said commissioners are hereby empowered to receive proposals from all persons who may be willing to make donation of land to the said county for the purpose aforesaid, and to accept and receive such proposed donation as to them shall seem most beneficial to the county; and they are, moreover, authorized and empowered to cause a deed of conveyance to be executed whereby the land so offered shall be conveyed to the justices of the county court, and their successors in office forever, in trust for the use of said county, to be applied to the purposes aforesaid."

In accordance with the provisions of this act, the commissioners proceeded to select a site, and their action is set forth in the following document, which was filed among the records of the county office:

"We, the undersigned, commissioners appointed by an act of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri entitled 'An Act concerning a court-house and jail in the county of St. Louis, approved the 14th day of December, 1822,' have this day selected as a proper site whereupon to erect a court-house for the county of St. Louis a square of ground offered by John B. C. Lucas and Auguste Chouteau, Esquires, situated on the hill in that part of the city of St. Louis laid out by the said Lucas and Chouteau, bounded on the east by Fourth Street, on the south by Bonhomme Street, being the cross street that comes up from the market-house, on the west by Fifth Street, and on the north by a cross street; and the said commissioners as by the said act authorized, do by these presents accept and receive the said square of ground of said John B. Lucas and Auguste Chouteau, Esquires, the donors, as the site whereon the court-house of the county of St. Louis shall be built. The said Lucas and Chouteau are requested to execute a deed for said square, as is required by the act above referred to. Given under our hands at St. Louis, this 25th day of August, 1823.

"THOMAS SAPPINGTON.
"WILL CARR LANE.
"P. CHOUTEAU, JR."

The deed referred to was executed by Auguste Chouteau, Theresa Cerré Chouteau, and John B. C. Lucas, and is dated in September, 1823.

Before its selection for the court-house the ground had been the site of a whipping-post, which had been established there at an early period. The first step

towards the erection of the proposed court-house was made by the county court, composed of Judges Joseph V. Garnier, Peter Ferguson, and Francis Nash, on the 9th of November, 1825, and their action is recorded as follows:

"The court deeming it expedient to erect a court-house on the public square deeded to the county by Lucas and Chouteau, do order that a court-house be erected on said square, and that a sum of seven thousand dollars be appropriated for that purpose, to be raised from the tax on licenses, and the court appoint Alexander Stuart commissioner to superintend the building of said court-house."

Subsequently the judges reached the conclusion that seven thousand dollars would not be sufficient for the purpose, and at the next session, on the 7th of February, 1826, made the following order:

"WHEREAS, the court at their last November term, deeming it expedient to erect a court-house for St. Louis County, made an order for the building thereof, and at the same time appropriated a sum of seven thousand dollars, to be drawn from the tax on licenses; and whereas it appears to the court that the appropriation then made may be inadequate to the object intended, it is therefore ordered that an additional sum of five thousand dollars be appropriated, to arise from the same source, and the court authorize the superintendent, when he advertises for proposals for erecting said building (should he think proper to do so), to state that there is now in the treasury, specie of the aforesaid appropriation, the sum of eight thousand and twenty-five dollars, that the probable receipts from the same source will be about four hundred dollars per quarter, and that the court, when they have not money arising from the appropriation aforesaid under their control, or funds which may properly be applied in aid of said appropriation, will, on certificate of the superintendent, as required by law, direct the issue of certificates of not less than one hundred dollars each, bearing an interest of six per cent. per annum, for the redemption of which the aforesaid fund shall remain pledged, subject, however, to be redeemed at any time the court may have funds to do so, and which they may think proper to apply to that purpose."

The superintendent, Alexander Stuart, on the 9th of February, 1826, submitted to the county court a plan of the building to be erected, with the dimensions thereof, and an estimate of its probable cost, being the sum of twelve thousand dollars, which (says the court record), after being maturely examined, was approved.

There appears to have been some difficulty about the plans for the building, for at the next meeting of the court on May 1, 1826, a plan submitted by Messrs. Morton & Laveille was also approved, and two thousand dollars additional appropriated, and the contract for the erection of the building awarded to Joseph C. Laveille and George Morton for fourteen thousand dollars. The contract is dated May 26, 1826, thus virtually rescinding the acceptance of Stuart's plan.

Mr. Stuart thereupon resigned, and on the 25th of July, 1826, "Henry S. Geyer was appointed commissioner to superintend the building of the court-house, *vice* Alexander Stuart, resigned."

Mr. Geyer certified the building accounts from time to time as the work progressed, and the final settlement was made by Mr. Geyer, superintendent, with Morton & Laveille on the 10th of August, 1833, the building being then entirely completed, the cost of which was found to be $14,416.16.

The remainder of the square was unoccupied except by a whipping-post in the centre. Persons were sentenced to be publicly whipped, and the sheriff in each case "was sworn to lay the lashes on well without fear or favor."

From time to time between this date and June, 1836, various orders were made by the court in regard to the several offices and rooms in the old building, until it was found that the increase of legal business and the growing wants of the county required more room. Accordingly, on June 1, 1838, the court made an order that proposals be invited for the erection of a building for clerks' offices on the southwest corner of the square (corner Fifth and Market Streets), to be one hundred and thirty-two feet long by thirty-six feet in width; and on Sept. 7, 1838, another notice was given and an offer of one hundred dollars for the best plan was made for a building on the public square either adjoining the court-house or adjacent thereto, which resulted in the adoption of a plan submitted by Henry Singleton on July 8, 1839, and the appointment of said Singleton as architect and superintendent.

The first contract for work upon the building under the above order was made by the architect, Singleton, with Joseph Foster for the carpenter-work under date of Aug. 12, 1839, and in April, 1842, a contract for the cut-stone work of the rotunda was awarded to H. J. Hall, and the contract for plastering to John Shannon.

In order to raise funds for the erection of the structure the county court appointed a committee to procure a loan of thirty thousand dollars, and capitalists in Boston were applied to, but the money was not obtained from them as they decided that "St. Louis was situated at too distant a point in the West to be a safe place for the investment of so large a sum." In January, 1839, Col. John O'Fallon made a donation for the building of "a quarry of excellent limestone contiguous to the city." The corner-stone was laid on the 21st of October, 1839, with a public demonstration, including a parade of the Masonic, Odd-Fellows' and Hibernian societies and the St. Louis Grays, in the presence of a large assemblage of citi-

zens, Hon. Wilson Primm delivering an able address. Beneath the corner-stone was deposited a sealed glass, containing a parchment roll, with the following inscription:

"The corner-stone of the new court-house of the county of St. Louis, State of Missouri, being an addition to that erected A.D. 1825–26, laid on the 21st day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine. Martin Van Buren, President of the United States; Richard M. Johnson, Vice-President of the United States; Lilburn W. Boggs, Governor of Missouri; Frank Cannon, Lieutenant-Governor; Matthias McGirk, president judge of the Supreme Court; George Tompkins, associate of the same; William B. Napton, associate judge of same; Luke E. Lawless, judge of St. Louis Circuit Court; John Ryland, clerk and recorder of same; James B. Bowlin, judge of St. Louis Criminal Court; Julius D. Johnson, clerk of same; M. P. Leduc, Henry Walton, and Joseph Le Blond, justices of the county court; Henry Chouteau, clerk of same; Marshal Brotherton, sheriff of St. Louis County; John Brent, circuit attorney; Henry Singleton, architect; Joseph Foster, builder; William Carr Lane, mayor of the city of St. Louis; Elliot Lee, marshal of the same.

Specimens of all the coins of the United States, copies of all the newspapers printed in the city, and copies of the programme of the proceedings of the day, were also deposited in the stone.

On the 28th of October, 1842, the court ordered that a room be set apart for the use of the St. Louis Law Library, then in its infant days, and on the 19th of January, 1843, the northwest corner room in the second story was selected, which continued to be used for the library until the completion of the south wing.

During 1842, Mr. Singleton, the architect and superintendent, resigned, and was succeeded by William Twombley, who resigned about one year later. For a period of about eight years there was no architect, the judges of the county court superintending the work. The following entries on the records show the progress of construction from time to time:

June 21, 1843, Murison & Morrison, contractors for erecting the steps on the west front, having completed their work, were paid fifteen hundred and twenty dollars therefor.

June 26, 1843, Francis McDermott's bid for erecting the stone steps on the north and south fronts was accepted at a price of two thousand two hundred dollars, and under a contract at that sum they built the steps.

Aug. 19, 1843, Joseph Foster, the contractor for the carpenter-work, was instructed to complete the old rotunda with dispatch, which was done.

From 1843 until 1851 there was but little work done upon the building, and there being no architect, what was done was executed under the immediate direction of the county judges.

On Feb. 19, 1851, the court made an order for the erection of the present east wing, and in December, 1851, appointed Robert S. Mitchell architect and superintendent, with a compensation of four per cent. upon all expenditures.

Operations were commenced on the 31st of March, 1851, and on the following day it was announced by the *Republican* that two fire-proof buildings were to be immediately erected, fronting upon Fourth Street, at the intersection of Market and Chestnut Streets. On the 7th of September the same paper stated that "the county officers are busy making preparations for an early removal from their offices in the east wing of the court-house. A small building is being erected to front on Chestnut Street, near Fourth, and intended for the temporary convenience of the sheriff."

The demolition of "the old east wing, or, in other words, the old court-house," was commenced on the 7th of October, 1851, "the old stone steps in front falling the first a sacrifice to the new improvement." In October, 1852, Mr. Mitchell contracted with Bernard Crickard for the cut-stone work of the wing, letting out the brick-work to John C. Evens.

It having been decided to have the south and north wings also erected, Architect Mitchell contracted on the 28th of May, 1853, with Mr. Crickard for the cut-stone work of the south wing, and in July, 1853, for the six stone columns for the portico of the east wing.

The work thus progressed up to 1857, when a disagreement arose between the architect (Mr. Mitchell) and contractor (Mr. Crickard) in regard to the measurement of the cut-stone work, which was only settled after a long investigation by two different sets of arbitrators, their award being in favor of Mr. Crickard for sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-five dollars and seventy-eight cents.

On the 14th day of May, 1857, the county court superseded Mr. Mitchell and appointed Thomas D. P. Lanham to the office, at the same rate of compensation, four per cent. on the amount of work done under his supervision. Under Mr. Lanham the work on the west wing progressed (there having been some alterations made in the wing), the foundation of the north wing was laid, and the changes in the rotunda commenced by the removal of the upper portion of the dome, and the substitution of heavy iron plates representing paneling, the design being to increase the height of the rotunda in this manner.

The condition of the work in June, 1857, is thus described on the 14th of that month:

"The new court-house, occupying with its grounds the entire square bounded by Fourth, Fifth, Chestnut, and Market Streets, is of the Grecian Doric order of architecture, and was erected to its present state of completion principally from the designs of Robert S. Mitchell, Esq., architect. The Fourth Street

east front is two hundred and thirty-three feet, and the other fronts two hundred and fifty feet. The present rotunda and dome are to be removed and those of much larger dimensions constructed. The new dome will be supported by a Corinthian peristyle, and will be surmounted by what is known in architectural parlance as a 'lantern.' On the summit of the lantern will be a statue of the Goddess of Justice.

"The distance from the base of the building to the top of the statue will be one hundred and sixty-four feet. The basement of the east wing is at present occupied by various county offices. In the main story of the east wing are the county and probate courts, with their clerks' offices. On the second floor are the Circuit Court and Court of Common Pleas and the clerks' offices.

"On the first floor of the south wing is temporarily located the criminal court, and it will contain the recorder's office. In the second story is the Supreme Court and ante-rooms, also the law library. The west wing, now occupied principally by the land court, will eventually be occupied by the Court of Common Pleas.

"The first contract for the construction of the east wing was awarded in 1852, the floor to be of fire-proof and the roof of wrought iron. A portion of the wing was completed in 1855, and the entire wing was ready for occupancy in 1856. The south wing was put under contract in 1853. During the erection of this wing many causes combined to delay its execution, among which were limited means, strikes on the part of the operatives, and a leniency on the part of the court in extending the time to contractors. In the spring of 1856 the roof of the west wing was found to be in a dangerous condition, and upon this discovery the court ordered its reconstruction of wrought iron, and new fire-proof floors were ordered to be laid. In order to accomplish this the interior had to be cleaned out, and the opportunity was improved, under the direction of the court, to remodel the entire wing in accordance with the general design of the architect. The principal contract for erecting the north and last wing of the building, together with the rotunda, was given in 1856."

On the 30th of August, 1858, the contract for the brick-work of the north wing was awarded to James George. In January, 1859, the county court was abolished by the Legislature, and on the first Monday in August, 1859, the board of county commissioners were elected. The first meeting of the board was on August 15th of that year. On the 21st of September, 1859, the board declared the office of architect and superintendent to be vacant, and on the day after appointed William Rumbold to the office at a salary of one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month. Mr. Rumbold at once engaged workmen, and set about his task with vigor. On the 26th of October, 1859, the board, finding that James George, contractor for the brick-work of the north wing, was not progressing with the work, although having been notified to proceed by the architect, ordered that his contract be forfeited, and directed that new proposals be received for said brick-work.

The board having appointed a committee to inspect the rotunda and report as to its strength and capability to support the heavy, cumbersome iron dome that had been commenced by Mr. Lanham, a careful inspection of the work resulted in a majority and minority report, which were presented to the board Nov. 24, 1859, and the board requested Mr. Rumbold to report a plan for a dome as much lighter in weight than the one then in course of erection as possible. Accordingly Mr. Rumbold, on the 21st of December, 1859, submitted the plan of a wrought-iron dome, which, after being carefully examined, and the model subjected to the severest tests, was adopted Jan. 19, 1860, and Mr. Rumbold directed to proceed immediately with its construction. James G. McPheeters & Co. were awarded the contract for its erection Jan. 27, 1860, and a contract was awarded to A. C. Hull for coppering the west and north wings. On the 13th of February, 1860, Richard Cavanaugh's proposal for the brick-work of the north wing was approved, and on June 20, 1860, the north wing being nearly completed, a communication was received from Mr. Filley, mayor of the city, in regard to the occupancy of that wing by the city authorities, which the board laid over until June 4, 1861, when they decided to lease said wing to the city for the term of five years at a nominal rent.

On the 16th of July, 1860, the architect submitted a report in relation to covering the stone and glass for the walk of the observatory and for the eye of the dome, and specifications were ordered to be made and proposals for the work and materials advertised for; and on Aug. 24, 1860, Mr. Rumbold contracted with A. A. Briggs, of New York, for glass for the eye of the dome, and on the 29th of August agreed with Hall & Couzins for putting the copper covering on the dome, the copper having been furnished by Park, McCurdy & Co., of Pittsburgh, and manufactured from the best quality of Lake Superior copper. Mr. Rumbold also contracted with J. G. McPheeters for the glass basement of the observatory.

The erection of the wing being completed, excepting the columns, the board directed Mr. Rumbold, on the 8th of October, 1860, to instruct the contractors, Crickard & Doyle, to proceed without delay to procure and erect said columns, which they accordingly did. The superintendent, having previously advertised for proposals for plastering the inside of the dome and the ornamental work thereon, received several proposals on the 19th of April, 1861, and that of William C. Smith was accepted. On the 6th of June, 1861, an interesting ceremony took place in the dome, viz., the depositing of certain documents in the base of the ball above the dome. About fifteen persons ascended to the lofty elevation and witnessed the ceremonies. John H. Lightner, president of the board of county

commissioners, officiated. The following articles were deposited in the ball:

Autographs of the county commissioners attached to a certificate showing that William Rumbold designed the work.[1]

Autograph of Henry Singleton, the first architect employed in the construction of the court-house.

Card containing the price of labor for men and horses employed by the road superintendent, John F. Long.

Printed list of all the county officers, including the judges of the several courts.

Certificate to James G. McPheeters, contractor for the wrought-iron dome of the court-house.

Certificate to Hall & Couzins, contractors for the copper-work of dome.



ST. LOUIS COURT-HOUSE.

Certificate to Joseph Foster, contractor for the joiner's work.

Copies of the *St. Louis Daily Evening News*, *Republican*, *Democrat*, *Herald*, and the several daily German papers.

Ink-bottle and silver pen of Samuel W. Eager, Jr., secretary of the board of county commissioners, used by Samuel Gardner in writing the names of those present on the occasion.

A twenty-five-cent piece (United States coin), dated 1861, from Samuel Gardner.

The entire weight of the dome was two hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds, and at first it rested on the walls, but by an ingenious device of the architect was subsequently transferred or equally divided between the walls and several large iron beams. Soon after the completion of this design Mr. Rumbold applied for a patent, which was subsequently awarded to him from the Patent Office at Washington. The height of the dome from the ball to the sidewalk is one hundred and ninety-eight feet, and from the top of the flag-staff two hundred and forty feet. The rotunda is sixty feet in diameter. There are four circular galleries. The height of the first is eighteen feet, of the second thirteen feet, of the third twelve feet, and of the fourth thirty-two feet. From the fourth gallery to the base of the inner dome the distance is twenty-six feet, and from this point to the top of the dome the distance is thirty feet, making in all one hundred and thirty-one feet from the floor of the rotunda to the inner eye of the inner dome. The diameter of the rotunda is sixty feet, and of the inner circle forty feet. According to the original plan spiral stairways leading from the floor of the rotunda to the first gallery were constructed within the "inner circle."

When Mr. Rumbold began the design of his dome one of the most difficult obstacles he had to overcome was that of the construction of a stairway to the top of the dome without marring the symmetry and general beauty of the design. After due study he overcame the difficulty in such a manner as to increase rather than diminish its beauty. Commencing on the third gallery he designed four projections. Behind two of these projections, on opposite sides of the dome, he arranged for a narrow iron staircase to lead to the top of the dome or tholus. One stairway for ascending and the other for descending. The other two projections were planned to harmonize the design. In each projection a niche for statues was created. Externally the projections are beautifully frescoed, and ornamented with pillars. By the construction of these four projections four large pa-

[1] This certificate was as follows:

"UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF MISSOURI, COUNTY OF ST. LOUIS.

"OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS, June 5th, 1861.

"This is to certify that this wrought-iron dome of the Saint Louis court-house was erected by William Rumbold, superintendent and architect, during the years 1860 and 1861, and was completed on the day of the date hereof, and that the undersigned are and were the county commissioners who authorized the erection thereof.

"J. H. LIGHTNER, *President of the Board.*
"PEREGRINE TIPPET, *Maramec township.*
"BENJ. FARRAR, *St. Ferdinand* "
"JOHN H. FISSE, *St. Louis* "
"WM. TAUSSIG, *Carondelet* "
"ROBERT HOLMES, *St. Louis* "
"A. R. EASTON, *St. Louis* "

"Attest: SAMUEL W. EAGER, Jr., *Secretary.*"

were created on the north, east, and south sides of the dome, and on each of these panels Mr. Wiemar executed an historical painting. First on the south side is the discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto, who, at the head of his faithful followers, is represented as emerging from the forest. Clothed in armor and mounted on a gaily-caparisoned charger, he is seen conferring with the red men of the forest on the banks of the noble stream which eventually became his final resting-place. On the eastern panel is the landing of Laclede at what is now the foot of Market Street, in 1764. This is an historical sketch, and is thought to be accurate. In addition to the written historical facts concerning Laclede's landing, Mr. Wiemar was so fortunate as to form the acquaintance of a Mr. Laconte, an aged Frenchman of Carondelet, who, years ago, frequently saw the barge in which Laclede landed. Mr. Laconte made a sketch of it from memory, and from this sketch Wiemar painted the barge. Mr. Laconte also gave a description of Laclede, which greatly assisted the artist. The barge is represented as nearing the shore. Large forest-trees and Indians line the bank of the river, and a spring of water bubbles out of the rocks near where the boat is about to land. Laclede, the most prominent figure on the barge, is clothed in the costume of "ye olden time," and seems quite ready to be welcomed by the friendly Indians who stand on the shore ready to greet him. The third picture, on the north panel, represents the alleged Indian attack on St. Louis in May, 1780; and the fourth, a Western landscape with a buffalo chase, etc.

In the fourth gallery Mr. Wiemar executed four figures representing law, commerce, justice, and liberty, all of which were painted in bold relief, and so as to show with excellent effect from almost any point of view.

The fresco-work was executed by Augustus H. Becker, and is very handsome. On the north side of the dome the leading products of the North, corn and wheat, are frescoed, and on the south side the products of the South, the pine-apple and the sugar-cane.

The plastering was executed by Wm. C. Smith & Co., and was very carefully and skillfully done, particularly the coat of arms of the State under each of the figures painted in the dome. The iron-work was by Thomas Howard & Co.

The following table, prepared by the county auditor, shows the total cost of the court-house:

Cut-stone work, to Crickard & Doyle....	$393,647.05
Outer stone-work.....	48,455.91
Iron-work.....	151,342.22
Brick-work and materials for same.....	71,115.23
Plastering.....	21,054.65
Carpenter- and joiner-work.....	146,607.19
Painting and glazing.....	21,650.13
Roofing.....	23,825 49
Sundries,—labor, materials, etc.....	288,329.71
Achitect and superintendent.....	43,844.33
	$1,199,871.91

The building thus completed in the summer of 1862 is one of the handsomest and most imposing public edifices in St. Louis. It stands in the form of a Greek cross, and is surmounted by one of the finest domes in the country. The lantern on its summit commands a view of from fifteen to twenty miles in different directions, and it is said that a person with a strong glass can survey an area of more than three hundred square miles, "extending beyond Kirkwood on the west, far out on the Illinois prairies to the east, up to Alton on the north, and far below Carondelet on the Mississippi." The chief characteristics of the edifice are solidity and symmetry without striking or elaborate ornamentation. Its interior arrangement is not so satisfactory, as portions of the structure are defective in respect to light and ventilation. These imperfections, however, are probably due not to any fault of the architect, but to the fact that the original plan did not contemplate the erection of the building in its present shape. The court-house as it now stands occupies the entire block between Fourth and Fifth and Chestnut and Market Streets, and its dimensions, including the wings, are one hundred and eighty feet in the direction of the four cardinal points of the compass.

The Four Courts.—Among the public buildings of St. Louis the structure known as "The Four Courts" is one of the handsomest and most conspicuous. It occupies the square formed by Clark Avenue and Spruce Street on the north and south and Eleventh and Twelfth Streets on the east and west. On its site formerly stood the mansion of Henry Chouteau, whose property extended in the form of a peninsula into a small lake then known as Chouteau's Pond. The mansion was replaced by the court-house, the erection of which was rendered necessary by the inadequacy of the accommodations provided in the old court-house. The new "Four Courts" was designed after plans by Thomas P. Walsh, architect, for the administration of criminal justice, both city and State, and is a large and substantial building in the renaissance style. It has a frontage of three hundred and thirty with a depth of fifty-four feet, and is three stories high, and there is a space of twenty-five feet between the building and the sidewalk. The façade is divided into five parts, viz.: the grand centre, two extreme wings, and intervening recesses. The extreme

wings and recesses form pavilions, covered with a mansard roof on inclined planes, and the centre is crowned by a dome surmounted by a large cupola, in the base of which is an illuminated clock having four faces.

The main entrance opens upon a hall thirty-one feet wide, from which ascends a stairway of cast iron twelve feet wide. The building is devoted to the use of the Criminal Court, Court of Criminal Correction, Police Court of the First District, and Police Department. Only three courts are held in the building, and the designation Four Courts is therefore a mis-



THE FOUR COURTS.

nomer. It is said that the name originated with one of the judges, a native of Ireland, who bestowed it upon it on account of its resemblance to the Four Courts at Dublin. The material of the building is cream-colored Joliet stone. In the rear of the main central structure is the city jail. The cost of the building was seven hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars, and that of the ground one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, making the total cost eight hundred and eighty thousand dollars.

The contractors for the building were Richard Brown, excavation; John Stoddard, masonry; Joseph Brown and Simon Dehner, cut-stone; Michael Fitzpatrick and Robert L. James, brick-work; Edward Illsley, carpenter-work; Maurice Pauley and William Colcard, Messrs. McMurray, Smith & Judge, iron-work; Jacob Bixler, plastering; Thomas Hayden, slating; Dunn & Wittee, galvanized iron-, tin-, and copper-work; Siegel & Bobb, plumbing, gas, and steam-fitting; William Colcold, steam boilers; Henry Bishop, sewers; Casper Stolle, concreting; Gustav Thym, flagging. The painting and glazing were done by John Williams, and the fitting up of the court-rooms was done under the superintendence of Capt. James A. Nolan. The building was finished and occupied in the autumn of 1871.

The City Jail.—As early as 1816 the Legislature of the Territory passed an act for the erection of a jail in St. Louis, and on the 22d of June of that year the following notice was published by the jail commissioners:

"We, the undersigned, being appointed commissioners by the Circuit Court of the county of St. Louis, under the authority of an act of the General Assembly providing for the erecting of a jail for the use of said county, met at the coffee-house, agreeably to previous notice, to receive proposals from any person or persons who wished to make a donation of a piece of ground for the purpose of erecting a jail thereon. Accordingly proposals were received from Auguste Chouteau and John B. C. Lucas, Esqs., and from Jeremiah Connor, Esq. The said Chouteau and Lucas offered the choice of lots numbered 32, 43, 49, 93, and 94 for the purpose aforesaid; Conner offered one arpent square of land, bounded on the south by the public road leading to St. Charles, west by Fifth Street, north by a street leading by Peter Chouteau's lot, and east by Fourth Street. Whereupon and after mature deliberation the lot No. 49, belonging to said John B. C. Lucas, fronting on Sixth Street, and containing about one hundred and fifteen feet by one hundred and thirty-five feet was selected, William Christy and Thomas Brady voting in the negative. The said John B. C. Lucas is therefore required to render to the said commissioners a deed for the aforesaid lot agreeable to law on the 25th instant, at the house of Charles Gratiot, in the town of St. Louis. It is further ordered, that a copy of the foregoing proceedings be inserted in the *Missouri Gazette* for one week.

"THEODORE HUNT.
"A. F. SAUGRAIN.
"CHARLES GRATIOT.
"W. CHRISTY.
"THOMAS BRADY.

"ST. LOUIS, June 18th."

On the 18th of September following, M. P. Ledu[c] for the commissioners, advertised for proposals for th[e] new jail, and on the 27th of December, 1817, th[e] advertisement was renewed by Theodore Hunt, one [of] the commissioners. The work proceeded slowly, a[nd] on the 18th of September, 1819, Theodore Hun[t] chairman of the committee, advertised for propos[als] to complete the jail by December 1st. This jail[1] w[as] of stone, and is described in the directory of St. Lo[uis] published in 1821 as being "a new stone jail of t[wo]

[1] In an address delivered before the Missouri Historical S[o]ciety by W. H. H. Russell it is stated that "the old jail, wh[ich] was a round tower, was located at Fourth and Walnut, in [the] centre of the street, with doors fronting on Walnut. On [the] north side wer winding steps to the second story, which fron[ted] to the north, looking up Fourth Street. It was a curious [old] old-time institution indeed."

stories, seventy by thirty," standing "west of the site for the court-house."

Notwithstanding the time consumed in its erection and the character of the material used, the old jail does not appear to have been very secure as a place of confinement.

In the latter part of September, 1826, says a newspaper account, the jail was broken into,

"and the following prisoners, confined in one cell, made their escape, and have not yet been retaken, viz., Patrick Soye, convicted of manslaughter; John Brewer, sentenced at the last term of the Circuit Court to be executed this day (September 28th) for perjury, but which was prolonged until some time in November: and French Strother, indicted at the last term of the Circuit Court for the murder of Horatio Cozens, Esq., and who was to have been tried in Ste. Genevieve County in November next at the instance of the defendant. The work of several days must have been required to form the passage through which they escaped. With an auger which they had by some means procured holes were bored near each other through the wood which lines the inside of the cells. To escape detection, the first of these were filled up until a sufficient number were made and connected together, when the pieces of timber were easily removed. A hole was then forced through the wall, formed of stone, and four feet thick, large enough to admit of their escape."

Three years later (in November, 1829) the jail was broken open about midday, and four prisoners made their escape, viz., Charles Gibson, Wilkins Elder, Joseph Johnson, and Daniel Bennett, severally charged with larceny. There were several other prisoners in the same cell, who, from fear of being apprehended or some other cause, did not attempt to get away. The others escaped through the door, having forced back the bolts of the principal locks with a pair of shears.

Commenting upon this affair the *Republican* of November 24th says,—

"The occasion is peculiarly appropriate for us to call the attention of the county court or the grand jury, which is now in session, to the condition of this jail. It is not of sufficient size, and contains very few apartments."

Another jail delivery occurred on the 28th of February, 1838. On this occasion John Duncan, Thomas Forbes, John Barr, Obediah Whitehouse, and George Thompson cut a passage through the ceiling, and effected their escape by getting from the garret into the passage, and from thence into the street. On the 2d of July, 1840, nine prisoners—John Dushat, William Atkinson, John Jones, Benjamin Gray, James Fugale, Rosanna McDonald, Benjamin Hogany, and John Lewis—escaped. The sheriff offered a reward of five hundred dollars for their apprehension and delivery to the jail. Their escape was effected by the assistance of a woman. There were so many in the jail that great numbers had to be kept in the same apartment. The woman was kept in a passage, and, it is supposed, picked the lock that held the bar to the inner door. The iron gratings to the outer door were cut off with the mainspring of a watch, and the outer padlock was broken with an iron bar. The newspaper in which the account of this affair appeared remarked in connection with it that "St. Louis needs greatly a larger and more secure jail."

On the 13th of August, 1841, the *Republican* announced that "the county court, after a long struggle to the contrary, have resolved to build a jail on the lot occupied by the present building. There is some question as to the propriety of building a jail in the heart of the city." The building of the jail was commenced during the same year, but proceeded slowly, and in its issue of the 7th of October, 1842, the same paper said,—

"We have never seen the old saw, 'penny wise and pound foolish,' more fully and directly illustrated than in the recent action of the county court in reference to the county jail. It will be remembered that the jail was commenced in 1841, under the supervision of Mr. Singleton. Under his direction several thousands of dollars were spent in laying the foundation and raising the building up to the base of the first range of cells. The foundation was laid, the steam boilers and pipes put in, and all the fixtures of the building constructed for a four-story house. When the superintendency was taken from Mr. Singleton the stone-work of the building was let out to the lowest bidder. Mr. Witherell got the contract at thirty-two thousand dollars to finish the stone- or mason-work of the building four stories high. The making of the grating for the windows and doors for a four-story building was also let at the same time, and all the grates and doors contracted for, we understand, are completed and ready. Lately the hands in Mr. Witherell's employ refused to take the city scrip and bear the discount at which it was going. The hands turned out, and therefore Mr. Witherell made a proposition to the court, that if they would give him twelve thousand dollars in bankable or current funds he would complete the building and wait one year for the remaining ten thousand dollars, the court having previously paid him ten thousand dollars. The court either could not or would not agree to Mr. Witherell's proposition, and finally in their wisdom resolved to stop the building at the third story, under an agreement with Mr. Witherell that it should be left to disinterested persons to say how much should be deducted from his contract for the fourth story."

The jail thus erected was by no means "prisoner proof," for on the 10th of November, 1848, William Jones, *alias* Fanning, C. C. Clark, *alias* Piper, William Jones, *alias* Smith, Robert Besaria, and a soldier whose name was unknown "escaped from the calaboose."

Another attempt in March, 1849, was not so successful. On that occasion Jack Milton, Patrick Noon, and Samuel Hughes "made a bold but unsuccessful effort to break jail by removing one of the outside stones from the wall of the cell in which they were

confined. The tools used were two old case-knives, with which they had progressed to a considerable extent by removing the mortar and cutting the lead with which the stones are sealed together. Being heard in their operations by the jailer, they were handcuffed and put into another cell."

On the 3d of August, 1851, it was announced that

"the new brick building erected by order of the county court in the jail-yard is now quite finished and ready to be put into use. It is designed for the use of the criminal court during the time occupied in erecting the new east wing of the court-house. Though intended to serve only a temporary purpose, it has been put up substantially, and is furnished with every necessary convenience. The criminal court-room is large, and has been fitted up with the fixtures of the old court-room. Adjoining this principal apartment are two smaller rooms for the county marshal and the jury. The house is built on piers. We learn that it is the intention of the county court, at the earliest practicable period, to remove the old stone jail which stands at the west front of the lot, and to extend the new building over the space which it at present occupies. A portion of this building is now used by the jailer as a residence for himself and his family, and the remainder as a jail for youthful and women criminals. When the addition to the main building is commenced, a residence for the jailer entirely separate from it will be erected on the south side of the lot."

In April, 1852, four prisoners, two of whom were convicts in the penitentiary, and a third under sentence of hanging for murder, escaped from the St. Louis County jail. Their names were James Andrews, sentenced to five years' imprisonment for mail robbery; Dick Jones, the murderer of Ephraim Hibler, the watchman; George Snell, under sentence of five years for counterfeiting; and George Smidt, one of the soldiers sentenced to the county jail for rioting.

On the 8th of April, 1854, Martha Green and Margaret Fennegan, imprisoned on a charge of larceny, succeeded in picking their way out by boring through the wall and opening the door of the room where they were locked up. They were in the old jail building, which was set apart for females, and after getting into the yard "it is thought they escaped over the wall by means of the framework which surrounds the well situated in a corner of the lot, the top of which is almost as high as the wall that surrounds the jail."

On the evening of July 28, 1861, twenty-eight prisoners confined in the county jail made a desperate attack on the deputy jailer and effected their escape.

The old jail property, including the jails and other buildings on the lot at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, was sold at auction on the 20th of June, 1871, the successful bidder being Dr. Rudolph Bircher, to whom the property was knocked down at seven hundred and eighty dollars per foot, the whole amounting to one hundred and five thousand six hundred and thirty dollars and forty-one cents. There were some two hundred persons at the sale, including several prominent capitalists. Philip S. Lanham, auctioneer, announced the manner of sale, which was that the ground was to be divided into five lots fronting on Chestnut Street, and running back one hundred and four and a half feet to an alley fifteen feet wide. The first lot offered would be that adjoining the Laclede Hotel. The purchaser would have the privilege of taking two lots or the whole of them, in which case the jail and other buildings would be included in the sale. But if the lots were sold to different parties the county would hold possession of the buildings. The terms of sale were one-third cash, and the balance in one and two years with six per cent. interest, secured by deed of trust. The sum of one hundred dollars earnest money would be required to be paid to the auctioneer upon the bidding off of each lot. The purchaser of the property could take possession in ninety days. After these preliminaries the bidding commenced. William C. Taylor started at $600 per foot, followed by Messrs. Rutherford and Dr. Bircher, who bid alternately $700, $750, $775, where it stood (at Mr. Rutherford's bid) for some time. "Meantime," we are told "the auctioneer dwelt eloquently on the value of the property and its advantages. A person in the crowd propounded the question, 'Is the gallows included?' 'Certainly,' replied the auctioneer." Dr. Bircher then bid seven hundred and eighty dollars, and after waiting some time for an increase in the bid, the lot was knocked down to that gentleman. On this being announced, the successful bidder said he would take the remaining lots at that rate, as was his privilege. Dr. Bircher then paid over five hundred dollars earnest money for the five lots, and the matter was concluded.

On the completion of the "Four Courts" at Eleventh Street and Clark Avenue in the autumn of 1871, the prisoners were removed to the new jail in the rear of the main building. This jail, which is still used as the city prison, is arranged in the form of an amphitheatre, with a diameter of one hundred and fifty feet, and extending from the rear wall of the front building one hundred and ten feet. Prongs extend from the line of the semicircle, giving to the whole outline a star shape, and placing thereby fifty-nine cells on each floor. The cells are three tiers in height, making a total of one hundred and seventy-seven cells, all made of heavy plate of wrought iron, and of sufficient capacity to contain three prisoners each, or, in the aggregate, between five and six hundred. The cells are constructed in such a manner as to render

escape a practical impossibility. They are ranged round the walls in four sections, with the grated doors fronting the centre of the building. A corridor ten feet wide separates them from the wall, and in each cell a barred aperture, directly opposite the grated door, opens out upon this passage, so that every movement of the prisoner in an attempt to escape can be seen by the guard. Each cell is ten feet long by eight feet wide and eight feet high. The walls are of wrought boiler iron, one-quarter of an inch thick, and the corners are secured by "angle" iron riveted with boiler rivets. Inclosing the cells is a boundary or screen wall ten feet distant and perforated with large apertures and inclosed and secured by iron gratings, the space intervening between the iron cells and this wall forming a second place of confinement in case prisoners should escape from the first. A third barrier would be offered by the boundary wall of the jail, of great height and well secured.

Police Department.—In early times the preservation of order in the town of St. Louis was intrusted to watchmen or "patrolmen," those officials being the legitimate successors of the village constable. In the autumn of 1808 the following regulations, embodied in a municipal ordinance, were promulgated for the guidance and government of the patrolmen:

"SEC. 2. The said patrol shall consist of no less than four persons, including the captain of the same, who shall receive from the chairman of the said board of trustees, or the judges or justices of the peace aforesaid, such instructions as they shall deem necessary.

"SEC. 3. The said patrol shall be formed from the male inhabitants of the said town in the manner following: The names of all the male inhabitants of the said town above the age of eighteen years shall be taken, by order of the chairman, every four months, and each such inhabitant shall be obliged to serve on the patrol in his turn, when required thereto, or shall furnish another person to serve in his place; the chairman or the judges or justice aforesaid shall appoint the captain of the patrol for each night, and shall also give him in writing the names of those he is to summon on the patrol for that night, and if any person or persons shall neglect or refuse to serve on the patrol, such person or persons shall for every such neglect or refusal forfeit and pay the sum of one dollar, to be recovered with costs before the chairman or any justice of the said town.

"SEC. 4. The said patrol shall be armed, shall have power to command order and silence to all persons found after nine o'clock in the streets or public highways in the said town of St. Louis disturbing the public tranquillity, and every person or persons so commanded by the said patrol to keep silence as aforesaid, and refusing obedience thereto, shall on conviction forfeit and pay the sum of one dollar; to arrest all slaves found after nine o'clock in the streets or public highways aforesaid, and conduct them to their master or mistress; all persons found in gardens or lots not their own, and commit them to the jail of the district until morning, when the said patrol or the captain thereof shall take such person or persons thus found offending before the chairman of the said board, or a judge, or a justice of the peace of the said town, and the said person or persons thus found offending shall on conviction forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding five dollars with costs, and in case any slave should be thus found offending, the said patrol shall carry the said slave to the master or the mistress of such slave, who shall immediately cause the said slave to be whipped, and receive on his or her naked back ten lashes, and in case the said master or mistress should neglect or refuse to cause the said slave to be so whipped, then the said master or mistress shall for each such neglect or refusal forfeit and pay the sum of two dollars, to be recovered as aforesaid. They shall take up all Indians and carry them to the Indian agent, and, lastly, in case of a fire breaking out in any part of the town, the said patrol shall give the alarm, either by the ringing of the church-bell or any such means as they shall deem most expedient.

"SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the said patrol on discovering in any house or negro cabin such a fire as to expose said house or cabin, or by communicating the adjoining property, to inform of the same the master or mistress of such house or cabin.

"SEC. 6. The captain of the patrol shall, on the morning next following said patrol, make to the chairman of the board or in his absence to any judge or justice of the peace of the said town, a report of the occurrences of the night and the situation of the town.

"SEC. 7. All fines and forfeitures accruing under this ordinance shall go to the chairman for the use of the town.

"SEC. 8. This ordinance shall be in force from and after the 24th day of September instant.

"In testimony whereof we, Auguste Chouteau, Edward Hempstead, Bernard Pratte, Alexander McNair, and Pierre Chouteau have hereunto set our hands this 21st day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight, and of the independence of the United States the thirty-third.

"A. CHOUTEAU.
"E. HEMPSTEAD.
"B. PRATTE.
"A. MCNAIR.
"P. CHOUTEAU.

"Re-enacted at a meeting of the board of trustees held on the 16th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine, to take effect and be in force from and after the date hereof.

"A. CHOUTEAU.
"E. HEMPSTEAD.
"WM. CHRISTY.
"J. CABANNÉ.

"Attested,
"J. V. GARNIER, *Clerk.*"

A similar patrol had already been in existence for some years, for in December, 1810, we find that the Court of Quarter Sessions of the District of St. Louis ordered the payment of money advanced for the compensation of services "performed as patrol in the town of St. Louis in the year 1805."

On the 23d of February, 1826, the following ordinance regulating a patrol for the city was published:

"1. The register shall cause a roll to be made and kept of all the free white male inhabitants in this city, clergymen, invalids, and paupers excepted, between the ages of eighteen and sixty years, and the persons thus enrolled shall constitute a patrol company for the city; provided that any citizen may place his name upon the roll for patrol duty as many times as

he may deem expedient, and he shall be liable to perform patrol duty accordingly; and provided, also, that a good and sufficient substitute may be offered by any person liable to perform patrol duty who may be unwilling to serve in person.

"2. The mayor and board of aldermen shall appoint a captain and twenty-six lieutenants of patrol, who shall severally hold their places during one year, or during the pleasure of the mayor and board of aldermen. Each officer, before entering upon the discharge of the duties of his office, shall take an oath to demean himself faithfully in said office, and shall file a copy of his oath in the register's office.

"7. The register shall cause a suitable and uniform signal to be given every evening, such as the ringing of a church-bell, at ten o'clock from the 1st of May until the 1st of October, and at nine o'clock from the 1st of October until the 1st of May, as a warning to slaves to retire to their several houses. He shall also provide a suitable guard-room in a central situation, with the necessary furniture, fuel, and candles."

In June, 1828, a similar ordinance was promulgated, "regulating the police of the city of St. Louis, and to suppress riots, routs, and noisy assemblies, and to punish disturbers of the peace." By an ordinance approved May 28, 1839, the office of city constable was abolished, and it was provided that a city marshal should be appointed by the mayor by and with the advice and consent of the board of aldermen, and he appointed Elliott Lee to fill the office. In the city marshal were vested all the powers and duties vested in and required of the city constable, and he was to receive for his services the same fees receivable by the city constable for like services and the sum of four hundred dollars annually. The police force known as the "City Guards" was established by an ordinance approved Dec. 19, 1839. This ordinance provided that "in the month of December in the year 1839, and on the second Monday in May of every succeeding year, or as soon thereafter as practicable, the mayor shall nominate and by and with the consent of the board of delegates appoint sixteen men who shall be designated as city guards, and shall be selected equally from the different wards of the city." The guards thus appointed were to "keep watch and guard every night throughout the year at such stands and during such hours," and to "observe, perform, and execute all such matters and things as by the rules, orders, and regulations of the mayor and City Council" should from time to time be enjoined on them. They were *ex officio* "deputy marshals," and were authorized to apprehend "all night-walkers, malefactors, rogues, vagabonds, and all disorderly persons" whom they should find disturbing the peace in an unlawful manner, to enter any inclosure or house in which an affray or riot might happen, and to "stop suspicious persons found lurking about at late hours and at unusual places," and to apprehend them if they were unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves. They were further instructed to give the alarm in case of fire. The city marshal was *ex officio* captain of the guard, with power to nominate his deputies for the approval of the mayor; two of the deputies to be lieutenants of the guard, and each to receive a salary of six hundred dollars from the city. If any other lieutenants were appointed, their salaries were to be paid by the marshal. During their tour of duty the members of the guard, who received a salary of five hundred dollars per annum, were to carry "a rattle and a stout hickory staff four feet long, with a crook at one end and a steel point at the other end." The guards were to be equally divided and stationed within the several wards of the city, and were to be on duty from nine o'clock at night until daylight from the 1st day of October to the 1st day of April, and from ten o'clock until daylight from the 1st day of April to the 1st day of October. Part of their duty was to repeatedly proclaim the hour of the night while going the rounds assigned to them, regulating themselves by the clock on the Catholic Cathedral, or by such other clock as the mayor might designate. The mayor was authorized to procure for the use of the guard sentry-boxes, with the requisite lamps and other furniture therefor, which sentry-boxes were to be stationed within the several wards at such points as appeared to him most eligible. It was made the duty of the lieutenant of the guard to report forthwith any member of the force who should be found intoxicated or asleep while on duty, or should prove delinquent in any other particular. In case of emergency the guards were authorized to call upon the citizens for aid in arresting offenders, "either by outcry or sounding the alarum with their rattles," and any citizen who refused his aid when demanded was liable to a fine of not less than five nor more than fifty dollars. The guards were also instructed to report all nuisances, and to apprehend all slaves not having a pass from their owners or the person in whose employ they might be at the time who were found away from their homes after certain hours of the night.

On the 14th of May, 1835, ordinances passed by the board of aldermen establishing a night-watch and defining the duties of the city constable were approved by Mayor Darby. They directed that the mayor should be authorized to provide a night-watch for the protection of the city whenever he should deem the measure expedient, or be required so to do by the board of aldermen. The force was to be made up either of volunteers or of men detailed from among the respectable citizens above the age of twenty-one years. Refusal to serve on the force when detailed was punishable with a fine of five dollars. The city

constable was *ex officio* captain of the watch, whose duty it was to go or send some persons employed by the mayor about the several wards of the city once or oftener at convenient times in the night "to take notice whether the watchmen performed their duties." The northwest room of the centre building on the market floor of the market-house was set apart as a guard-room, and the mayor was authorized to make such alterations or improvements therein as might be necessary to render it suitable for the purpose. The city constable was appointed annually at a salary of three hundred and fifty dollars a year, besides certain fees, and his duties were of a comprehensive and rather arduous character. In the first place, he was to ascertain as far as possible all nuisances that existed from time to time in the city, and to cause the same to be removed; "to visit all parts of the city, to make diligent inquiry" after all breaches of city and State law; to "visit the St. Louis hospital at least three times in each week, on three several days, and see that the rules thereof are in force;" to visit suspicious and disorderly houses; to enforce the laws relating to negroes and mulattoes; and to arrest without warrant "all persons who may be found in the streets of the city in a state of intoxication, and convey them to some safe place of confinement, there to remain until they shall have become perfectly sobered."

An ordinance providing certain police regulations for the city passed Dec. 13, 1835, by the board of aldermen, was returned by the mayor, Hon. John F. Darby, without his signature, but was passed over his veto. It prohibited slaves from being in the street "between the hours of ten o'clock post-meridiem and four o'clock ante-meridiem from the 1st day of April to the 30th of September," and "between the hours of nine o'clock post-meridiem and five o'clock ante-meridiem from the 1st day of October to the 31st day of March, under any pretence whatever, unless such slave have a written pass from his or her owner or owners of that day's date." Fines were imposed for "hallooing, shouting, bawling, screaming, profane or obscene language, dancing, singing, whooping or quarreling, or any unusual noises or sounds in his or her house," and it was provided that "nothing contained in the first and second sections of this ordinance shall affect any country person, bond or free, coming from or going to any of the markets for the purpose of selling his or her marketing."

This ordinance was amended by another approved June 17, 1841, in which it was provided that the city guards should consist of a captain, three lieutenants, and twenty-eight privates, and one of the conditions of appointment to the new force was that the person should be "in no way interested in any tavern, coffee-house, or tippling-shop in the city," and should understand the English language so as to be able to read and write the same. The force was divided as follows: Two guards for the First Ward, six for the Second, six for the Third, six for the Fourth, and eight for the Fifth. The practice of proclaiming each hour of the night was still maintained, and any watchman neglecting or failing to cry the hour during the time he was on duty was to be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, and fined not less than one dollar, nor more than five dollars, and for the second offense was to be dismissed. The captain of the guards, who was also known as captain of the watch, received a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum, the lieutenants five hundred dollars each, and the privates four hundred and eighty dollars each. Each officer and private was directed when on duty "to wear a badge on his hat, and carry a rattle and a stout hickory staff, three feet long, with a steel point at one end made in the shape of a spontoon." The mayor was also empowered to employ private watchmen when he deemed it necessary. In the regulations for the government of the city guard, approved Dec. 1, 1841, it was provided that "the calaboose, with the keys thereof, shall be exclusively in charge of the captain of the guard, subject to the order of the mayor, from sundown of each day to the time of making his report on the following morning, to the recorder, or other proper officer, at which time he shall surrender the same to the city marshal." He was not, however, required to report on Sundays, except in extraordinary cases, and was empowered to detail a private of the guard to act as calaboose-keeper. Officers and members of the guard were not required to do duty in the daytime, except on extraordinary occasions when called upon by the mayor or captain of the guard. In accordance with the terms of an ordinance approved Sept. 5, 1842, the salary of the captain of the guard was reduced to six hundred dollars, of the lieutenants to four hundred and fifty dollars, and of the privates to four hundred dollars. The duties of the city marshal were again defined in an ordinance approved Aug. 3, 1843, and were substantially as heretofore stated. It was also provided that he should "keep his office in the town hall, or such other place as the Council may direct, and to keep the same open every day in the year," and should keep a record of all offenses committed in the city that came to his notice. In the execution of his duties in arresting any person accused or suspected of crime, or the arresting of any person under a warrant, or in the suppression of any riot or un-

lawful assembly, or in preventing the violation of any ordinance or any law of the State, he should have the power to require the aid of the city guard or that of any of the citizens. He was also to be the keeper of the city prison "from seven o'clock in the morning until the time the city guards go upon duty on each day." An ordinance more fully defining the duties of the officers and privates of the city guard was approved Aug. 14, 1843. Among its provisions was one enacting that "all persons found strolling about the streets or other public places at late hours of the night, not having a home or lodging-place, or in no way disturbing the peace or violating any ordinance of the city, and who may be unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves, may be confined in the city prison until morning," and another that it should "be the duty of the captain or lieutenant commanding, whenever required by any person who may have been arrested by the guard and brought before him at an unreasonable hour of the night, to dispatch a member of the guard with him or her to their home, or a message or note from such person to any well-known respectable citizen with whom he may be acquainted, unless the officer may be convinced that the request is made with a view to deceive him."

The police department was reorganized in 1846, in accordance with an ordinance approved August 7th of that year. Article I. of the ordinance provided that a department should be established to be called the police department, and embracing the city marshal, city guard, day police, and keeper of the calaboose. The duties of the city marshal were to see that all ordinances were enforced, to repair to any part of the city in day or night when advised that any breach of law or of the peace had been or was about to be committed, to act as the officer of the board of health, to keep a record of crimes, processes, etc., to see that no trespasses were committed upon the property of the city, and discharge various other functions. The city guard was to be composed of a captain, six lieutenants, and forty-two privates, and the mayor was instructed to rent in the First and Sixth Wards each a suitable room for a "lock-up," in which persons arrested by the guard and not suffered to go home should be confined until the time for the guard to go off duty in the morning when they were to be removed to the calaboose. The day police was to consist of one lieutenant and seven privates; the lieutenant to receive a salary of four hundred and fifty dollars, and the privates four hundred dollars each. The force was to be on duty from seven o'clock in the morning from April 1st to October 1st, and from eight o'clock for the rest of the year, and to remain on duty until relieved by the guard at night. Their badge was a gilded star not less than one and a half inches in diameter, worn upon the left lappel of the coat. The compensation of the keeper of the calaboose was four hundred dollars per annum. Among the miscellaneous provisions was one authorizing the procuring and keeping of horses for the use of the captain of the guard in the First and Sixth Wards, and another authorizing the organization of patrols by the white inhabitants of the city for mutual protection, the officers of which were to be commissioned by the mayor as patrol officers; the patrols thus organized to have the same powers and be governed by the same regulations as the city guard, but without any compensation from the city.

In this year (1846) an "independent police" was established, as appears from the following newspaper publication under date of June 5th:

"It will be seen by an advertisement in to-day's paper that Mr. McDonough, late captain of the city guard, and Mr. Du Breuil, late first lieutenant in the same, have established an independent police. They have been constituted deputies by a legal officer, and have qualified according to the requirements of law, and are, therefore, fully authorized to act as peace officers, and to execute any process issued in any criminal case. Of course they will receive no salary, and their compensation will often depend on what those who choose to employ them shall think proper. This kind of police has been tried in nearly all of the Eastern cities (in New York we believe it is known by the name of the Star Police), and has been found to be much more efficient than that of the regularly appointed officers.

"Capt. McDonough, who is at the head of the attempt here, is so well known to this community that it is almost useless to say anything about him. He has been for some years past engaged in the business of ferreting out rogues, and in his brief career has evinced a coolness, judgment, and courage which would not have disgraced old Hays himself. Our intimacy with the late mayor and knowledge of the operations of the police under his administration warrants us in saying that there never has been in this city the equal of Capt. McDonough in this department.

"Mr. Du Breuil is well known to the public as an efficient and assiduous officer. He has filled several stations in the police, which have brought him into intimate connection with this business. To much experience he adds a matured judgment and the essential of coolness and courage."

In the mayor's message of May 8, 1848, it was stated that the city guard during the previous year had been reduced to three lieutenants and thirty privates, and it was added that the city was then so much extended that it was impossible without great industry for thirty men to properly guard the whole city, and that there was great complaint on the part of citizens in respect to the inadequacy of the police. "Burglaries, larcenies, and petty thefts of the most daring character," added the mayor, "have been committed of late in every part of the city. . . . If the city guard cannot be made effective, it had better

abandoned altogether." In 1850, however, the mayor reported that the police force, which had been increased by the addition of ten privates, was, for its numbers, very efficient. On the 1st of April of this year the mayor approved an ordinance establishing a police department, to consist of the city marshal and officers and privates of the day and night guard; the day guard to consist of one lieutenant and nine privates, and the night guard of one captain, three lieutenants, and thirty-six privates; the city marshal to be *ex officio* chief of city police, and the captain of the guard to be *ex officio* deputy marshal. The mayor, chief of police, and captain of the city guard, conjointly, were instructed to procure a suitable building in each of the police districts except the Second for station-houses; the "present police office" to serve as a station-house in the Second District. The districts were defined by the same ordinance as follows: the First and Second Wards constituted the First District; the Third and Fourth Wards constituted the Second District; the Fifth and Sixth Wards constituted the Third District. The pay of the captain was fifty dollars per month, that of the lieutenants forty-five dollars per month, and that of the privates forty dollars. The chief of police was authorized to employ a suitable vehicle (the "Black Maria" of those days) "for the purpose of removing any person or persons arrested and confined in the First or Third Station-Houses to the recorder's court, or to the calaboose or to prison, as the case may require," the expense of the vehicle not to exceed twenty-five dollars per month. A supplementary ordinance was approved June 29, 1850, providing for the appointment of two deputy marshals of police at a salary of three hundred and sixty dollars per annum, and two additional lieutenants of the night guard. In his message of May 10, 1852, Mayor Kennett stated that the police force was well organized and active, and that it consisted of sixty-three officers and men,—one captain, six lieutenants, and forty men in the night guard, and one captain and fifteen men in the day guard,—making the entire pay-roll thirty thousand dollars per annum. Mayor How, in his message of Oct. 10, 1853, called attention to the fact that under the police regulations then in force the city was unguarded four hours out of the twenty-four; the night watch going on at 8 P.M. and going off at 5 A.M., and the day watch going on at 9 A.M. and going off at 8 P.M., and urged that a change be made, so that the city would be constantly protected. In his message of May 8, 1854, Mayor How recommended that the police should wear a uniform or badge that would be better adapted for designating their office than the one now worn." The uniform thus recommended was adopted, and notice was given to the police to appear in the clothing prescribed from and after the 1st of November, 1854. In 1855, Mayor King recommended that the police force be remodeled and the members be appointed during good behavior. The number of police, he added, was too small and their pay too little. At that time the night guard consisted of one captain, six lieutenants, and six privates, and the day guard of one captain, one lieutenant, and twenty-five privates. Mayor King also recommended that the office of marshal be entirely disconnected from the police, and that a chief of police at a competent salary be appointed. In 1856 the force was reorganized by ordinance of the City Council, in accordance with Mayor King's recommendation, and D. A. Rawlings was appointed chief of police. The office of marshal, however, was not abolished. In addition to the regular policemen, who wore a uniform, a detective force was organized, the members of which were not required to wear the uniform.

The present metropolitan police system of St. Louis was established by an act of the Legislature approved March 27, 1861, which provided for the establishment of a board of police, to be called the police commissioners of the city of St. Louis, to consist of four commissioners to be appointed by the Governor. The mayor of St. Louis was to be *ex officio* a member of the board, which was to have the entire control and management of the police force. The act expressly provided that the police organization should be entirely independent of the city government, the language of the act on this head being as follows: "The Common Council of the city of St. Louis may pass ordinances for preserving order, securing property or persons from violence, danger, or destruction, protecting public and private property, and for promoting the great interests and insuring the good government of the city; but no ordinance heretofore passed, or that may hereafter be passed by the Common Council of St. Louis, shall in any manner conflict or interfere with the powers or the exercise of the powers of the board of police commissioners of the city of St. Louis as hereinafter created, nor shall the said city or any officer or agent of the corporation of said city, or the mayor thereof, in any way impede, obstruct, hinder, or interfere with the said board of police, or any officer, or agent, or servant thereof or thereunder. So much of the city charter and ordinances as authorize the mayor and Common Council to appoint, pay, and arm the police of said city, and protect the said police in the discharge of their duty, be and the same is hereby repealed." It was further provided that the officers of the police force should be one chief,

of police, three captains, three lieutenants, not exceeding twelve sergeants, and four turnkeys. The appointment of five detectives was also authorized. The commissioners received a salary of one thousand dollars per annum; the treasurer, appointed from their number, to be paid five hundred dollars additional; chief of police, two thousand dollars; each captain thirteen dollars a week; each lieutenant eleven dollars and fifty cents a week; each sergeant ten dollars and fifty cents a week; each private and each detective ten dollars a week, and each turnkey eight dollars and fifty cents a week. The board of commissioners was authorized to appoint a clerk or clerks, to use a common seal, to have general jurisdiction of the peace and good order of the city, to summon through the sheriff, if necessary, a *posse comitatus*, to call out the military force for the suppression of riot or disorder, etc.

The first board of police commissioners under the new system, appointed by Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, was composed of Charles McLaren, John A. Brownlee,[1] James H. Carlisle, and Basil W. Duke. Mayor Daniel G. Taylor was *ex officio* member of the board, which met on the 10th of April, 1861, and organized by the election of Mr. Brownlee as president, and Mr. Carlisle as treasurer. James M. Loughborough was appointed secretary, and James McDonough chief of police. On the twenty-first of the same month it was announced that the commissioners, having rented Arnot's building on Chestnut Street, and having properly fitted it up, had occupied it on the previous evening for the first time as a police headquarters. Chief McDonough at once proceeded to organize the new force. Early in 1862 the board of commissioners, in view of the political excitement and the unsettled state of affairs, largely increased the force, which at one time numbered three hundred and twenty men, including officers. In April, 1862, it was reduced to one hundred and seventy-five men, and on May 10, 1862, it was still further reduced, until the regular force numbered twenty-five men. The expenditures of the police department for 1861 amounted to one hundred and four thousand dollars.

In August and September, 1861, a change was made in the board on account of the removal and resignation of the first board, and the membership was reduced to four, the board consisting of Jas. S. Thomas, mayor and *ex officio* member of the board, John How, Wm. Patrick, and John Riggin. Chief McDonough resigned in October of the same year, and J. E. D. Couzins was appointed in his place.[2]

In 1865 the force consisted of two hundred and twenty-five men, including twenty-five officers. At this time the police of St. Louis were charged with the protection of persons and property over an area of sixteen square miles, with a population of one hundred and eighty thousand.

In 1866 the force was constantly varying on account of resignations, sickness, etc., the average strength during the year being 225. A small station-house was erected near the arsenal; also one in New Bremen and one in South Market. By recommendation of chief Laibold the force was increased during the year until it aggregated 225 men. The expenditures for 1866 amounted to $164,933.49.

During this year (in June) was organized a steamboat detective police, under Capt. J. M. Baily, previously connected with the police force in Nashville, Tenn., and other places, who was authorized to organize a body of men to be called the Steamboat Detective Police Force, whose special duty it was to protect steamboats from incendiarism, accidental fire, robbery, and all the other dangers incidental to a crowded port; prevent the theft of freight or its injury in any way, so far as possible, while lying on the Levee; in fact, "a body of men with all the discipline and paraphernalia of a regular police force, wholly devoted to the protection of steamboats and property moving by the river." The force was organized on the petition of the principal steamboat owners of St. Louis, who stated that they were willing to pay one dollar a day to Capt. Baily for every steamer owned by the petitioners during the boat's continuance in port. During the night the number of men on the Levee was to be in proportion to the number of boats in port, not less than one man being allotted to each boat.[3]

In 1867 a much-needed increase of the number of sergeants was authorized, adding nine officers to the force. At the beginning of the year the force con-

[1] John A. Brownlee died on the 10th of October, 1861. Mr. Brownlee, who had been a resident of St. Louis for twenty-five or thirty years, was a member of the firm of Brownlee, Homer & Co., and at one time president of the Merchants' Bank, a leading business man and influential citizen. He left a wife and several children.

[2] On the 5th of September, 1861, it was announced that Ca... Turner, of the Central Police Station, had resigned in order ... accept the command of one of the gunboats then being b... by Capt. Eads.

[3] On the 5th of September, 1866, occurred the death at M... catale, Ill., of Paul Berger, who was born in St. Louis, ... participated in many of the important events connec... with its growth and development. In early years he was ... tain of the old French patrol police under Maj. W. Carr, a fo... which served the city without pay. He was sixty-three y... old at the time of his death.

sisted of 266 officers and privates. During the year 45 resigned, 6 died, and 45 were dismissed and dropped from the rolls. Ninety-three were appointed, leaving an aggregate of 263 at the end of the year.

In 1868, under an act amendatory of an act creating the board, approved March 13, 1867, a mounted police force of twenty men was organized to protect the outskirts of the city, and proved to be an invaluable auxiliary in suppressing highway robbery and in breaking up a number of dens for stolen property which existed outside the city limits, and in various other matters which could not be well reached by foot patrolmen of the force. The regular force was increased by adding twenty men, which increased the expenses for the current year to three hundred thousand dollars, of which the city paid three-fourths and the county one-fourth. It was during this year that the practice of "beer-jerking" was entirely suppressed. In 1868 the board redistricted the city into four police districts. During the year the number of patrolmen appointed was 84; dismissed, 32; resigned, voluntarily, 48; died, none; leaving the force at the end of the year 267 strong, classified as follows: 1 chief of police, 3 captains, 21 sergeants, 240 patrolmen (including special-duty men), 1 turnkey, and 1 porter.

In 1869, the aggregate of the force on March 31st was two hundred and seventy-eight officers and men. No change was made in the number of districts, and the station-houses remained the same, except the Third, which was changed to the west side of Seventh Street, between Franklin Avenue and Wash Street. This station-house was purchased at a cost of $14,-664.91.

The raids of the police on gambling-houses wherever they existed were very frequent and destructive during the year 1869, yet not wholly effectual in exterminating the evil. The expenditures for the police department during this year were $305,711.84. The reports of expenditures from other leading cities showed that, in proportion to area and population, no city was so economically policed, and no policemen so poorly paid. The health of the force during this year was exceedingly good; but one death from disease occurred, and one patrolman, John W. Skinner, was killed on the night of June 15, 1868, by a drunken man. During the year one hundred and seventy-five warrants against gambling-houses were executed by the police, and gambling implements, etc., to the value of $30,000 were seized and destroyed.

On October 13, 1869, the force was divided into two platoons. The hours of duty of the first platoon were from 11 P.M. to 11 A.M., and of the second from 11 A.M. to 11 P.M. The aggregate of the force at the end of the current year ending March 31, 1870, was three hundred and three. The station-houses in 1870 were valued at $27,500, and the rentals paid for station-houses amounted to $5090. By the annexation of Carondelet, with the intervening territory, the length of the city was increased to twelve miles, and the area to be patrolled by the police to twenty-two square miles. An increase of forty-four patrolmen and six sergeants was asked for by James McDonough, chief of police, who was reappointed Sept. 30, 1870. Forty-three fires were extinguished by the police without calling out the fire department. During the year James McClure and William D. Bowen were promoted to captains.

On Sept. 26, 1870, Ferdinand Meyer, William A. Hequembourg, and Julius Hunicke were removed from the board of police commissioners by Governor McClurg, and their places filled by the appointment of S. M. Randolph, Wm. Baker, and Wm. Moran. On November 1st, A. Rosenblatt was appointed to take the place of Samuel Bonner, resigned. The latter board were removed by Governor B. Gratz Brown in 1870, and their places filled by the appointment of the following: W. F. Ferguson, vice-president, Wm. Patrick, treasurer, and Julius Hunicke and O. B. Filley, commissioners. Mayor Joseph Brown was *ex officio* president of the board.

The force in 1871 consisted of two divisions. The first division contained 17 officers and 150 patrolmen, and the second division 17 officers and 154 patrolmen. The force was distributed according to districts, as follows: First District, 66; Second District, 112; Third District, 86; Fourth District, 57; mounted, 17; headquarters, 8. The mounted district included three miles outside of the city limits. The force was increased during 1871, 6 sergeants and 100 patrolmen being added, and the pay of detectives was increased from $75 to $100 per month. It was during this year that the "Institution for the Houseless and Homeless" was established at No. 213 Green Street, under the control and direction of the police force.

In 1872 the board of commissioners consisted of Joseph Brown, mayor and *ex officio* president; William F. Ferguson, vice-president; William Patrick, treasurer; Julius Hunicke, purchasing member; Joseph Pulitzer, commissioner; George Gavin, secretary; and Wm. Patrick, attorney. The force, including officers and men, numbered 366, classified as follows: chiefs, 1; captains, 4; sergeants, 34; patrolmen, 318; detectives, 5, and turnkeys, 4. On account of a further extension of the city limits, adding thirty-two and three-fourths square miles, an increase

of the force was made, adding 1 captain, 3 sergeants, and 66 patrolmen, twenty of whom were designated as mounted men in the new district. The rate of taxation assessed for police purposes was three-twentieths of one per cent. in the old limits, and three-fortieths of one per cent. in the new, which realized the sum of $212,270.05, lacking $98,821.90 of the amount of requisitions on the city. The two extensions of the city, taking in Carondelet, Forest Park, and Northern Park districts, occurred in such close succession, that a correspondingly rapid increase in the strength of the police force was necessitated. The city limits then contained fifty-two and three-fourths square miles, besides a large outside territory to be patrolled by the mounted force, making in all about eighty square miles, comprising a larger police territory than that of any city in the Union except Philadelphia, which took in the whole county. The expenditures for the year amounted to $393,721.54.

On Feb. 6, 1872, the Second and Third Police Districts were subdivided, thereby creating a fifth district. The Second, or Central District was bounded on the north by Washington Avenue, south by Chouteau Avenue, east by the river, and west by city limits. The Third District was bounded on the north by Cass Avenue, south by Washington Avenue, east by the river, and west by city limits.

In 1873 the board was composed of the following: Joseph Brown, mayor, *ex officio* president; C. C. Rainwater, vice-president; William Patrick, treasurer; D. H. Armstrong, member of the board of health; Lewis Dorsheimer, purchasing member; and George Gavin, secretary. The total strength of the force, officers and men, was three hundred and sixty-nine. An increase of nineteen men was made during this year, and the city was divided into five districts, containing five main and five sub-stations, all of which were connected by telegraph with the police headquarters. Four of the stations were leased, two rented, and four owned. The total amount of station-house rent paid during the year was $4863.92, and the total cost of purchases and improvements, $23,820.15. The total expense of the police department for the year ending March 31, 1873, was $439,112.46, being an average of $1164.80 for each man employed during the year.

During 1873, aside from the "Police Relief Fund Association," which extends only to relieving members while sick, there was established the "St. Louis Metropolitan Police Life Insurance Association." All the members of the force except ten voluntarily joined this association, and bound themselves to pay two dollars each upon the death of any member. The money realized from this source was given to the widows and orphans of deceased members.

In 1874 a change was made in the number of police districts, involving a reduction from five to four.

The members of the board in 1875 were Arthur B. Barret, mayor, and *ex officio* president; James C. Nidelet, vice-president and acting president; C. C. Rainwater, treasurer; Lewis Dorsheimer, purchasing member; John G. Priest, member of the board of health; and George Gavin, secretary.

Two new station-houses were built during 1875,—one on the corner of Seventh and C[illegible] Streets, and one on Soulard Street, between Seventh and Eighth; and the construction of two others was begun,—one in North St. Louis, at the corner of Ninth and Angelica Streets, and one in South St. Louis, at the corner of Second and Taylor Streets. The new stations are all substantial brick buildings, and their total estimated value is $25,000. The force at the end of the year 1875 aggregated four hundred and sixty-two, the average strength throughout the whole year being four hundred and five. The expenditures for this year amounted to $504,063.67.

In 1876 the only change made in the membership of the board was that occasioned by the death of Mayor Barret, who was succeeded by Mayor Britton, and afterwards by Mayor Overstolz, as *ex officio* president. The total force in 1876 numbered four hundred and thirty.

In 1877 the force, owing to a reduction of the police appropriation by the City Council, was cut down to two hundred and forty-four policemen to serve during the day and one hundred and eighty-six during the night. Its total strength at the end of the year was four hundred and thirty.

The board of commissioners for 1877 was composed of Henry Overstolz, mayor and *ex officio* president; D. H. Armstrong, vice-president; Basil Duke, treasurer; John G. Priest, member board of health; James C. Nidelet, purchasing member; and George Gavin, secretary.

In 1878 there occurred but one change in the membership of the board, occasioned by the resignation of Col. D. H. Armstrong, who was appointed by Governor Phelps to succeed L. V. Bogy (deceased) in the United States Senate, and whose place was filled by the appointment of Silas Bent. The force during this year numbered four hundred and sixty-seven officers and men.

During 1879 the average strength of the force was five hundred men, all told, to guard a police territory of sixty-three square miles, and the lives and property of about five hundred thousand inhabitants.

The board for 1879 was composed of H. Overstolz, mayor and *ex officio* president; David H. Armstrong, vice-president; Basil Duke, treasurer; Leslie A. Moffett, purchasing member; John D. Finney, commissioner; and George Gavin, secretary.

In 1880 the effective force of patrolmen as limited by law was four hundred and one, and the number of officers fifty-two. There were also ten detectives, eleven turnkeys, and twenty-two other employés, making a total of four hundred and ninety-six members. The expenditures were four hundred and seventy-nine thousand five hundred and seventy-five dollars and seventy-five cents. During the year the board was presented with fifty-two feet of ground on the northeast corner of Clay Avenue and St. Charles Rock road, as a site for a station-house, by citizens residing in that neighborhood.

Chief of Police James McDonough remained at the head of the department until June 8, 1881, when he resigned and was succeeded by Capt. Ferdinand B. Kennett. Capt. McDonough had been identified with the police force of St. Louis for many years. He arrived in St. Louis in 1839, as a journeyman carpenter, and worked at the trade for four years, assisting in the erection of the Planters' House among other buildings. In 1843 he was appointed captain of the "city guard" by Mayor Wimer, and continued in office under Mayor Pratte and during one year of Mayor Camden's administration. His salary during that period was fifty dollars per month, but the work done by the "guard" was recognized as most effective. In 1846 he retired from that position and opened a detective agency in one of the two small houses that then occupied the northeast corner of Third and Chestnut Streets, which agency he maintained until the year 1852. He then secured a position as clerk in the post-office. In 1856 he was appointed treasurer of the county, and during the succeeding three years he was county collector. Just before the commencement of the war he was urged by Nathaniel Paschall, George Knapp, Daniel G. Taylor, and others to go to Jefferson City and take steps towards the organization of a metropolitan police force, which he did. He assisted in drafting the bill creating the present system, and being appointed chief of police under it, he organized the force. When the war broke out he happened to be on the wrong side, and in October, 1861, he retired from the force. He did not resume that position again till 1870, when Gen. McClurg, the strongest Republican board the city had had, after looking around in vain for satisfactory material, accepted the assurance of a well-known specialist that James McDonough was the man of all men for the position of chief, and appointed him to that position. He remained as such for three and one-half years, when he again retired. On Nov. 30, 1875, he was reappointed, and remained until his resignation in 1881.

The following are the names and dates of appointment and retirement of the various chiefs of police who have served under the metropolitan police system:

Names.	Date of Appointment.	Date of Retirement.
James McDonough	April 10, 1861.	Oct. 18, 1861.
John E. D. Couzins	Oct. 18, 1861.	March 20, 1865.
Bernard Laibold	March 20, 1865.	Oct. 22, 1866.
Wm. P. Fenn	Oct. 22, 1866.	June 30, 1868.
Wm. Lee	July 1, 1868.	Sept. 26, 1870.
James McDonough	Sept. 30, 1870.	March 10, 1874.
Lawrence Harrigan	June 1, 1874.	Nov. 18, 1875.
James McDonough	Nov. 30, 1875.	June 8, 1881.
Ferd. B. Kennett	June 8, 1881.	Present incumb't.

The members of the board in 1882 were Mayor Wm. L. Ewing, president *ex officio;* Daniel Kerwin, vice-president; Alexander Kinkead, treasurer and purchasing member; D. W. Caruth, member of the board of health; F. P. McCabe, commissioner; George Gavin, secretary. The force employed during this year, with the salaries paid, was composed of the following:

	Salaries Per Annum.	Totals.
3 Police Commissioners, each	$1,000.00	$3,000.00
1 Police Commissioner and Treasurer	1,500.00	1,500.00
1 Secretary and Property Clerk	2,000.00	2,000.00
1 Chief of Police	3,500.00	3,500.00
6 Captains of Police, each	1,800.00	10,800.00
45 Sergeants of Police, each	1,200.00	54,000.00
10 Detectives, each	1,200.00	12,000.00
401 Patrolmen, each	900.00	360,900.00
14 Turnkeys, each	720.00	10,080.00
1 Superintendent of Police Stables	1,500.00	1,500.00
1 Hostler	720.00	720.00
3 Hostlers, each	660.00	1,980.00
3 Hostlers, each	540.00	1,620.00
1 Janitor	720.00	720.00
3 Janitors, each	600.00	1,800.00
1 Janitor	300.00	300.00
1 Carpenter	900.00	900.00
1 Armorer	900.00	900.00
Total Salaries		$468,220.00

Incidental Expenses.

Printing and stationery	$1,487.04
Stable and forage expense	7,300.73
Horses and equipage account	5,175.27
Fuel and lights	6,531.37
Rent of stations	584.00
Repairs on stations	4,553.75
Feeding prisoners	842.60
Secret service	1,200.00
Purchase of patrol-wagons, horses, and boxes	25,000.00
Expense of carrying on same	10,000.00
Miscellaneous expense	4,493.28
Total incidentals	$67,168.04
Grand total	$535,388.04

The following is a list of the different police stations, with dimensions, estimated value, etc.:

City Block.	Feet front.	Feet deep.	Street or Avenue on which property fronts.	Police Stations.	Estimated value, 1882. Real.	Estimated value, 1882. Improvements.	Total estimated value, 1882.
3056	50.7	137.11	Taylor Street	Police station	$700.00	$10,450.00	$11,150.00
886	50	115.2¼	Eighth Street	Police station	700.00	11,300.00	12,000.00
373	48.4	90	Soulard Street	Police station	6,000.00	18,000.00	24,000.00
32	46.2	70.3	Chestnut Street	Police station	9,233.00	12,690.00	21,923.00
1733 E.	78	147	Manchester Road	Police station	5,460.00	19,540.00	25,000.00
252	50	100	Seventh Street	Police station	7,500.00	20,000.00	27,500.00
970	60	118.3	Dayton Street	Police station	2,700.00	10,300.00	13,000.00
1227	50	130	Ninth Street	Police station	1,000.00	11,000.00	12,000.00
					$33,293.00	$113,280.00	$146,573.00

The following comparative table shows that the cost of the St. Louis police department is considerably lower than that of any other city in the country in proportion to population and police territory:

	Population.	Police Territory, square miles.	Strength of Force all told.	Pay of Patrolman, per annum.	Cost of Department for past year.	Number of arrests made during year.	System.
New York	950,000	40	2675	$1200.00	$3,293,318.34	69,631	Municipal.
Brooklyn	566,689	20 9/10	642	1000.00	755,970.13	28,889	"
Philadelphia	900,000	128	1379	821.25	1,290,818.84	45,129	"
Chicago	500,000	36	553	945.00	577,033.77	31,713	"
Boston	365,000	31	756	1095.00	899,974.43	29,056	"
Baltimore	365,000	14½	606	936.00	571,857.02	22,021	Metropolitan.
Washington City	180,000	65	238	1080.00	300,000.00	13,942	"
St. Louis	375,000	62½	495	900.00	474,999.15	18,555	"
San Francisco	235,000	43	405	1224.00	520,000.00	24,500	Municipal.

The following table shows the expenditures for each year ending March 31st, from 1861 to 1882 inclusive:

Year.	Expenditure.	Year.	Expenditure.
1861	$104,000.00	1872	$393,721.54
1862	121,000.00	1873	439,112.46
1863	53,000.00	1874	456,834.18
1864	66,939.00	1875	504,063.67
1865	115,753.00	1876	464,584.00
1866	164,933.49	1877	474,620.01
1867	214,666.65	1878	474,799.77
1868	210,000.00	1879	513,356.26
1869	305,711.84	1880	470,575.78
1870	310,216.92	1881	500,000.00
1871	357,366.75	1882	475,000.00

The police relief fund, established in part on the New York plan some time in '867, for the benefit of sick and disabled members of the force, and managed conjointly by the board and a committee elected by the force, has been found highly beneficial. It is made up from rewards, proceeds of sales of unclaimed property, and a monthly contribution from the whole force. The distribution of the fund is intrusted to a committee called the "Police Relief Fund Committee," consisting of six representatives, one from each district, elected annually by the members of the respective districts.

The members of the Police Relief Fund Committee elected for one year ending Feb. 1, 1883, are:

Sergeant Charles Rochow, representing the F District.

Sergeant James R. McDonough, representing Second District.

Patrolman Henry M. Jones, representing the C tral District.

Patrolman Robert L. Jacques, representing Third District.

Captain Michael Daley, representing the Fou District.

Captain Henry Frangel, representing the F District.

The police reserves, consisting of ten companie the most respectable young men of the city, w voluntarily sworn in by the police board to assist regular force in case of extraordinary emergenc riot. The oath administered was the same as taken by the regular police. They were supp with arms and equipments.

The officers in 1881 were: Colonel, J. G. Bu lieutenant-colonel, E. D. Meier; adjutant, Adol Meier, Jr.; surgeon, W. A. McCandless; qu master and commissary, C. E. Slayback; ord and inspecting officer, Pierre Chouteau; ser major, H. S. Harmon; quartermaster-sergean

	Estimated value, 1882. Improvements.	Total estimated value, 1882.
	$10,450.00	$11,150.00
	11,300.00	12,000.00
	18,000.00	24,000.00
	12,600.00	21,923.00
	19,540.00	25,000.00
	20,000.00	27,500.00
	10,300.00	13,000.00
	11,000.00	12,000.00
	$113,280.00	$146,573.00

y other city in the country
n and police territory:

	Number of arrests made during year.	System.
4	69,631	Municipal.
3	28,889	"
34	45,129	"
77	31,713	"
43	29,056	"
02	22,021	Metropolitan.
00	13,942	"
15	18,555	"
00	24,500	Municipal.

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, Pierre Chouteau; ser
; quartermaster-sergea

ar Brinelle. There were six companies, with a strength of two hundred and fourteen.

In the fall of 1881 the reserves determined to incorporate their organization with that of the State militia, and at a meeting of the police commissioners held November 15th it was decided that they be honorably mustered out of the police service.

In addition to the regular police there is an average of one hundred and eighty-nine private watchmen employed throughout the city at the sole expense of their employers, who are, however, sworn in by the police board, and required to give earnest and prompt assistance to the regular force, as may be required.

EXECUTIONS.

[illegible]–September 16. John Long, Jr., hanged for the murder of George Gordon. The first execution in St. Louis.

[illegible]–May 20. Hugh King hanged for the murder of Martin Green.

[illegible]–July 9. Madison, *alias* Blanchard, Charles Brown, James Seward, *alias* Sewell, and Alfred, *alias* Alpheus Warrick, all colored, hanged for the murder of Jesse Baker and Jacob Weaver.

[illegible]–March 3. Johnson hanged for the murder of Floyd.

[illegible]–August 16. John McDaniel and Joseph Brown hanged for the murder of Chavis, a Mexican.

[illegible]–December 13. Hugh Gallagher hanged for the murder of Mary Ann Crosby.

[illegible]–February 14. John Thomas hanged for murder.

[illegible]–July 22. Dodge, *alias* Vanzandt, and Shoen, *alias* Shawnee.

[illegible]–June 17. George H. Lamb hanged for wife-murder.

[illegible]–November 11. Joseph W. Thornton hanged for the murder of Mr. Charless.

[illegible]–January 23. Michael Kerns hanged for the murder of Robert Baker.

[illegible]–December 6. Peter Christman hanged for the murder of Edward and Moses Ross.

[illegible]–August 12. Barney Gibbons shot for desertion.

[illegible]–August 19. Wm. Jackson Livingstone hanged as a spy.

[illegible]–October 15. John F. Abshire hanged by the Federal authorities.

[illegible]–December 26. James M. Uts hanged as a spy.

[illegible]–January 13. Abraham Purvis and Ephraim Richardson hanged by the military authorities.

[illegible]–March 24. William J. Harris hanged by the Federal authorities.

[illegible]–May 1. Thomas J. Thorpe hanged by the Federal authorities.

[illegible]–July 23. Wm. Edwards, *alias* Roach, colored, hanged for the murder of Louis Wilson.

[illegible]–October 22. ——— Brown hanged for the murder of Philip Pfarr.

[illegible]–February 1. Wm. Weiners hanged for the murder of James M. Lawrence.

[illegible]–April 23. Henry J. Redemeier hanged for the murder of Frank Voss. At the same time and place Edward Nugent hanged for wife-murder.

Market-Houses.—As early as 1811 a project for the erection of a market-house was set on foot, Charles [illegible], chairman of the board of trustees, announcing on the 29th of January of that year that he was authorized to receive proposals for building a market "on the centre square of this town." It was added that a plan of the market might be seen on application to Mr. Gratiot. On the 5th of September, 1812, the following regulations were published:

"For the better regulation of said market, from and after the first day of September next, each and every Wednesday and Saturday in each and every week shall be appointed and hereby are appointed market days at the said market-house in the town of St. Louis aforesaid, and from break of day until ten o'clock in the morning of each and every of said days shall be and hereby are declared to be stated market hours, during which last-mentioned periods of time it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to offer for sale in the street or streets of the town of St. Louis, or at any house or houses or to any person or persons residing in the town of St. Louis other than at said market-house, any article of provision whatever, under the penalty of one dollar for each and every offense.

"CHARLES GRATIOT.
"THOMAS BRADY.
"RUFUS EASTON.
"JOSEPH CHARLESS.

"J. V. GARNIER, *Clerk*."

On the 23d of March, 1816, it was announced that

"the St. Louis market has for some time sustained an extravagant advance in the necessaries of life, and demands the notice of the citizens generally. Poor beef is sold at from six to eight cents per pound; fresh pork will readily bring five and six cents per pound; butter rates at twenty and twenty-five cents; lard, twelve and one-half cents per pound; eggs, twelve and one-half cents per dozen; superfine flour will command ten dollars per barrel; horse-mill flour will sell at three dollars and fifty cents per hundred pounds; corn meal, fifty cents per bushel."

"We would beg leave," adds the paper in which these statements appeared, "to remind the trustees of this borough that the evils complained of can be remedied. Instead of demanding enormous rents for the stalls, they should be given rent free to the farmers who may attend the market, reserving the four stalls facing Front Street for the butchers, who may have them at moderate rents, and inflicting severe penalties on butchers vending meat in their slaughter-houses, and on farmers hawking produce through the streets before ten o'clock A.M.

"An ordinance was passed and published prohibiting butchers and others slaughtering within the most populous parts of the town, or selling meat in their slaughter-houses; but the subsequent conduct of the butchers evinced a sovereign contempt for the law. They not only sold their beef, etc., in their slaughter-houses, but in violation of the ordinance built a new one in the centre of the town, where the stench became so intolerable as to induce a respectable physician to remark that should an epidemic break forth, it might be traced to that seat of putridity."[1]

[1] In the same issue the *Republican* says, "Before we have done with the subject of town police, we will beg leave to bring before the citizens a view of their present exposed situation, as it stands between them and the nocturnal robber and incendiary.

"There are at present within the precincts of this town nearly fifty persons who have no visible means of support. There are at least ten persons who sell spirituous liquors to slaves, etc., and

In June, 1823, an ordinance was passed to regulate the market and to "govern the clerk thereof," and on the 12th of July, 1827, notice was given that sealed proposals would be received

"until the 10th day of August next for building a market and town-house upon the market square in this city, agreeably to the plan adopted by the board of aldermen, which may be seen in the register's office. The foundation and cellars to be of stone; the walls, piers, and pavements to be of brick; the timbers of oak or walnut, and the shingles of cypress, pine, or oak. Separate proposals will be received for the masonry, brick-work, carpenter-work, painting and glazing, plastering, and for the paving and making of stalls."

On the 7th of February, 1828, the following ordinance was published:

"AN ORDINANCE *authorizing a loan of money for the erection of a market and town house.*

"SEC. 1. Be it ordained by the mayor and aldermen of the city of St. Louis, that the mayor of this city be and he is hereby authorized and empowered to borrow, on the credit of this city, for the term of seven years, and at an interest not exceeding eight per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually, the sum of eighteen thousand five hundred dollars, for the purpose of building a market and town house upon the market square, in general accordance with the plan adopted by the board on this day.

"SEC. 2. Be it further ordained, that the revenues of this city, and particularly that part of the same which shall arise from the market-house and its appendages, be and they are hereby pledged for the repayment of said sum and interest, and that the mayor be and he is hereby authorized, as attorney in fact, to mortgage, in fee-simple, said market square, to secure the payment of said loan and interest, and to execute a promissory note therefor, to be signed by him and countersigned by the register.

"SEC. 3. Be it further ordained, that the ordinance entitled 'AN ordinance authorizing a loan of money for the erecting of a market and town house, and for other purposes,' passed 12th March, be and the same is hereby repealed."

An early sketch of St. Louis, speaking of the markets then in the city,—the Centre and North, owned by the city, and the South, belonging to a joint-stock company,—says,—

"The principal supply of provisions is derived from the fertile farms in the American Bottom in Illinois, directly opposite the city, with which a constant communication is kept up by steam ferry-boats plying between the city and Illinois town. The lakes a few miles back of the town furnish excellent fish and water-fowl, and venison and smaller game are procured in great abundance, and consequently are sold at low prices."

In June, 1845, a proposition was made by the heirs of the Chouteau estate to sell for fifty thousand dollars the south half of the block on which the Centre Market stood, extending about one hundred and twenty-five feet on Main Street and one hundred and twenty-five feet on Water Street. On the 1st of January, 1855, the Centre Market was sold under the direction of Messrs. Belt and Priest, real estate agents, and in January, 1856, the work of tearing down the market preparatory to erecting a fine block of buildings and a merchants' exchange was commenced.

MOUND MARKET.—A stock company was formed and incorporated in 1842 for the purpose of erecting a meat and vegetable market and a meeting hall in North St. Louis.

Early in 1843, Mr. Holmes, a prominent builder, began the erection of the structure which stood on Howard Street, at the junction of Seventh Street with Broadway.

The site belonged to the city, and was leased indefinitely free of rent to the Mound Market Association for market purposes only. The building occupied a space thirty feet front and forty-seven feet deep. The structure was two stories high, about twenty-five feet elevation, and made of brick manufactured from clay from the old mound. The brick wall was thirteen inches thick, laid in ordinary lime mortar. The mound from which the market took its name was the "Great Indian Mound," located between Florida, Webster, Eighth, and Main Streets. The topography of that part of the city then was hilly and rolling with large ponds of water at the foot of the hills and knolls, with small water-courses flowing from one pond to the other, and then into the river. The residences were placed upon the knolls, and were surrounded by yards some of which were several acres in extent. The top of the mound, about one hundred and twenty feet above the present level of Main Street, was a public park of three or four acres in area, and was the fashionable resort for cool breezes in summer time, and for sleigh-riding down its slopes in winter. The Mullanphy Lake, south of Howard Street and east of Eleventh Street, was a favorite place for skating, boating, and bathing.

In those times the marketing for family purposes had to be done in the central part of the city, and several of the residents of "the Mound," as they were familiarly designated, planned a scheme for assisting the citizens "to get fresh beefsteak and provisions for breakfast and tea," as the notice read. Wilson Stamps was the principal director of the project.

perhaps receive stolen property. There are now in this place eleven men who have no visible means of support, and we believe are capable of committing any crime within the catalogue of offenses. With these facts staring you in the face do you not believe it necessary to guard against impending danger? We would therefore propose that the citizens do meet on Monday next in town council at Mr. Peeble's tavern, to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a nightly guard, and such other matters as may be deemed necessary for the general safety."

erecting a new market, and most of the wealthy residents of North St. Louis subscribed for stock in the enterprise. The lower story was used for meat stalls and vegetable stands, and farmers from the vicinity of Florissant and Bridgeton used to have their wagon stands around the market. After the establishment of Biddle, City, and Union Markets, the improvement of streets through that section of the city, and the change in the class of residents, Mound Market dwindled into insignificance and became an eye-sore to advocates of public improvements.

The second story of the Mound Market building was arranged for a public hall, and in its earlier days was the finest in the city. Balls and "sociables" were given in the hall, which was also frequently used for



THE OLD MARKET-HOUSE AND LEVEE IN 1840.

religious and political meetings. The present Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, corner of North Market and Tenth Streets, the Presbyterian Church, corner of Eleventh and Chambers Streets, the African Baptist Church, corner of Tenth and Chambers Streets, and the Church of the Latter-Day Saints, on Broadway, were started and partially organized in the hall, which was also the quarters of the old Mound Engine Company. Until about 1868 the Mound Market Association was a prosperous corporation, and its stock was held above par, though the amount was not more than a few thousand dollars. Subsequently, when the stock began declining in value, about two-thirds of the shares were purchased by William Stamps, and finally the property was purchased by the city for twelve hundred and fifty dollars.

LUCAS MARKET.—The contracts for the erection of Lucas Market were made about October, 1845. It stood on Twelfth Street, between Olive and Chestnut, and was demolished in 1882.

BROADWAY MARKET.—In 1832, Peter and Jesse G. Lindell owned as tenants in common an undivided half of the west half of block No. 67 of the city, fronting on the east side of Broadway and extending from Christy Avenue to Morgan Street. On the 25th of February, 1832, they deeded to the city a strip of this land for the widening of Third Street for the purpose of making room for the erection of the Broadway Market-House.

On the 30th of May, 1852, it was announced that twenty-five stalls had been leased in "this new and commodious market-house," which was opened to the public on the 1st of June following. The building, which was three stories high, fronted thirty-seven feet on Broadway, and had a depth of one hundred and eighty feet to the street in the rear. The basement was used as a vegetable market, and on the street floor were located forty butchers' stalls. The building was owned by Thomas Hunter (one-half) and Messrs. Francisco and Hoffman. After the demolition of the market-house the ground remained unused until July, 1869, when it was macadamized by the city and became part of the bed of the street. In 1865 a number of butchers offered to lend the city thirty thousand dollars to build a new market-house on the site, but the proposition was not accepted. Subsequently the heirs of Peter Lindell brought suit for

the property on the ground that it was being used for another purpose than that contemplated by the donors, but a decree for the defendants was rendered by Judge Bogle.

CITY MARKET.—The "City Market-House" was erected in 1857, on Broadway between Biddle and O'Fallon Streets, and subsequently the "City Market Scales" were established on Broadway near O'Fallon Street.

UNION MARKET was erected on City Block 121, fronting two hundred and twenty-six feet on the west side of Fifth Street, with a depth westwardly of two hundred and seventy feet, and bounded on the north by Morgan Street, south by Christy Avenue, and west by Sixth Street. The great inner quadrangle, devoted to the sale of meats, had a vaulted roof supported by iron arches, and the outer angles of the building, which was of red brick dressed with stone, were flanked by four quadrangular towers. The sidewalk spaces outside the building were set apart for the sale of vegetables and other articles.

The markets of St. Louis in 1882 were,—

Allen Market, State Street, northwest corner Russell Avenue.

Biddle Market, Thirteenth Street, between Biddl and O'Fallon.

Carondelet Market, Main Street, southwest corne of Schirmer.

Carr Market, Wash Street, corner of Twenty fourth.

Centre Market, Seventh Street, between Sprue and Poplar.

City Market, Broadway and Biddle Street.

French Market, Convent Street, at the junction Fourth and Fifth.

Gamble Market, Clark Avenue, southwest corn of Twentieth Street.

Lucas Market, Twelfth Street between Olive a Chestnut.

Magwire Market, Broadway and Salisbury Street

Reservoir Market, Eighteenth Street, near Bent

Soulard Market, Seventh Street, near Carroll.

St. George Market, 2527 Carondelet Avenue.

Sturgeon Market, North Market Street, betwe Broadway and Ninth.

Union Market, from Fifth to Sixth Streets, a from Morgan to Christy Avenue.

MARKET PROPERTY OWNED BY THE CITY.

City Block.	Feet front.	Feet deep.	Street or Avenue on which property fronts.	Markets.	Estimated value, 1882. Real.	Estimated value, 1882. Improvements.	Total estimated value, 1882.
3116	300	291.6	Main Street	South St. Louis Market	$9,650.00	$5,350.00	$15,000.
374	300	150	Carroll Street	Soulard	16,500.00	28,500.00	45,000.
381	300	150	Carroll Street	Market Space	15,000.00	.....	15,000.
417	400	270	Seventh Street	Centre Market	68,000.00	7,000.00	75,000.
121	226	270	Fifth Street	Union Market	282,500.00	152,000.00	434,500.
.....	30	1103.10	Twelfth Street	Lucas Market	75,000.00	20,000.00	95,000.
.....	40.6	382.2	Biddle Street	City Market	12,150.00	20,000.00	32,150.
					$478,800.00	$232,850.00	$711,650.

Parks and Squares.—FOREST PARK.—In 1872 some enterprising citizens residing in the western portion of St. Louis, among whom Hiram W. Leffingwell was especially active and prominent, procured the passage by the State Legislature of an act authorizing the purchase of a thousand or more acres of land to be used as a public park. The movement aroused the determined opposition of a number of property-owners, and the act, which had been approved March 25, 1872, was declared by the Supreme Court to be unconstitutional. Two years later the project was revived, and after a protracted struggle another act was passed by the Legislature and approved on the 25th of March, 1874. This act also was assailed, and another legal controversy ensued, Messrs. Glover and Shepley and Judge Th T. Gantt being retained by the contestants, ex-Governor Fletcher in support of the mea the validity and constitutionality of which were a wards sustained by the Supreme Court. The having given the county court discretionary pow the matter of the purchase, that body at once pointed an appraiser, upon whose report thi hundred and seventy-two acres of land on Street road, four miles from the court-house di west of the centre of the city, and fronting on on King's Highway, were condemned and purch for the sum of seven hundred and ninety-nine sand nine hundred and ninety-five dollars. O tract there were over eleven hundred acres of n

forest, and the name of Forest Park was therefore bestowed upon it. Under the provisions of the bill a board of commissioners was appointed, consisting of Joseph O'Neil, Hiram W. Leffingwell, Ansyl Phillips, John J. Fitzwilliam, Peter G. Gerhart, John O'Fallon Farrar, and Andrew McKinley.[1]

The board met on the 17th of June, 1874, and organized with Andrew McKinley, president; Ansyl Phillips, vice-president; Charles Bland Smith, secretary. Although appointed and organized in 1874, the board of commissioners did not obtain possession of the park lands until April 27, 1875, and under a proviso of the act providing for the purchase of the lands granting the St. Louis County Railroad a right of way through the northeastern portion of the grounds, negotiations ensued that delayed the work of improvement until the following August. It was then, however, prosecuted with vigor, and from a wild uncultivated expanse of forest and broken country the grounds were transformed into a beautiful park by the 25th of June, 1876, when the formal opening took place. Although the work had not been completed at that time, sufficient had been done to demonstrate the natural beauty of the site and the opportunities it offered for artificial improvement. One of the greatest disadvantages with which the commissioners had to contend was the presence of the tracks of the St. Louis County Railroad within the park. This promised not only to be a source of annoyance and danger, but to destroy the harmony of the surroundings. The company had a right of way of seventy feet, "entering through Duncan's sub-division on the west side, running westwardly on the northern side of the River des Peres, and passing out at a point on the northern line thereof east of Union Avenue." Accordingly the commissioners, whose approval of the route through the park was necessary, entered into a treaty agreement with the St. Louis County and St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern Railroads, by which the latter constructed a tunnel one hundred feet long at the eastern approach, where the road entered the park through an open cut, and made an embankment of sufficient height to admit of a viaduct under it for pedestrians and vehicles. The eastern boulevard passed over the tunnel, so that absolute safety was secured. The unveiling of the bronze statue of Edward Bates, formerly attorney-general in President Lincoln's cabinet, June 25, 1876, was made the occasion of the formal opening of Forest Park, within the bounds of which the monument had been placed. Several members of the National Democratic Committee were in St. Louis at the time, and they accompanied the then mayor, Henry Overstolz, to the park. About forty thousand persons visited the park and attended the ceremonies, which included a prayer by Rev. Dr. Brank, and addresses by Governor Hardin, President Andrew McKinley, of the Forest Park commissioners, Chief Justice Chauncey F. Shultz, of the county court, and Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer, of New York. At the unveiling ceremonies Mayor Overstolz presided, and addresses were delivered by Montgomery Blair and Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin. Up to Jan. 1, 1876, the park cost the city, including the purchase of the lands, $1,047,889.16, and to Aug. 10, 1877, $1,385,426.16. After the latter date the annual appropriation was cut down to the minimum allowed by law, $30,000, and the completion of the improvements in the magnificent style contemplated in the beginning was thus rendered impracticable, yet Forest Park is to the people of St. Louis what Central Park is to New Yorkers, Fairmount to Philadelphians, and Druid Hill to Baltimorians. It has become a popular resort for the masses, and especially for picnic parties. Approached by broad boulevards and accessible by both horse and steam railroads, and the centre of the park system of the city, its advantages are manifold. Its scenery embraces a diversity of landscape seldom to be met with in an inclosure of its size, and much of its artificial beauty is due to the River des Peres, a romantic little stream which traverses it from northwest to southeast and feeds numerous miniature lakes and cascades, adding greatly to the picturesque effect. Handsome drives and shady walks traverse the park, and fine buildings, pagodas, music-stands, etc., have been constructed, and many other attractions have been added from time to time, greatly enhancing its value as a place of popular recreation.

The visitor at Forest Park, as he saunters along the well-drained and neatly-graveled promenades, or about the park lake with its pleasant island orchestra, or rests in the grove in the shade of some one of its giant oaks, would find it difficult at best to re-create out of all the embellishments of those beautiful pleasure-grounds a true picture of the wild surroundings,

[1] Andrew McKinley, who superintended the embellishment of Forest Park, was one of the most active and influential men of St. Louis. He was a Kentuckian by birth, and a lawyer by profession. In 1840 he removed to St. Louis, where he practiced for five years, returning at the expiration of that time to Kentucky. In 1859 he returned to St. Louis and became a member of the firm of McKinley, Peterson & Co., and subsequently president of the Great Republic Insurance Company and the Board of Underwriters, and trustee of the Western Division of the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1865 he removed to New York, but in 1872 took up his residence for the third time in St. Louis.

the dangers, and the savage bewilderments of the primal site. The property was retrieved to usefulness indeed long years before its ownership had passed to the city of St. Louis, a large part of it within the easy recollection of the present generation, as the farm of the late Robert Forsyth, embracing the accessories of a complete American country home, with broad wheat- and hay-fields, and on an elevation about the middle of them, where the restaurant now stands, a neat two-story frame house, flanked by the necessary servants' quarters, barns, and out-houses.

But the pioneer settlement of the noted grounds goes back to yet another age and race, reaching the period of primitive Spanish domination, the days of picket-fences, log houses, and prowling Indians, when St. Louis was a village outpost only, and its population a meagre band of adventurous French and Spanish colonists.

On the first day of September, 1796, a concession was signed by Zeñon Trudeau, a French colonel acting then in the Spanish service as Lieutenant-Governor of "the western part of Illinois," which invested the family of Joseph Marie Papin with the ownership of a tract of land measuring three thousand two hundred arpens, embracing within its liberal scope all of the present Forest Park (except a narrow strip along its southern line), and extending northwardly quite a distance beyond the present Olive Street road. The title was vested in the wife, Madame Marie Louise Chouteau Papin, a sister of the founders of St. Louis, Auguste and Pierre Chouteau.

Joseph Marie Papin figures in the French and Spanish archives of the period as a "negociant," a merchant or trader engaged in the business of the day and settlement—the purchase and shipment abroad of Indian peltries. His village residence, a large square stone house, planned after the style of the better French colonial dwellings, with high basement for stores and miscellaneous uses, and an upper story for the family, occupied with its garden and grounds the southern half of the city block now bounded by Main, Second, Pine, and Chestnut Streets. This early pioneer was the American progenitor of a large family whose names run prominently through all the primitive as through the subsequent history of St. Louis, surviving notably down to this day and generation.

Everybody who has studied the early occupation and development of the western country has been struck by the extreme precaution and painstaking wariness with which the successive French and Spanish governments moved in their schemes of American colonization; and the dominant precaution, the particularity and minute methods often of the parent governments entered largely, and sometimes without apparent purpose, into the local and domestic regulations and habits of the French colonists themselves. The various town archives present a curious example of this in their careful perpetuation of the history and experiences of the inhabitants.

Thus, for instance, in the making up of the present sketch the mouldy records still extant in the city of Montreal, Canada, show that the family came over from La Rochelle, in France, more than two centuries ago. These records also furnish many interesting facts concerning the subsequent history of the family. The first American of the name, Pierre Papin, was born in Montreal in 1666, and the two succeeding generations domiciled respectively at L'Assomption and Montreal. Joseph Alexander Papin visited the French settlement of St. Louis, remaining only a short time, however, and then returning to Montreal. Later on, and after the death of his wife, he took his only son, Joseph Marie Papin, who was then a lad, to France, placing him at a college in the vicinity of Blois, after which he returned to Canada, settling at the border post of Frontenac. Ten or twelve years later he returned to France for his son, quitting Canada forever, as did many other French about this time, the period of the cession to the English. After a sojourn in the mother-country of only a few years he returned to America accompanied by his son, and they settled permanently at St. Louis. This must have been prior to 1766, as shown by a deed in the St. Louis archives of a first purchase of real estate made by him in that year.

The careful education in France of the founder of the St. Louis branch, however instructively and agreeably employed in a social way within the narrow circle of the village outpost, seems to have proved unavailing as against the ventures and hazards of the Indian traffic in which he had embarked, for, after meeting various minor mishaps, the more serious finally of a cargo of furs and peltries put a stop to the business of the untrained pioneer, and induced him to remove with his family to the grant of the Spanish Governor mentioned above.

There were eleven children born of the Papin-Chouteau marriage who attained the age of maturity. Of these, seven were boys, who set out as young men to retrieve the lost heritage. Two cast their lot in the settlement, but the majority struck out for the farther Indian country, the wild territories of the Osages, Sioux, and Blackfeet. After the lapse of a few more years the name, always maintained in high and honored esteem in the community, reappeared multiplied seven times, among the most solid con-

ture to the book of the town tax collector. They have left many descendants, and the name is still as well known and as highly esteemed in the overgrown metropolis as it was in its village cradle.

The long, active, and prominent business career of Theophile Papin should designate him properly as the family representative of the present day. He is the son of Sylvestre Vilrey Papin, the grandson of Jean Marie Papin, and was educated at the St. Louis University, completing his course in St. Mary's College, Marion County, Ky.

Some early contributions to the *St. Louis Reveille*, a sprightly journal of thirty odd years ago, introduced him to the late J. M. Field, its proprietor, and secured him the position of reporter and assistant editor, succeeding in that capacity John S. Robb, whose brilliant writings under the *nom de plume* of "Solitaire," many of the citizens of St. Louis still remember.

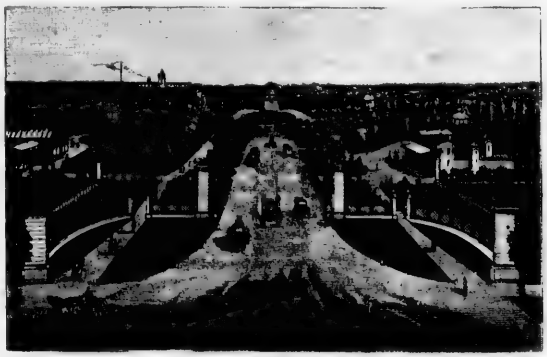
After a few years spent in this occupation, Mr. Papin embarked in the real estate business, to which he has applied himself without intermission to the present time with remarkable success. The management of a large private business, covering frequent ventures of magnitude, the discharge of important duties imposed upon him by the courts in the subdivision and adjustment of great estates, and the performance of the varied trusts and responsibilities, both public and private, confided to him in the course of an especially active life have vindicated his unerring judgment, and won for him the abiding confidence of the community to whom he is so familiarly known.

Mr. Papin has also filled a number of public positions. He was elected to the City Council four times, being chosen to represent successively every ward that he has ever lived in, and in 1861, at the instance of Gen. Frank P. Blair, he was appointed assessor of internal revenue for St. Louis City and county. In connection with the late Samuel H. Gardner, the collector, he organized the service in St. Louis. He was subsequently elected president of the City Council, and was finally chosen county collector at a time when it was rated as the most profitable office in the State. While thus holding public office and carrying on his large private business, he has also served under other appointments, and has fostered different public and private interests in various ways. At one time he was a member of the House of Refuge management, director in the Boatmen's Savings-Bank, etc. Mr. Papin was one of the first and principal organizers of the Real Estate Exchange. He was three times elected its president, but declined a proffered election on account of his multiplied business cares.

Mr. Papin seems never to have parted with the tastes and habits of his original calling, and all his life he has been a contributor to the press. On the occasion of an extended tour with his family in Europe, recently, a series of his letters, running through all his protracted rambles, were published in the *Missouri Republican*. The originality and good sense of his observations abroad and the graceful and facile language in which they were expressed attracted general attention. Mr. Papin is still in the full vigor of matured manhood, and the lapse of time has left his energies unimpaired.

TOWER GROVE PARK.—For two of the most popular and attractive public reservations in the city, Shaw's Garden and Tower Grove Park, St. Louis is indebted to the munificence of Henry Shaw, one of its most prominent citizens, a large bulk of whose wealth has been devoted to improving these two beautiful resorts for the inhabitants of his adopted home.

Tower Grove Park is situated on Grand Avenue, between Magnolia Avenue and Arsenal Street road, and contains two hundred and seventy-six and three-fourths acres. Early in 1868, Henry Shaw made a proposition to the city authorities to give them one hundred and ninety acres of ground, extending from Grand Avenue to King's Highway, eleven hundred and twenty-one feet in width and six thousand one hundred and sixty-three feet in length, reserving a strip of two hundred feet around the tract to lease to the city for ninety-nine years, the proceeds to be devoted to the maintenance of Shaw's Garden, and requiring the city to devote three hundred and sixty thousand



TOWER GROVE PARK ENTRANCE.

dollars to the improvement of the ground for a public park. No action was taken by the City Council, and in June the Board of Trade appointed a committee to inquire into the matter. This committee had an interview with the mayor and Mr. Shaw, and the latter subsequently prepared a deed for the land and presented it to the board. The result was that the Board of Trade, supported by the Union Merchants' Exchange, procured the passage of an ordinance accepting Mr. Shaw's gift with some modifications. Under this ordinance a board of commissioners, consisting of James S. Thomas, Charles P. Chouteau, Adolphus Meier, Judge Wm. Ferguson, and Henry Shaw, was appointed to carry out its provisions, under the general supervision of Mr. Shaw. The work of improvement was commenced at once, and in the summer of 1870 the tract was formally opened, with the name of Tower Grove Park. The park is ornamented in the most artistic style, and abounds in beautiful shade-trees, shrubs, and flowers indigenous and foreign. There are also handsome walks and drives, miniature lakes, springs, rustic bridges and bowers, summer-houses, pagodas, fountains, statues, etc. Up to 1875 nearly half a million dollars had been expended on the park, twenty-five thousand dollars per year being appropriated by the city, in addition to the original appropriation. In 1878 its value and attractiveness were further enhanced by the gift of a bronze statue of Shakespeare from Mr. Shaw, and later by a similar statue of Von Humboldt from the same donor. The total estimated value of Tower Grove Park in 1882, including land and improvements, was $1,027,675.



HENRY SHAW.

SHAW'S GARDEN, or, more properly speaking, the Missouri Botanical Garden, situated on Shaw Avenue west of Grand Avenue, embraces about fifty acres of a tract of eight hundred owned by Mr. Shaw, who, after his retirement from business, began the preparation of the garden with a view to presenting it to the city. Under his personal direction it grew from year to year until it has become one of the finest places of the kind in the country. Mr. Shaw also erected a museum, where curiosities of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdom are exhibited free to the visiting public, as are also the grounds, which have been tastefully beautified and ornamented. The botanical garden and arboreum embrace every known variety of flower, plant, and tree, and there is also an experimental fruit garden that has proved a valuable acquisition. The garden has been for years maintained by Mr. Shaw at his own expense.

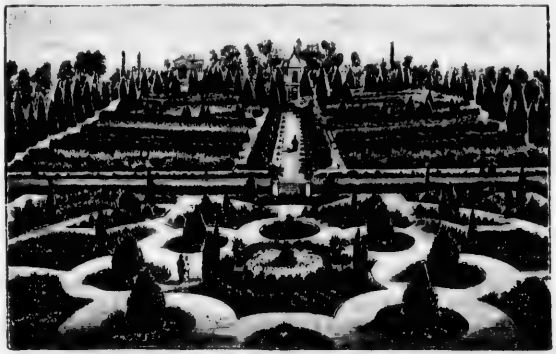
Henry Shaw, to whose liberality the city of St. Louis owes some of her richest and most lasting ornaments, is an Engl[illegible]an by birth, and is connected with a family w[illegible] noted for its success in business. At the age o[illegible] nineteen he left his native country to seek his fortune in America, and arrive[illegible] in St. Louis May 4, 181[illegible] establishing himself in th[illegible] hardware business with [illegible] small stock of goods whic[illegible] he had brought with hi[illegible] For a considerable perio[illegible] he managed the store wit[illegible] out the aid of a cler[illegible] attending personally to th[illegible] minutest and humblest [illegible] tails, and practicing t[illegible] most rigid economy. T[illegible] usiness prospered, and [illegible] due season the young m[illegible] chant began dealing a[illegible] in supplies for Ind[illegible] agents. His success [illegible] such that in about twe[illegible] years, and when he [illegible] only forty years old, he [illegible] enabled to retire from business with a fortune t[illegible] was regarded at the time as very large. Mr. Sh[illegible] conducted his busi[illegible] on the strictest principles, [illegible] paid close and assiduous attention to the economi[illegible] money-making; but in other respects (even in [illegible] days of his early struggles) was noted for l[illegible] minded and open-handed views and habits. [illegible] spare hours were devoted to learning the French [illegible] guage and other polite accomplishments, and [illegible] leaving trade he was well fitted by taste and the [illegible] imposed training he had undergone to enjoy [illegible] eight or ten years of travel that ensued, and in [illegible] course of which he visited nearly every quart[illegible] the habitable globe. On his return he de[illegible] much of his time to the cultivation of plants

flowers, and established the nucleus of what is now an institution of St. Louis, the Missouri Botanical or Shaw's Garden. As stated above, Mr. Shaw expended much time and money on the development of the beauties of nature as displayed in floriculture, horticulture, and kindred pursuits, and as he prosecuted this recreation, the desire that others should share in the enjoyment which resulted from it grew upon him, and he conceived the idea of making his estate a public resort. With this end in view he opened his gates unreservedly to the citizens of St. Louis, and for many years has supported at his own expense the grounds that were virtually the property of the public, although owned by himself. Subsequently Mr. Shaw determined to present to the city an even more valuable property, Tower Grove Park, which has become almost as much a feature of St. Louis as the Gardens. Although the city maintains the Park, Mr. Shaw has since expended much of his wealth and a good deal of his time upon it, and two of his donations, the Shakespeare and Humboldt statues, alone represent a small fortune. In bestowing his gifts upon the city Mr. Shaw exhibited, as in all of his acts which concerned the public, a modesty that was almost severe. His interest in his fellow-citizens was sincere and manifest, but, as far as possible, he avoided all publicity and display. Mr. Shaw's munificence was the occasion of frequent recognition. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival in St. Louis, May 4, 1869, Tower Grove, his residence in the park of that name, was thronged by a brilliant assemblage of St. Louisians, including many prominent citizens among the older inhabitants. On this occasion Mr. Shaw delivered an address relating his first arrival in St. Louis and many interesting early reminiscences, to which Governor B. Gratz Brown responded. In the Park the day was observed as a gala day, and among Mr. Shaw's visitors were bands of children from the Orphans' Home and the Protestant Orphan Asylum, which had frequently been the recipients of his charity. Another interesting event of the same character was the adoption of a series of resolutions at a meeting of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, Dec. 19, 1878. These resolutions were inscribed on white satin fringed with gold and hung upon a solid silver roller, and a copy thereof was transmitted to the mayor for preservation among the archives of the city. They read as follows:

"To HENRY SHAW, *testimonial of respect and gratitude, by the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, December*, 1878.

"The members of the Merchants' Exchange, in behalf of the commercial and industrial classes of the city of St. Louis, realizing the great and lasting benefits conferred upon the city by Mr. Henry Shaw, deem it a duty to express in a formal and public manner their appreciation and gratitude, and to that end, in meeting assembled in the hall of the Exchange, Dec. 19, 1878, do order and adopt the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That in the creation of Tower Grove Park by the donation to the city of the valuable lands composing it, in the recent gift of the magnificent bronze statues of Shakespeare and Humboldt, with their pedestals and relievos for the adornment of the same, and in the establishment of the Missouri Botanical Gardens, with their museum, conservatories, and the most remarkable collection in this country of the flora of all climes, Mr. Shaw has materially aided the reputation and growth of St. Louis, and at the same time created delightful and permanent pleasure resorts for our citizens, in which the influences of nature and art are combined for the advancement of that general taste and culture without which there is no genuine civilization.



TERRACE, SHAW'S BOTANICAL GARDEN.

"*Resolved*, That in the devotion of a private fortune, acquired during an honorable business career in this city, to the benefit of the public, and the admirable mode selected to carry out his benevolent designs, by which the pleasure and profit of all citizens are permanently secured, together with the adornment of the city, and the creation of those features of local interest which are always important elements in civic progress, Mr. Shaw has made himself the benefactor of our people, reflected honor on the city of his home, endeared his name to its present and future population, and is entitled to the earnest gratitude of all classes of society.

"*Resolved*, That, as merchants and business men of the city of St. Louis, it is especially incumbent upon us, and we esteem it a most pleasant duty to acknowledge the benefits bestowed upon the city and its citizens by one so long and intimately identified with the mercantile interests of the city. Although now retired from active business, he worthily represents the spirit and liberality which should characterize the merchants of a metropolis representative of Western civilization, and throughout a useful and industrious career has evinced an active interest in the growth of the city which he has greatly aided. It is peculiarly gratifying to the members of this Exchange that a citizen who is among the oldest of our merchants

should have achieved the illustrious distinction of benefiting all classes of our people, and furnishing an impressive example of individual honor and rectitude linked with the most exalted and philanthropic purposes.

"*Resolved*, That the members of the Merchants' Exchange, in view of the facts herein stated, and in accordance with the universal sentiment of the people of St. Louis, hereby tender to Henry Shaw their deep and heartfelt acknowledgments and thanks for his public spirit and noble generosity. No other return than words of gratitude and respect is now appropriate or possible, but their significance is not limited to the present time; so long as his gifts to the city endure, and there are people to enjoy them, his name will be consecrated in the public heart, and his memory will bloom in the beauties of the park and gardens which he created for the enjoyment of all.

"*Ordered*, That these resolutions be spread upon the records of this body, and that, when suitably engrossed, a committee consisting of the president and directors of the Exchange and twenty-one citizens, to be designated by the president, shall formally present them to Mr. Shaw.

"GEORGE BAIN,
"*President.*
"HENRY C. HAARSTICK,
"CRAIG ALEXANDER,
"*Vice-Presidents.*
"JOHN CRANGLE,
"JOHN A. SCUDDER,
"E. O. STANARD,
"J. C. EWALD,
"A. T. HARLOW,
"S. W. EVANS,
"JOHN O. TALBOT,
"P. E. FLETCHER,
"W. LEIGH WICKHAM,
"A. GUYE,
"GEORGE H. MORGAN, *secretary*,
"*Directors.*"

The following gentlemen were appointed a committee, in conjunction with the board of directors of the Merchants' Exchange, to present the resolutions to Mr. Shaw: Henry Overstolz, George Knapp, R. J. Lackland, R. P. Tansey, Gerard B. Allen, Adolphus Meier, John E. Gilkeson, Joseph Brown, John G. Priest, Edwin Harrison, E. O. Stanard, Oliver D. Filley, Carlos S. Greeley, Robert Campbell, D. H. Macadam, Thomas Allen, Wayman Crow, Charles P. Chouteau, James E. Yeatman, Robert A. Barnes, Albert Todd.

Ever since establishing his residence at Tower Grove, Mr. Shaw has kept practically "open house," and his attractive residence is a favorite resort of the cultured people of the city, who find in him a most genial and generous host. It is his pride, also, to entertain the distinguished people who from time to time visit St. Louis, and the most eminent men of the nation (and, it may be added, of the world) have enjoyed his hospitality. His career justifies the observation that St. Louis has never known a close and assiduous business career that has been supplemented by more graceful and appropriate donations of its aggregated wealth to purposes of public usefulness and adornment, nor one of its citizens who, engrossed for a long time in the pursuits of business, ever opened his heart more abundantly to all that is beautiful in nature, or displayed more zeal and liberality in extending to the general public the pleasures which he himself enjoyed.

O'FALLON PARK is situated in the northern portion of the city, on the Bellefontaine road. It is used as a driving-park, and is also popular as a picnic-ground, and has great natural advantages. It was formerly the estate of the late Col. John O'Fallon, and has a wealth of forest-trees which had been carefully preserved by Col. O'Fallon. It occupies a commanding position overlooking the river, and became the property of the city under a legislative enactment in 1875. It contains 159.41 acres, and its land and improvements are estimated to be worth (in 1882) $243,174.

CARONDELET PARK was established by an act of the Legislature in 1874, about the time that Forest and O'Fallon Parks were created. It comprises one hundred and eighty acres, situated on South Ninth Street, between Loughborough and Kansas Avenues. In May of the same year the county court appointed as commissioners M. I. Brennan, B. Guion, Jr., H. J. Hinsman, E. J. Shores, and P. A. Bamberger, of whom Mr. Brennan was president; Mr. Guion, vice-president; and J. F. Young, secretary. The ground cost over one hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars, and two hundred thousand dollars having been appropriated by the legislature for its purchase and improvement, the balance was used in adapting the grounds to their purpose, ornamenting them, etc.

OLD CARONDELET PARK, comprising about three acres, was acquired from the general government in 1812, and was a part of the old St. Louis common. The character of the land and its location, however, made it unavailable for park purposes, and although some improvements were made, it has never been used as a public resort. It is estimated to be worth four thousand eight hundred dollars.

LACLEDE PARK, a small reservation of about three acres, bounded by Osage and Maramec Streets and Iowa and California Avenues, was reserved in the sub-division of the city in 1853 and 1854. It has been somewhat improved, but not in the same proportion as other squares. It is estimated to be worth eleven thousand dollars.

MISSOURI PARK, comprising between three and four acres, lying between Olive, St. Charles, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Streets, was created by

ordinance in 1854, a portion of it being purchased from James H. Lucas for ninety-five thousand five hundred dollars, and the remainder being a gift from the same gentleman. The first city appropriation for it was made in 1858, and up to 1877 forty-one thousand one hundred and sixty-five dollars had been expended on it. It is a popular resort, and has been greatly ornamented and improved. The ground and improvements are estimated to be worth two hundred thousand dollars.

HYDE PARK was acquired by purchase in 1854 from Ann C. T. Farrar, for thirty-six thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. It lies between Salisbury Street and Bremen Avenue and Twelfth and Fourteenth Streets, and the original tract of fourteen and one-half acres has been reduced to about twelve by the widening of contiguous streets. For several years after its purchase it was leased to various persons as a beer-garden, and the revenue accruing therefrom was expended in improvements. Owing to the occurrence of a number of disturbances, however, this arrangement was subsequently discontinued. No. 8 engine-house occupies the southeast corner of the tract. Up to 1877, $65,041.87 was expended in improvements, and the square is now in an excellent condition. The ground and improvements estimated to be worth one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars.

BENTON PARK.—In accordance with the provisions of a city ordinance, approved June 25, 1866, the old city cemetery was transformed into Benton Park. It comprised originally seventeen acres, but was reduced by the extension and widening of streets to fourteen and one-third acres, and was found to be excellently adapted to park purposes. It is situated between Jefferson Avenue and Arsenal Street and Wisconsin Avenue and Wyoming Street, and immediately sprang into popular favor, being the most frequented park in South St. Louis. It has been made a beautiful spot, and the inhabitants of a large surrounding district flock to its cooling shades and pleasant walks for rest and recreation. The land and improvements are estimated to be worth seventy-five thousand dollars.

LYON PARK.—An act of Congress, approved March 3, 1869, granted that portion of the Arsenal grounds lying between Carondelet Avenue and Fourth Street for a public park, on condition that the city complete the proposed monument to Brig.-Gen. Nathaniel Lyon within three years. The grounds were transferred to the city by the War Department in September, 1871, and on the 22d of April, 1874, the then Secretary of War, Gen. W. W. Belknap, wrote to Mayor Brown to know if the conditions had been fulfilled. An obelisk monument was thereupon dedicated to the memory of Gen. Lyon, Sept. 13, 1874, and the reservation, which is situated on Carondelet Avenue between Arsenal and Utah Streets, was thereafter known as Lyon Park. It embraces an area of over ten acres, and was very little improved up to the separation of the city from the county in 1877. Since then, under the direction of the city authorities, it has been made a very attractive spot. The estimated value of ground and improvements is seventy thousand dollars.

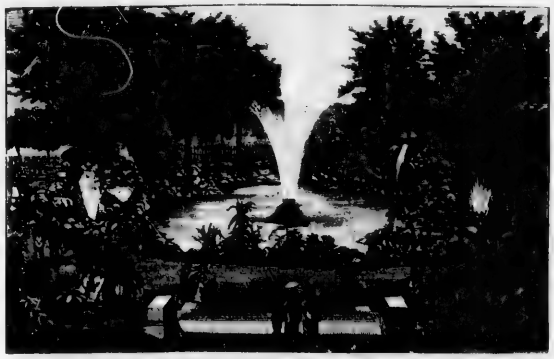
WASHINGTON SQUARE, containing six acres and situated between Market and Thirteenth Streets and Clark Avenue and Twelfth Street, was originally a part of the old Chouteau mill tract. It was purchased by the city on the 28th of November, 1840, with the understanding that it was to be used as a "public square forever." Its original cost was twenty-five thousand dollars, but it is now valued with the improvements at two hundred and thirty-six thousand dollars. The sum of fifty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five dollars and fourteen cents was expended from 1855 to 1882 in maintaining and embellishing the grounds.

GRAVOIS PARK, which comprises eight and a quarter acres, is one of the original St. Louis commons' grants, and lies between Pontiac Street and Kansas Avenue and Miami Street and Louisiana Avenue. Its isolated position caused it for a time to be less frequented than any other of the city parks. It has the advantage of large shade-trees, and is now being enjoyed by large numbers of people. The ground and improvements are estimated to be worth twenty thousand dollars.

CARR SQUARE, situated between Carr, East Sixteenth, Wash, and West Sixteenth Streets, and containing nearly two and a half acres, was presented to the city in 1842 by Wm. C. Carr, "to be forever used as a square." It was for many years a receptacle for refuse, but was subsequently filled in and improved, and is now a popular and very attractive resort. The estimated value of land and improvements is seventy thousand dollars.

ST. LOUIS PLACE lies immediately north of the old reservoir. It is a narrow strip of ground two thousand feet long, and contains 15.19 acres. It is bounded by Benton, Hebert, West Seventeenth, and West Eighteenth Streets, and was given to the city in 1848 for a pleasure ground by Col. John O'Fallon, Governor Miller, L. A. La Baume, Messrs. Todd & Dayton, Josiah Dent, and others. The land and improvements are estimated to be worth one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

LAFAYETTE PARK is situated one and a half miles southwest of the court-house, between Mississippi and Missouri and Park and Lafayette Avenues. It contains nearly thirty acres, and is one of the oldest parks in the city. Its creation was due mainly to the efforts of the late John F. Darby and Col. Thornton Grimsley. In 1835 a bill was passed by the State Legislature authorizing the sale of the old St. Louis commons, the territory which afterwards became Lafayette Park being reserved by the city for a park. Nothing further was accomplished until 1851, when Lafayette Park was dedicated and established under an ordinance approved November 12th of that year, under which the then mayor, Luther M. Kennett, City Engineer Samuel R. Curtis, John C. Rust, Stephen D. Barlow, and Edward D. Bredell were named as commissioners. For the first five years the only progress made was by means of eight thousand one hundred and seventy-three dollars contributed by adjacent property-owners. In 1857 the City Council made its first appropriation for Lafayette Park, amounting to two thousand dollars, and gave a similar sum the ensuing year. Then came a lapse of six years of inactivity, and in 1863, $14,532.13 was expended in improving the grounds. During the following year the Legislature authorized the issue of thirty thousand dollars in bonds for the improvement of the park, and in 1868 an additional issue of seventy-one thousand five hundred dollars. From the date of the issue of these bonds the improvement of the park was rapid, and it is now one of the most attractive and popular resorts in the city. Imposing entrances have been erected, walks, drives, and avenues have been laid, and groves of trees of many varieties and beds of flowers have been planted. The park has also a lake, with sail-boats and various water-fowl, grottoes, and cascades, and many other ornamental features, including a copy of Houdan's statue of Washington, and a bronze statue of Thomas H. Benton. A music-stand was erected in 1867, and was replaced by another in 1876, which was dedicated July 27th with imposing ceremonies. Concerts are given regularly during the summer season. The park and improvements are valued at one million one hundred and three thousand and fifty dollars.



FOUNTAIN IN LAFAYETTE PARK.

CLINTON PLACE, JACKSON PLACE, and MARION PLACE are three circular lots in North St. Louis, used respectively as sites for a public school, a public square, and a church. The public reservation, Jackson Place, Tenth and North Market Streets, was improved by the city, and is a popular resort for children. The three reservations were presented to the city in 1816, by Chambers, Christy, and Wright, for the purposes for which they are used.

EXCHANGE SQUARE was also presented to the city in 1816, by Chambers, Christy, and Wright, to be used as a commons forever. It is bounded by Wharf, Warren, Jefferson, and Front Streets, in North St. Louis, and has an area of nearly thirteen acres. It has been unimproved until recently, when a portion of it was fenced in, planted with trees, and sown in grass-seed. Part of the lot is rented for the storage of lumber, and the remainder is being filled up to make it available for park purposes. The ground and improvements are estimated to be worth ninety-six thousand one hundred and fifty dollars.

GAMBLE PLACE, the smallest square in the city, is bounded by Gamble and Dickson Streets and Garrison and Glasgow Avenues, and occupies the site of the old Gamble reservoir. It comprises but little over an acre, and was opened as a park in 1875 at the expense of the adjacent property-owners. Since then it has been maintained by the city. The land and improvements are estimated to be worth twenty-two thousand dollars.

PUBLIC PARKS AND SQUARES BELONGING TO THE CITY IN 1882.

City Block.	Feet front.	Feet deep.	Acres.	Street or Avenue on which property fronts.	Parks.	Estimated value, 1882. Real.	Estimated value, 1882. Improvements.	Total Estimated value, 1882.
2664 } 2123 }	600	230	.....	Iowa Avenue.....	Laclede Park.....	$8,400	$2,600	$11,000
2701 } 2722 }	600	230	.....	Michigan Avenue.....	Carondelet Park, O. L.....	4,800	.....	4,800
2021 } 2022 } 2033 } 2034 }	.....	.....	10.62	Carondelet Avenue.....	Lyon Park.....	53,100	16,900	70,000
2054 } 2055 } 2056 } 2057 }	.....	.....	17.00	Jefferson Avenue.....	Benton Park.....	42,500	32,500	75,000
1583	.....	.....	8.25	Kansas Avenue.....	Gravois Park.....	11,000	9,000	20,000
2140	1250	1250	29.98	Lafayette Avenue.....	Lafayette Park.....	793,050	310,000	1,103,050
207	792	330	6.00	Twelfth Street.....	Washington Square.....	180,000	56,000	236,000
514 } 925 }	316	281.6	.....	Olive Street.....	Missouri Park.....	172,000	28,000	200,000
550 }	239.2	356	2.06	Carr Street.....	Carr Square.....	41,200	28,800	70,000
1047	200	236	.....	Gamble Street.....	Gamble Place.....	20,000	2,000	22,000
201	.....	.....	1.67	Eleventh Street.....	Jackson Place.....	22,400	2,000	24,400
1096 } 1097 } 1098 } 1099 }	.....	.....	15.19	Benton Street.....	St. Louis Place.....	129,120	20,880	150,000
1175 } 1176 } 1177 } 1178 }	.....	.....	12.00	Salisbury Street.....	Hyde Park.....	120,000	15,000	135,000
.....	1200	{ 473 } { 649 }	12.86	Front Street.....	Exchange Square.....	96,000	150	96,150
.....	.....	.....	180.00	Loughborough Avenue...	Carondelet Park, N. L.....	126,000	74,000	200,000
.....	.....	.....	276.75	Grand Avenue.....	Tower Grove Park..... ..	830,250	197,425	1,027,675
.....	.....	.....	1371.94	King's Highway.....	Forest Park.....	1,646,330	25,000	1,671,330
.....	.....	.....	159.41	Bellefontaine Road.....	O'Fallon Park.....	223,174	20,000	243,174
						$4,519,324	$840,255	$5,359,579

Monuments.—In the public squares and cemeteries of St. Louis are many handsome and imposing monuments to public personages, together with a number of similar memorials of private individuals, situated in Bellefontaine Cemetery and the various burial-grounds belonging to religious denominations. The first popular movement for the erection of a monument to a public man seems to have been the effort on the part of leading citizens to secure funds for a memorial of Henry Clay.

On the 10th of July, 1852, a mass-meeting was held to consider the project, at which the following committee of fifty was appointed:

Henry Von Phul, Daniel H. Donovan, David R. Risley, William Palm, A. B. Chambers, George R. Taylor, C. Kribben, Henry N. Hart, J. B. S. Lemoine, John McNeil, B. Gratz Brown, H. I. Bodley, Henry N. Hart, S. M. Breckenridge, Thomas Grey, Thomas Dennis, Bernard Crickard, Frederick Bechelmar, Thomas B. Hudson, Charles L. Hunt, Thomas J. Weir, James O'Neil, Willis R. Pritchartt, Thomas J. Sturgeon, Daniel Taylor, C. C. Simmons, Henry C. Lynch, Adolphe Abeles, D. D. Mitchell, R. S. Blennerhassett, George I. Barnett, George R. Allen, L. A. Labeaume, J. K. Burtis, P. R. McCreery, William Harper, Edward Brooks, E. C. Blackburn, A. S. Mitchell, Charles P. Choutean, Capt. James R. Sprigg, M. B. Laughlin, D. H. Armstrong, James L. Faucette, J. L. Bailey, Hiram Shaw, John B. Carson, P. J. McSherry, Samuel R. Curtis, Peter D. Papin. To whom were added, by resolution, the officers of the meeting, as follows: Mayor L. M. Kennett, James H. Lucas, Joshua B. Brant, E. M. Ryland, Robert Campbell, William M. Tompkins, Thornton Grimsley, James Clemens, Jr., Isaac H. Sturgeon, J. M. Clendenin.

On the 15th of July, 1852, the committee met and designated a committee consisting of W. M. Tompkins, C. C. Simmons, J. B. S. Lemoine, M. B. Laughlin, and Henry N. Hart to report a plan of organization. In September, 1852, the Clay Monument Association was organized by the election of James H. Lucas, president; Henry D. Bacon, D. H. Donovan, vice-presidents; J. B. S. Lemoine, secretary; Robert Simpson, treasurer. Directors, Robert Campbell, John O'Fallon, L. M. Kennett, A. B. Chambers, S. R. Curtis, Henry N. Hart, John G. Priest, Joseph O'Neil, C. C. Simmons, Thornton Grimsley, George R. Taylor, John McNeil, Edward Walsh, and Joshua B. Brant. In January, 1853, the association received a charter from the General Assembly, and began soliciting subscriptions. In May following the following officers were elected:

James H. Lucas, president; Daniel H. Donovan, first vice-president; L. M. Kennett, second vice-president; Robert Simpson, treasurer; J. B. S. Lemoine, secretary. Directors, Charles P. Chouteau, Thornton Grimsley, A. B. Chambers, C. C. Simmons, Joseph O'Neil, John G. Priest, Thomas Dennis, Henry D. Bacon, John McNeil, John Knapp, Samuel R. Curtis, Henry N. Hart, Daniel G. Taylor. The members of the association then present subscribed two thousand eight hundred and twenty-five dollars towards the erection of the proposed monument, making nearly ten thousand dollars contributed to this object. This monument, it appears, was never finished. Quite a number of other monuments were also projected at various times, but never completed.

In 1854 a monument was erected in Bellefontaine Cemetery to the memory of A. B. Chambers, one of the proprietors of the *Republican* newspaper. The building committee appointed at a public meeting held in the Merchants' Exchange, in June, consisted of James E. Yeatman, Hon. Samuel Treat, John McNeil, Dr. C. A. Pope, William D'Oench, Hon. J. B. Bowlin, H. T. Blow, J. How, L. M. Kennett, and G. K. McGunnegle.

The monument to Thomas H. Benton in Lafayette Park was the first testimonial of the kind to any public man erected in the State of Missouri. In 1860 the General Assembly of the State appropriated two thousand five hundred dollars for the purpose, on condition that an additional subscription, on the part of individuals, should be realized sufficient to secure a bronze portrait statue of Col. Benton, and Col. John O'Fallon, Edward Walsh, John How, J. B. Brant, Robert Campbell, M. L. Linton, and Wayman Crow were appointed commissioners to superintend the execution of the work. During the same year the commissioners selected Harriet Hosmer as the sculptor, and in the following year the statue was cast at the Royal Foundry of Munich. After its arrival in St. Louis a delay of several years occurred before it was erected. It was originally intended to place it in Missouri Park, but this idea was abandoned, as was also a proposition to erect it in Union Square, and Lafayette Park was finally selected as the site. The statue was unveiled with imposing ceremonies on the 27th of May, 1868. Gen. Frank P. Blair delivered the oration, and Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont, daughter of the illustrious statesman, unveiled the statue, this part of the ceremony being attended by the firing of a national salute of thirty guns in accordance with an order from the War Department. Many distinguished persons were present, and in the afternoon there was a general suspension of business throughout the city in honor of the event. The statue occupies a site immediately north of the music-stand, on one of the most conspicuous locations in the park. It is ten feet in height, and stands on a pedestal of Quincy granite, which is also ten feet high. The figure is enveloped in a Roman toga, and in the hands is clasped a map, the idea of the artist being to reproduce as nearly as possible the appearance of Col. Benton at the great railroad meeting in St. Louis in 1849. On the west side of the pedestal is the inscription taken from his celebrated speech on that occasion, "There is the East, there is India," and at the top is the word "Benton." The cost of the statue, mounted, was thirty-six thousand dollars.

The unveiling of the statue of Edward Bates, attorney-general in President Lincoln's first cabinet, in Forest Park, June 24, 1876, was made the occasion of the formal opening of that beautiful and popular resort. The assemblage present on this occasion was estimated at forty thousand persons. Mayor Henry Overstolz presided, Miss Minnie Holliday performed the act of unveiling, Hon. Montgomery Blair delivered the oration, and United States Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, made an address. The monument was designed and executed by J. Wilson McDonald, formerly of St. Louis. The work was begun in the spring of 1871, when the sculptor had just completed busts of James T. Brady and Charles O'Conor for the Young Men's Library of New York, and a colossal bust of Washington Irving for Prospect Park, Brooklyn. The clay model was about one year in process of forming, the modeling being done from photograph and the artist's personal recollection of the man. The statue, which is made of fine bronze, is about eighteen feet high. The subject is represented as in the attitude the most commonly assumed when addressing the court or a jury. His elbow rests at his side, and the forearm is stretched out in an easy manner, the forefinger of the hand extended as if to draw attention to some point in the argument. One foot is placed a little in front of the other, the right hand resting upon a volume of legislore, which in its turn rests upon the back of an eagle standing at his side; the head is erect, the lips firmly closed.

The bronze statue of Shakespeare, which with that of Humboldt is one of the principal attractions of Tower Park, was presented to the city of St. Louis by Henry Shaw, on April 23, 1878. It is the work of Baron Von Mueller, of Munich, and stands on a pedestal eighteen feet high, with a centre-piece of polished Missouri granite, on which are several bas-reliefs.

The statue of Humboldt, also the gift of Mr. Shaw to the city, was formally transferred to Mayor Henry Overstolz, Nov. 24, 1878, in Tower Park, in the presence of ten thousand citizens. It is of bronze, eleven feet in height, and rests on a granite pedestal eight feet high, which stands on a granite base. The statue, like that of Shakespeare, which faces it from a higher elevation one hundred yards west, is the work of Ferdinand Von Mueller, of Bavaria. It represents Humboldt as a naturalist at the age of thirty years. He is clad in the costume of a traveler of the olden time, and leans against the stump of a tree, seemingly in a reverie, holding a partially rolled map of South America in his left hand. His head is slightly bowed, and his eyes set as though he were looking down from some mountain height. The pedestal, which is about three feet square, is of polished Missouri granite, and in a panel on each of its four sides is a bronze medallion of twenty inches square. On the front medallion is the name of Humboldt in large letters. That at the south side is a landscape view of Mount Chimborazo, of which mountain Humboldt made the first ascent. On the east side is a portrait of Henry Shaw, surmounting the inscription, "In honor of the most accomplished traveler of this or any other age. Erected by Henry Shaw, 1876." The medallion on the north side represents a view in the Amazon valley. This statue with that of Shakespeare represents an investment of nearly one hundred thousand dollars.

In Bellefontaine Cemetery is a memorial shaft erected in 1879 to the memory of Bishop Marvin, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. It was dedicated May 21, 1879, and cost two thousand five hundred dollars. It is constructed of Maine granite, is twenty-eight feet in height, and rests on a pedestal four feet in height. It bears the following inscription:

"Enoch Mather Marvin,
Bishop
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Born in Missouri, June 12, 1823,
Entered the Ministry 1841,
Ordained Bishop 1868,
Died in St. Louis, November 26, 1877."

The memorial in Lyon Park to Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, who was killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek in 1861, was erected by the efforts of an association of survivors of the war, which was permanently organized July 30, 1865, with the following officers: President, Dr. E. C. Franklin; Vice-Presidents, Col. Samuel A. Holmes, Brig.-Gen. Chester Harding, Maj. Wade, Capt. E. Meyer, Maj.-Gen. Osterhaus; Treasurer, Col. John S. Cavender; Recording Secretary, Brig.-Gen. Pile; Corresponding Secretary, Maj. Maurice.

At the first meeting the project of erecting a monument to Gen. Lyon's memory was inaugurated, and a committee to take charge of the matter was appointed, as follows: Gen. Pile, Maj.-Gen. Osterhaus, Dr. Stark, Col. C. D. Wolf, Dr. E. C. Franklin, Col. Simmons, and Maj. Stone, "with power to add other members, such as they may think best."

The subsequent progress of the movement up to May 2, 1874, is shown in a communication of that date from Isaac T. Shepard, "Secretary Lyon Monument Association," to Mayor Joseph Brown, in which he says,—

"In 1868 a public meeting of the friends of the deceased hero was called and held in the St. Louis court-house, to act in accord with the congressional purposes. The meeting resulted in the formation of an association. . . . This association has been in active operation ever since, and has made much progress. An equestrian colossal statue was determined upon, and steps at once taken to secure funds for its completion. About fifteen thousand dollars has been raised by private subscription and by a grant from the county court. Designs and models were submitted by different artists, and in 1870, J. Wilson McDonald was selected as the artist, and a contract with him executed for the work. The artist presented a model, which the association adopted, and went to work upon it. Payments were made according to progress, and now the plaster is completed and ready for the hands of the foundry. Up to this point all payments have been made, but for the completion of the statue, with its pedestal, more funds are needed, and as fast as procured the work will be pushed to completion, which we earnestly hope will be during the summer."

This communication was in response to one under date of April 22, 1874, received by Mayor Brown from Secretary of War Belknap, asking if the provisions of the act of Congress, approved March 5, 1869, ceding a portion of the old arsenal grounds, afterward Lyon Park, to the city as a public reservation, on condition that the monument to Gen. Lyon be completed within three years, had been fulfilled. The territory in question had been transferred to the city under instructions from the War Department bearing the date of Sept. 5, 1871. Under this condition of affairs the erection of the proposed bronze statue was abandoned, and a granite shaft was obtained instead.

The latter monument was dedicated Sunday, Sept.

13, 1874, in Lyon Park, the site being the spot where Gen. Lyon organized his military division for the campaign in Western Missouri, and where occurred the first military preparations for the Western army on the Federal side. The monument is of Missouri red granite, twenty-eight feet high, composed of a large die and an obelisk resting on a small base on top of a sloping and wide-spread knoll about ten feet high. Each side of the die has a deep circular niche, two of which once held large photographic pictures of Gen. Lyon, while the other two were left unoccupied. At the dedication there was a large military and civic procession from Central Turner Hall to the park, with Gen. A. L. Smith as the marshal, and addresses were delivered at the park by Hon. Joseph T. Tatum, Capt. Valentine Grimm, and Col. John A. Joyce, who were in Gen. Lyon's command. The military part of the procession was composed of all the surviving soldiers on the Federal side in St. Louis and vicinity, who organized in companies and regiments as on the day of the Wilson's Creek battle, and carried the same flags. In 1879 two bronze medallions, one a portrait of Gen. Lyon and the other an allegorical scene entitled "Bravery," were made for the niches, and were placed in them with imposing ceremonies on August 10th of that year, the eighteenth anniversary of Gen. Lyon's death. Each medallion is seventeen inches in diameter, and weighs over one hundred pounds.

In March, 1879, a monument to Gen. Sterling Price, located in Bellefontaine Cemetery, was completed. The association for the erection of this memorial was formed on the 4th of August, 1870. At the meeting for the organization of the society, ex-Governor Trusten Polk was chosen president, Mr. Shyrock vice-president, and Mr. Park secretary. Mr. Park divided the State of Missouri into a large number of districts, appointed leading citizens as solicitors for subscriptions to the monument fund, and inaugurated the plan on which the money was subsequently collected. Messrs. Park, Pallen, Shields, and Polk died before the completion of the work, but the association was revived June 8, 1876, when C. L. Thompson was chosen secretary. Mr. Thompson adopted Mr. Park's plan, and prosecuted it to a successful issue, a sum sufficient to carry out the object of the organization being obtained in 1877.

The officers at the time of the completion of the monument were Edwin Harrison, president; Dr. McPheeters, vice-president; and Mr. Thompson, secretary and treasurer. These officers, with Silas Bent, James C. Edwards, John E. Liggett, and H. Clay Hart, constituted the board of directors. The material used in the construction of the monument was the Hurricane Island, Me., gray granite. A contract for the stone, and for the cutting and polishing of the material, was entered into with J. E. Hall, afterwards associated with Hon. Celsus Price, a son of the general. The monument was made near Portland, Me., and the twenty-five tons of granite used in the structure was placed in position in the cemetery early in March, 1879. The site of the monument is on the elevated knoll near the intersection of Lawn, Balm, and Woodbine Avenues, a short distance west of the main gateway on Bellefontaine road. A few yards west of the Price monument are the Masonic grounds; on the southwest is the Blow monument; on the southeast the red granite vault of George R. Taylor, and on the north the yellow stone tomb of Dr. D. S. Brock. The monument to Gen. Price is in the style of a pointed Egyptian monolith, and on the order of an obelisk. The lowest base is a stone eight feet square and one and one-half feet thick. The second base is a stone five feet eleven inches square and fourteen inches thick. The third base is a stone four feet square and thirteen inches thick. The die is a cubic stone measuring three and a half feet on its sides, and is the only portion that is polished. Above this is the plinth, a stone three feet square and fourteen inches thick. On the plinth rises the pyramidical shaft, thirty-three inches square at the bottom and twenty inches square at the top, and twenty-four feet long. This shaft is one solid piece of stone, weighing about fifteen tons. The total height of the monument is thirty-two feet and five inches. The third base is cut in as a letter S moulding. The die has chamfered corners, leading to a pendant block cornice about the plinth. All parts of the monument except the die have a hammered and unpolished face, giving the stone an appearance similar to that of the same kind of granite used in the fronts of the St. Louis custom-house. Three sides of the die are so polished that they have reflecting surfaces. The fourth or south side of the die is equally polished, and has cut into it in bas-relief a circular shield, with four spear-points projecting outside of the circumference line and at right angles to each other. Around the periphery of the shield, and extending two inches towards the centre, are groups of bar and parallel lines. In the centre of this shield is cut in block letters,—

Sterling
Price,
born in
Prince Edward Co., Va.,
Sept. 14, 1809,
Died Sept. 29, 1867.

On the south side of the second base is cut in large block and raised letters the word "Price." On the south side of the plinth is cut a large monogram consisting the letters S. P.

In the year 1880 there was placed in Bellefontaine Cemetery a monument to the memory of Col. John O'Fallon, which at the time was said to be the largest private monument in any cemetery in the United States. It consists of a plain pedestal of Hallowell granite surmounted by a figure of "Hope" thirteen feet in height, the whole weighing eighty tons, costing twenty thousand dollars, and rising to the height of sixty feet.

On the 14th of October, 1879, a certificate of incorporation was granted to the Blair Monument Association, the object of which was to take such steps as might be necessary to secure the erection of a suitable monument to the memory of Gen. Francis P. Blair. The names of the members forming the association as incorporated were Peter L. Foy, J. B. McCullagh, John Finn, Celsus Price, R. J. Howard, Daniel Able, John G. Prather, E. C. Cabell, Thomas Richeson, John D. Finney, D. H. Naylor, Chas. M. Elleard, James L. D. Morrison, John S. Griffin, Ed. P. McKay, James O. Broadhead, E. M. Joel, John J. Roy, Dr. W. N. Brennan, Gerard B. Allen, O. D. Filley, James J. Lindley, Henry C. Brinckmeyer, Wm. F. Filley, Michael Doyle, Samuel Simmons, Wm. Sells, Erastus Wells, E. S. Filley, Chas. Gibson, James B. Eads, George Knapp, O. B. Filley, Louis Nieschied, Adolphus Busch, St. Louis; James Rollins, Columbia; John W. Resi, Lafayette County; J. L. Stephens, Boonville; James Archer, Colorado; Alexander W. Doniphan, Liberty, Mo.; Thomas C. Reynolds.

The association was organized with R. J. Howard, president, and R. J. Griffin, secretary, and on the 12th of May, 1882, gave notice that "the contracts for the statue had been let and the monument will be completed at an early day."

Property, Debt, Revenue, Expenses.—The mayor of St. Louis, Hon. Wm. L. Ewing, in his last annual message (May 19, 1882) to the Municipal Assembly, says, "The finances of the city are in an eminently satisfactory condition. The increased assessment and valuation of property for taxation will increase the current revenue of the year. The tax levy has been fixed at the rate of last year, to wit: $1.75 per $100 valuation."

The basis of assessment in St. Louis, the property subject to taxation at the end of the fiscal year, May, 1882, is thus returned by David Powers, president of the board of assessors:

ABSTRACT OF THE TAXABLE VALUES OF THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS FOR THE TAXES OF 1882.

New Limits.	Real.	Personal.	Total.
23d Ward	$2,600,990	$307,430	$2,908,420
24th "	791,130	55,920	847,050
26th "	1,871,850	215,150	2,087,000
27th "	2,677,880	152,370	2,830,250
28th "	7,186,170	728,120	7,914,290
Railroads	15,480		15,480
Totals	$15,143,500	$1,458,990	$16,602,490
Manufacturers exempt from city tax			16,320
Total subject to city tax			$16,586,170

	Real.	Personal.	Total.
Old limits	$146,536,640	$28,808,920	$175,345,560
Manufacturers exempt from city tax			211,140
Total subject to city tax			$175,134,420

RECAPITULATION.

	Real.	Personal.	Total.
New limits subject to city tax	$16,586,170		$16,586,170
New limits exempt from city tax		$16,320	16,320
Old limits subject to city tax	175,134,420		175,134,420
Old limits exempt from city tax		211,140	211,140
Grand totals	$191,720,590	$227,460	$191,948,050
Value of steamboat property included in above values			$957,990

Omitted Property.	Real.	Personal.	Total.
Old limits for the year 1880	$130		$130
" " " " " 1881	1810	$150	1960
Total	$1940	$150	$2090
New limits for the year 1881	3200		3200
Grand total	$5140	$150	$5290

Ex-Mayor Overstolz said, in 1880, that these taxable values were about three-fifths of the market values; that is to say, that the $191,948,050 represents about $320,000,000 actual property. Charles W. Knapp, however, in a recent publication,[1] contends that assessments are made very nearly upon the basis of actual values. In 1870, it is to be observed, the relation of assessed values to census values in Missouri was very nearly as five to twelve, so that it is only a fair inference that the estimate of Mr. Overstolz is about correct.

The basis for estimating the municipal wealth of St. Louis is not more satisfactory than in other large

[1] St. Louis, Past, Present, and Future.

cities, because the real estate values are necessarily only approximations, and a large portion of the personal property either evades or is not subject to taxation. The aggregate assessment has been reduced the last few years owing to the exemption of church property and that held for charitable uses, under the new Constitution, and to other causes. It was over $181,345,560 at the time of the adoption of the new City Charter in 1877, and four years afterwards, in 1881, the assessors reported that the assessed value of real estate and personal property in the city of St. Louis subject to taxation only amounted to $167,336,600. This to a stranger would indicate a falling off in wealth, when of course the reverse is the case. The taxable values for the taxes of 1882 amount, as we have seen, to $191,948,050, and if we add to this assessment a rough estimate of the values not included therein, and the $33,758,367 for real estate exempt from taxation, we will arrive nearer to the true wealth of the city.

The real estate exempt[1] from taxation in 1881 was as follows:

1.	Value of property belonging to the city					$18,641,510
2.	Value of property belonging to the United States					5,787,800
3.	Value of property belonging to the State					75,000
4.	Value of property belonging to the public schools					2,382,342
7.	Value of property belonging to the Mullanphy Emigrant Relief Fund					222,076
10.	Value of property special charter exemptions (not before classified)					646,365
11.	Value of property erroneously classified as exempt (now taxable)					6,100
5.	Value of property belonging to		Private Schools & Convents			1,418,465
6.	Value of property belonging to			Churches		3,610,586
8.	Value of property belonging to				Cemeteries	345,352
9.	Value of property belonging to					Private Hospitals, Asylums, & other purely Charitable Institutions 622,741
$233,445	Baptist			$233,445		
91,550	Christian		$30,300	61,250		
95,943	Congregational			94,654	$1,289	
355,038	Episcopalian			314,644	11,134	$29,260
422,921	German Evangelical		24,810	362,426	35,685	
131,645	English Evangelical Lutheran		32,709	70,331	23,154	5,460
64,299	Hebrew			64,299		
210,505	Methodist		3,540	913,165	1,800	12,000
30,710	Methodist Episcopal			30,710		
668,464	Presbyterian			630,914		37,550
3,404,352	Roman Catholic		1,278,985	1,537,948	120,870	466,549
43,240	Unitarian		26,440	16,800		
38,108	Medical		15,940			22,168
206,924	Protestant (non sect.)		5,750		151,420	49,754
$5,997,144			$1,418,465	$3,610,586	$345,352	$622,741
	Grand Total					$33,758,367

The assets of the city, as given in the last report of the comptroller, are as follows:

First lien upon the earnings of the Pacific Railroad Company, bearing interest at 7 per cent. per annum		$700,000.00
Stock St. Louis Gas-Light Company, par value $10,000; estimated value		60,000.00
Real estate and personal property:		
Water-works and grounds	$7,183,090.00	
Public parks	5,359,579.00	
Public markets and grounds	711,650.00	
Engine-houses and grounds	153,833.00	
Police stations and grounds	146,573.00	
Hospitals and grounds	1,108,880.00	
Work-house and House of Refuge and grounds	148,495.00	
City hall, court-house, and Four Courts and jail and grounds	4,286,700.00	
Other real estate	156,520.00	
Personal property	497,420.00	19,752,740.00
		$20,512,740.00

A part of these assets are productive, but the revenue derived from them is variable, and the

[1] Section 6 of Article X. of the Constitution of Missouri directs that

"The property, real and personal, of the State, counties, other municipal corporations, and cemeteries shall be exempt from taxation. Lots in incorporated cities and towns, or within one mile of the limits of any such city or town, to the extent of one acre, and lots one mile or more distant from such cities or towns, to the extent of five acres, with the buildings thereon, may be exempted from taxation when the same are used exclusively for religious worship, for schools, or for purposes purely charitable; also such property, real or personal, as may be used exclusively for agricultural or horticultural societies: *provided*, that such exemptions shall be only by general law." Section 7 of the same article says, "All laws exempting property from taxation other than the property above enumerated shall be void."

Section 11 of Article II. declares that

ceipts and expenditures from each particular source go into the general account. There are also in the city sinking fund assets to the amount of $426,246.53, of which $100,000, however, is unavailable. The resource from this fund for the fiscal year 1882 was $76,526.52, applicable to the liquidation of public indebtedness. This fund, however (although since its organization in 1870 it has purchased and retired $1,894,000 of the municipal debt), is not a true sinking fund in the proper sense of the word. It is not the product of a special permanent tax, but of an annual appropriation of $10,000 from general revenue, and it is not allowed to accumulate at compound interest on the principle of forming a fund equal to the payment of the public debt at maturity, but is simply used to purchase and cancel the interest-bearing obligations of the city. A regular sinking fund, produced by taxation, of not less than $200,000 per annum, would be required to meet and control the debt which is convertible into 10-20 renewal bonds.[1]

[1] "Neither the General Assembly, nor any county, city, town, township, school district, or other municipal corporation, shall ever make an appropriation, or pay from any public fund whatever, anything in aid of any religious creed, church, or sectarian purpose, or to help to support or sustain any private or public school, academy, seminary, college, university, or other institution of learning controlled by any religious creed, church, or sectarian denomination whatever; nor shall any grant or donation of personal property or real estate ever be made by the State, or any county, city, town, or other municipal corporation for any religious creed, church, or sectarian purpose whatever."

[2] Article XIV., Section 2, of the city charter is as follows:

"There is hereby created a sinking fund for the city of St. Louis, the proceeds of which shall be appropriated exclusively to the purchase of bonds issued by said city. Said fund shall consist of three-fourths of the net proceeds of the sales of the city commons in the year 1854, and three-fourths of the net proceeds of city commons and other lands belonging to the city when further sales shall be made, and three-fourths of the net proceeds of all sales of the city commons and other lands belonging to the city subsequent to the year 1854 and prior to the passage of this charter, also all railroad stock belonging to the city in any railroad terminating in the city, or opposite to the same in the State of Illinois; and, in addition thereto, the treasurer shall, on the first Monday in October in each and every year, pay over to the fund commissioners the sum of ten thousand dollars out of the general revenue of the city, which, together with the money, notes, and railroad stock above mentioned, shall constitute a perpetual and irrevocable sinking fund for the payment of the city debt."

Section 4 of the same article directs the fund commissioners, as soon as money comes in their hands in suitable amounts, to "invest the same in bonds of the city, and when purchased they shall be canceled in the presence of the Committee on Ways and Means, which cancellation shall be recorded in the comptroller's office, together with all coupons having ten years to run from the date of purchase."

LIABILITIES.

The bonded debt of St. Louis at the end of the fiscal year, May, 1882, was	$22,311,000.00
The floating debt consists of so much as the city may be compelled to pay in the final settlement of the Gas Company claims and others growing out of those disputes, the amount of all the claims and interest aggregating	1,420,922.63

The annual interest charge upon the bonded debt of St. Louis is $1,350,280 and the purchase of principal brings it up to nearly $1,500,000. This is a permanent charge upon the revenue, for which there are special provisions made. In Mayor Ewing's message of May 19, 1882, the expenditures

For fiscal year ending April 10, 1882, were	$5,213,793.23
Of which there was paid for interest on debt and reduction of principal	1,693,766.79
The revenue from all sources for this fiscal year was	5,488,646.34
Estimated revenue for current year (1882–83)	5,150,554.82
Of which $3,469,863.05 is available for general purposes.	

The comptroller, in his report, says,—

"The receipts applicable for interest and general municipal purposes for city and former county during the four years preceding the adoption of the scheme and charter were as follows:

	Receipts from all sources.
Fiscal year 1873–74	$4,175,540.77
" 1874–75	3,949,755.85
" 1875–76 (tax rate increased)	5,167,551.48
" 1876–77	5,300,841.30

"Receipts for city and new county since the adoption of the scheme and charter, for the same purposes, were as follows:

Fiscal year 1877–78	$4,594,502.36
" 1878–79	4,124,731.58
" 1879–80	4,301,015.22
" 1880–81	4,191,345.89
" 1881–82	4,188,225.73
" 1882–83 (estimate)	4,274,000.00"

To a certain extent, however, these figures are illusory. They do not represent the amount taken from the people by taxation, direct and indirect, nor do they represent actual expenditures.

The comptroller also, in his general summary, gives the following abstract of the financial transactions of the past fiscal year:

Resources, as shown by "Statement A," as follows:	
1st. Interest and public debt revenue	$1,471,683.98
2d. Municipal revenue	2,890,258.01
3d. Water-works revenue (exclusive of transfer to interest and public debt revenue for interest on water bonds)	554,596.43
4th. Harbor and wharf revenue	90,296.40
5th. Collections set apart for special purposes	374,844.91
6th. Renewal bonds	106,966.61
	$5,488,646.34
Disbursements, as shown by "Statement B," as follows:	
1st. Interest and valid indebtedness existing prior to constitution and charter	$1,460,273.54
2d. General disbursements municipal revenue	2,758,024.31
3d. Harbor and wharf	62,612.84
4th. Water-works (excepting interest on water bonds)	364,906.85
5th. Paid out of special collections and proceeds of bonds issued for special purposes	274,158.46
6th. Redemption of bonds	250,000.00
7th. Auditor's warrants unpaid April 12, 1881	43,817.23
	$5,213,793.23
Condition of the treasury, as shown by "Statement C," as follows:	
Balance in treasury April 10, 1882	$362,441.03
Amount due treasury	178,527.41
Total amount due and in treasury	$540,968.44
Chargeable against this	463,320.34
Surplus unappropriated	$77,648.10

This again is a book-keeper's account, and does not give the information sought as to the costs and expenses of city government in St. Louis. Let us turn to still another account, that contained in the report of the collector of revenue. He returns the following:

COLLECTIONS FOR THE STATE.

Taxes and Interest.

Current taxes for 1881	$610,416.53
Back taxes of 1881	4,150.00
" " " 1880	44,813.03
" " " 1879	13,502.86
" " " 1878	5,018.32
" " " 1877	2,193.66
" " " 1876, etc	3,088.14
Delinquent personal taxes 1881	971.44
" " " 1880	3,342.32
" " " 1879	1,653.56
" " " 1878	598.04
" " " 1877	185.82
	$689,933.72

State Licenses.

Merchants	$65,085.80
Manufacturers	52,410.90
Auctioneers	1,025.00
Brokers	850.00
Billiards	1,120.00
Peddlers	1,140.00
Dram-shops	96,696.90
	$218,328.60

COLLECTIONS FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Taxes and Interest.

Current taxes of 1881	$689,525.86
Back taxes of 1881	4,666.87
" " " 1880	50,418.04
" " " 1879	15,198.12
" " " 1878	5,643.07
" " " 1877	2,733.15
" " " 1876 and prior years	2,205.22
Delinquent personal taxes of 1881	1,092.51
" " " 1880	3,811.29
" " " 1879	1,[illegible]0.55
" " " 1878	6[illegible].13
" " " 1877	158.76
	$777,986.57

COLLECTIONS FOR THE CITY.

Taxes and Interest.

Current taxes of 1881	$2,479,760.86
Back taxes of 1881	16,101.03
" " " 1880	180,052.26
" " " 1879	53,808.55
" " " 1878	18,491.28
" " " 1877	9,980.98
" " " 1876 and prior years	11,609.66
Delinquent personal taxes of 1881	4,061.49
" " " 1880	12,684.15
" " " 1879	6,696.34
" " " 1878	2,267.26
" " " 1877	473.67
	$2,795,996.53

City Licenses and Miscellaneous Collections.

Rents	$4,150.67
Weighers' tickets	12,171.60
Real estate agents and banks	10,445.85
Manufacturers	105,648.70
Dogs	8,288.50
Opening streets	15,686.55
Commission merchants	16,350.00
Register's fees	5,178.50
Peddlers and hawkers	11,501.35
Ordinaries	3,176.15
Insurance companies	15,177.75
Vehicles	103,028.05
Meat-shops	4,148.40
Pawnbrokers	5,400.00
Merchants	197,189.20
Dram-shops	194,746.95
Markets	39,717.95
Wharfage	70,015.85
Miscellaneous collections	70,538.15.5
	$892,610.2[illegible]
	$3,688,606.7[illegible]

RECAPITULATION.

Collections for the State.

Taxes and interest	$689,933.72	
Licenses	218,328.60	
		$908,262.3[illegible]

Collections for the Public Schools.

Taxes and interest	777,986.[illegible]

Collections for the City.

Taxes and interest	$2,795,996.53	
Licenses and miscellaneous collections	892,610.26.5	
		$3,688,606.[illegible]
		$5,374,855.[illegible]
Commissions collected on back and delinquent personal taxes		10,339.[illegible]
Total collections		$5,385,193.[illegible]

DISBURSEMENTS.

Amount paid into the State treasury	$898,296.40	
Amount paid into the public school treasury	774,129.41	
Amount paid into the city treasury	3,651,215.18	
		$5,323,640.[illegible]
Commissions on current taxes, state and city licenses, and miscellaneous city collections	$51,214.69.5	
Commissions on back and delinquent personal taxes	10,339.57	
		61,554.[illegible]
		$5,385,193.[illegible]

COMMISSION ACCOUNT.

Commission on current taxes, State and city licenses, and miscellaneous city collections		$51,214.69.5
Commissions on back and delinquent personal taxes		10,339.57
		$61,554.26.5

DISBURSEMENTS OF COMMISSIONS.

Salaries of collector and deputies		$44,394.42
Expenses:		
Stationery, printing, repairs, &c.	$3,760.97	
Investigation of titles on back tax bills of 1879 and 1880	5,538.00	
		9,098.97
Surplus commissions paid over as follows:		
To the State	$1,030.93	
To the public schools	906.58.5	
To the city	4,232.04	
		6,169.55.5
Commissions on hand		1,891.32
		$61,554.26.5

A very slight comparison of these two reports of the comptroller and collector will suffice to show that each contains items of taxation not given in the other, but which still the people must pay. The collector's report takes no note of receipts from the water rates, or a part of the harbor board receipts, and of those of special collections set apart for special objects. The comptroller's report takes no note of school tax and State tax. The school tax is of course a State tax, but it is a special levy. It is part of the municipal burden of St. Louis, and no computation of taxes which does not include it can be considered complete. It is our object to present the actual facts as fully and as perfectly and intelligibly as possible, and hence we wish to show, actually and relatively, the amount of pressure exerted by the weight of government in St. Louis.

Rate of Taxation.—Says Comptroller E. A. Adreon: "The rate of city tax for the year 1882, on the one hundred dollar valuation, is seventy-five cents for interest and public debt revenue and one dollar for municipal revenue." But how is this arranged? Turn to the comptroller's "Statement D," in which are given the "estimated resources for current fiscal year, from April 11, 1882, to April 9, 1883." The rates and the rate being the same, this estimate will apply to the revenue collected for the fiscal year ended April 11, 1882:

I.—INTEREST AND PUBLIC DEBT REVENUE.

Taxes 1882:		
Seventy-five one hundredths of one per cent. on $172,700,000, estimated value of real and personal property (except steamboats) in old limits, less twelve per cent. allowed for delinquency		$1,139,820.00
One-tenth of one per cent. on $16,600,000, estimated assessed value of real and personal property in new limits, less twelve per cent. for delinquency		14,608.00
Railroad taxes, 1882		10,000.00
Delinquent taxes		102,000.00
Transfer from water-works revenue for interest on water bonds		140,000.00
Interest on current deposits		8,500.00
Pacific Railroad, for interest on $700,000 loan.		49,000.00
Unappropriated balance to credit (April 11, 1882)		11,763.77
		$1,475,691.77

II.—MUNICIPAL REVENUE.

Taxes 1882:		
One per cent. on $172,700,000, estimated assessed value of real and personal property (except steamboats) in old limits, less twelve per cent. allowed for delinquency		1,519,760.00
One-tenth of one per cent. on $1,000,000, estimated assessed value of steamboat property		1,000.00
Four-tenths of one per cent. on $16,600,000, estimated assessed value of real and personal property in new limits, less twelve per cent. allowed for delinquency		58,432.00
Railroad taxes, 1882		13,400.00
Delinquent taxes		150,000.00
Licenses:		
Commission merchants	$15,000 00	
Dram-shops	185,000.00	
Dog	7,500.00	
Manufacturers	95,000.00	
Merchants	185,000.00	
Vehicles	75,000.00	
Miscellaneous licenses	70,000.00	
		632,500.00
Miscellaneous Revenue:		
Building permits	$4,000.00	
Boiler inspections	6,000.00	
Fines and fees	60,000 00	
Markets	33,000.00	
Rents	5,000.00	
Recording fees	25,000.00	
Scales	30,000.00	
Weights and measures, inspection of	9,000.00	
		172,000.00

III.—HARBOR FUND.

Wharfage dues, rents, and other sources relating to harbor and wharf.	$65,000	
Unappropriated balance to credit, April 11, 1882	15,273.84	
		80,273.84

IV.—WATER-WORKS REVENUE.

Licenses, taps and permits	$750,000.00	
Unappropriated balance April 11, 1882	5,309.31	
	$755,309.31	
Less amount to be transferred to interest and public debt revenue for interest on water bonds	140,000.00	
		615,309.31
State's portion of cost of assessing revenue	$22,500.00	
State's appropriation for support of insane	15,000.00	
Opening streets, estimated collection of special tax bills issued	34,527.41	
Opening streets (new), estimated collection of special tax bills to be issued	20,000.00	
Dividends on gas stock	5,000.00	
From railroads, for Tayon Avenue bridge	15,000.00	
Miscellaneous collections	30,000.00	
Unappropriated balance April 11, 1882	10,160.49	
		2,699,279.90
V.—Proceeds of renewal bonds		205,000.00
VI.—Proceeds of sale of real estate		75,000.00
Total		$5,150,554.82

Statement E, the estimate of expenditures for the current fiscal year ending April 9, 1883, is as follows:

Costs, legal expenses, interest, discount, and expenses on bonded and temporary debts (including $65,940 sinking fund coupons), judgments, and sinking fund appropriation required by charter	$1,475,000.00
General expenses for municipal revenue	2,698,975.00
Harbor and wharf	80,273.84
Water-works	615,309.31
Bonds maturing	205,000.00
Purchases of real estate	75,000.00
Total	$5,149,558.15

A brief analysis of some of the foregoing figures will be advantageous in explaining the main avenues of expenditure and the main sources of revenue; and, first, of the debt, the city auditor's report contain the following:

RECAPITULATION OF CITY'S BONDED INDEBTEDNESS.

General bond account—city:		
For general purposes and renewal bonds	$7,738,000	
Real estate, etc	595,000	
Improvements of streets	70,000	
Water-works, old	127,000	
		$8,530,000
General bond account—county:		
Home of the friendless	$20,000	
Insane asylum	100,000	
County jail	500,000	
General county purposes	1,100,000	
Renewal bonds	650,000	
		2,370,000
Loan to Pacific Railroad Company (by old St. Louis County)		700,000
Bridge approach bond account		461,000
Fire department bond account		100,000
Harbor and wharf bond account		641,000
Park bond account, county		1,900,000
Tower Grove Park bond account		346,000
Sewer bond account		1,119,000
Water bond account		5,200,000
Water-pipe special tax refunding, bond account		800,000
		$22,167,000

Thus we have,—

	Cost.		Estimated value.
Parks	$3,624,663		$5,359,579
Water-works	6,127,000	(bonded debt)	7,183,090
Sewers	1,119,000	" "	
Harbor	641,000		
Improved real estate, —markets, engine-houses, courts, hospitals, etc	6,712,651		6,712,651

The water-works, which represent an indebtedness of $6,127,000, besides so much of their cost as may be chargeable to the general funds and accounts current and to renewal bonds, have yielded to the city since they were first undertaken an aggregate of $9,001,184 revenue, or, deducting cost of collection, a net of $8,500,000. The income from them for the last fiscal year was $706,145, less cost of collection (5.02 per cent.). This income is applied, in round numbers, exclusively to the payment of interest on the water bonds and to the costs of current expenses, improvements, and extensions of the service. If the Water Department income had a sinking fund to take up the renewal bonds for its own indebtedness, it could be called strictly self-sustaining. As it is, the water service is rather expensive.

The sources of revenue (calling the water rents and water liabilities equal) were as follows for the last fiscal year:

From taxes and interest on revenue account (including $167,000 transferred water revenue)—rate, $\frac{75}{100}$ of one per cent		$1,471,683.9
From taxes and licenses, fees, fines, commissions, rents, benefit assessments, sales, etc.,—rate, one dollar per hundred		2,890,25[illegible]
From harbor and wharf		90,296.4
Special collections for special ends		374,844.0
Renewal bonds		106,966.6
Receipts (less water revenue)		$4,767,049.9
The disbursements were as follows:		
For interest and debt		1,460,273.8
For municipal revenue (including leading items):		
Cost of assessment	$50,640.03	
City Hall	13,234.39	
Courts and court-houses	107,935.21	
Elections and registration	4,329.47	
Fire department	330,320.99	
Health department	350,489.81	
House of Refuge	33,944.14	
Insurance	8,429.25	
Jail	31,070.51	
Jury and witness fees	31,999.70	
Lighting city	278,672.01	
Markets	16,409.15	
Municipal Assembly	25,468.52	
Police	474,999.15	
Printing and stationery	15,233.54	
Parks	73,102.95	
Sewers	83,806.76	
Streets	416,037.31	
New work,—streets, sewers, bridges	730,079.72	
Recorder of deeds	22,493.45	
Salaries	50,615.95	
Work-house	38,716.79	
		2,758,024
Harbor and wharf		62,61[illegible]
Special purposes		274,15[illegible]
Redemption of bonds		250,00[illegible]
Auditor's warrants		45,3[illegible]
Total (less water accounts)		$4,681,8[illegible]

Recapitulation.

Municipal	$4,681,886.38
State, direct	689,933.72
" license	218,328.60
" schools	777,986.57
Water rents	706,145.65
Total	$7,074,280.92

This represents the total weight of State and municipal tax, direct and indirect, upon St. Louis [illegible] subject to a direct tax upon the assessed [illegible] real and personal property ($172,700,000 [illegible] on the $100, with allowance made for [illegible] quencies. Upon the supposed actual values of [illegible] and personal property, it would represent a direct [illegible] of $2.22 on the $100, and good government [illegible]

dom purchased so cheaply.[1] Of these total disbursements on account of expenditures there are derived,—

From licenses	$910,406.29
Rents, interests, fees, commissions, etc.	1,390,460.91
Special collections	374,844.91
Bond revenues	106,966.61
Total	$2,782,678.72

having to be raised by direct tax $4,291,602.20, equal to a tax of $2.75 on the $100, with allowance for delinquencies. Of the entire tax pressure, the water supply is ten per cent., in round numbers, the cost of schools eleven per cent., debt twenty per cent., police and fire twelve per cent., health and streets, including new work, twenty-five per cent.

OFFICIAL ASSESSMENTS FROM 1864 TO 1882.

Year.	City of St. Louis. Real Estate.	City of St. Louis. Real and Personal.
1864	$53,205,820	$63,059,078
1865	73,960,700	87,625,534
1866	81,961,610	105,245,210
1867	88,625,600	112,907,660
1868	94,362,370	116,582,140

[1] Section 12 of Article X. of the Constitution of Missouri limits the debts of cities, etc., as follows:

"No county, city, town, township, school district, or other political corporation or sub-division of the State shall be allowed to become indebted in any manner or for any purpose to an amount exceeding in any year the income and revenue provided for such year without the assent of two-thirds of the voters thereof voting at an election to be held for that purpose, nor in cases requiring such assent shall any indebtedness be allowed to be incurred to an amount, including existing indebtedness, in the aggregate exceeding five per centum on the value of the taxable property therein, to be ascertained by the assessment next before the last assessment for State and county purposes previous to the incurring of such indebtedness; *provided*, that on such assent any county may be allowed to become indebted to a larger amount for the erection of a court-house or jail; and *provided further*, that any county, city, town, township, school district, or other political corporation or sub-division of the State incurring any indebtedness requiring the assent of the voters as aforesaid shall, before or at the time of doing so, provide for the collection of an annual tax sufficient to pay the interest on such indebtedness as it falls due, and also to constitute a sinking fund for payment of the principal thereof within twenty years from the time of contracting the same."

Section 13 of the same article declares that "private property shall not be taken or sold for the payment of the corporate debts of a municipal corporation."

Section 8 of Article IX. of the same Constitution says,—

"The corporate authorities of any county, city, or other municipal division of the State having more than two hundred thousand inhabitants, which has already exceeded the limit of indebtedness in Section 12 of Article X. of this Constitution, may, in anticipation of the customary revenue thereof, appropriate, during any fiscal year, toward the governmental expenses thereof a sum not exceeding seven-eighths of the entire revenue applicable to general governmental purposes (exclusive of the payment of the bonded debt of such county, city, or municipality) that was actually raised by taxation alone during the preceding fiscal year; but until such excess of indebtedness has no further bonded debt shall be incurred, except for the renewal of other bonds."

Year.	City of St. Louis. Real Estate.	City of St. Louis. Real and Personal.
1869	$113,626,110	$138,523,480
1870	119,080,800	147,969,660
1871	123,833,950	158,272,430
1872	129,235,180	162,689,570
1873	149,144,400	180,278,950
1874	141,041,480	172,109,270
1875	131,141,020	166,999,660
1876	132,785,450	166,441,110
1877	148,012,750	181,345,560
1878	140,976,540	172,829,980
1879	136,071,670	163,813,920
1880	135,940,920	160,608,610
1881	139,869,100	167,336,600
1882	191,720,590	191,948,050

TABLE OF TAXES, REVENUE, AND POPULATION, FROM 1799 TO 1883.

Year.	Taxes and Revenue.	Value of Real and Personal Estate.	Population.
1799			925
1810			1,400
1811	$672.58[2]	$134,516.00	.....
1812	447.71[3]	134,313.00	.....
1818	4,873.56	1,218,390.62	.....
1819	3,396.48[4]	1,132,163.33	.....
1820	4,164.58	1,024,440.00	4,928
1821	3,823.80	955,950.00	.....
1822	3,824.68	956,170.00	.....
1823	4,050.32[4]	810,064.00	.....
1824	5,062.29	1,028,217.00	.....
1825	1,970.41[5]	1,013,167.00	.....
1826	2,509.68[5]	1,003,876.00	.....
1827	2,933.45	1,175,380.00	.....
1828	3,775.83	1,510,332.00	5,000
1829	4,765.98	1,906,392.00	.....
1830 (revenue)	14,291.89	1,830,616.00	5,852
1831	3,466.77	2,080,062.00	.....
1832	3,897.64	2,338,584.00	.....
1833	2,745.84	2,196,672.00	6,397
1834	2,579.61	2,063,688.00	.....
1835	8,332.08	2,221,888.00	8,316
1836	26,615.41	8,138,164.00	.....
1837	30,100.00	7,425,618.00	14,252
1838	33,408.75	8,169,657.00	.....
1839	39,055.00	7,736,260.00	.....
1840 (revenue)	119,173.66	8,682,506.00	16,469
1841	45,088.61	8,957,198.00	.....
1842	.....	12,101,028.00	.....
1843	74,795.23	8,308,480.41	.....
1844	122,411.82	13,999,914.40	34,140
1845	145,185.91	14,519,591.53	36,721
1846	152,021.20	15,055,720.99	.....
1847	174,983.99	16,665,145.75	.....
1848	.....	19,506,497.85	.....
1850 (revenue)	433,035.99	29,676,649.24	74,439
1851	386,824.45	34,443,529.21	.....
1852	403,619.36	38,281,668.96	94,000
1853	425,586.22	39,397,186.33	.....
1854	425,497.01	41,104,921.13	.....
1855	459,068.14	42,991,812.00	97,342
1856	.....	59,609,289.00	125,000
1857	667,421.62	73,662,043.94	.....
1858	.....	82,609,449.30	135,330
1859	.....	104,621,360.92	143,800
1860 (taxes)	1,033,019.10	102,408,230.00	162,179
1861	836,049.74	90,975,497.00	.....
1862	598,448.15	63,770,000.00	.....
1863	631,934.20	66,619,292.00	.....
1864	858,752.71	74,422,533.00	164,456
1865	1,105,031.12	87,625,534.00	.....
1866	1,460,385.99	108,565,391.00	204,327
1867	1,432,481.93	106,845,340.00	.....
1868	1,423,789.65	110,190,930.00	.....
1869	1,875,899.55	130,553,120.00	.....
1870	1,135,439.44	147,969,660.00	310,963
1875	2,071,735.13	166,999,660.00	.....
1880	2,743,816.82	160,608,610.00	350,000

[2] ½ per cent. [3] ⅓ of one per cent. [4] ½ of one per cent. [5] ¼ of one per cent.

TOTAL REVENUE OF THE CITY.

Including the interest and public debt revenue and the revenue applicable to municipal purposes.

1873–74	$4,175,540.77
1874–75	3,949,755.85
1875–76 (tax rate increased)	5,167,551.48
1876–77	5,300,641.30
1877–78	4,594,502.36
1878–79	4,124,731.58
1879–80	$4,301,015.22
1880–81	4,191,345.89
1881–82	4,188,225.73
1882–83 (estimated)	4,274,000.00

We append, for convenience of reference, a detailed statement of the bonded debt of St. Louis, from the last report of the city comptroller:

BONDED DEBT OF THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS,
April 11, 1882.
(Including debt of former county of St. Louis, assumed by city under the charter.)

Authority of Issue.	How Payable.	When Issued.	Rate of Interest.	Years to Run.	When Due.	Where Payable.	For what Purpose Issued.	Amount of Outstanding Principal.
					DUE 1882.			
Ord. 3506	Currency....	May 26, 1857..	6 per ct.	25	May 26, 1882..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Hospitals.....	$8,000
Ord. 3890	Currency....	July 1, 1857...	6 per ct.	25	July 1, 1882...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	General purposes.....	50,000
Ord. 3890	Currency....	July 15, 1857..	6 per ct.	25	July 15, 1882..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	General purposes.....	14,000
Ord. 3230	Currency....	July 30, 1855..	6 per ct.	27	July 30, 1882..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of streets	10,000
Ord. 3890	Currency....	Aug. 10, 1857..	6 per ct.	25	Aug. 10, 1882..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	General purposes.....	80,000
Ord. 3890	Currency....	Sept. 20, 1857.	6 per ct.	25	Sept. 20, 1882..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	General purposes.....	14,000
					DUE 1883.			
Ord. 3890	Currency....	March 1, 1858..	6 per ct.	25	March 1, 1883..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	General purposes.....	20,000
Ord. 3913	Currency....	May 10, 1858..	6 per ct.	25	May 10, 1883..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Old water-works.....	29,000
Ord. 3913	Currency....	June 12, 1858.	6 per ct.	25	June 12, 1883.	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Old water-works.....	18,000
	Gold or Silver.....	July 1, 1853...	6 per ct.	30	July 1, 1883....	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Home of the Friendless	20,000
Ord. 3913	Currency....	July 12, 1858..	6 per ct.	25	July 12, 1883..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Old water-works.....	80,000
Ord. 3506	Currency....	Dec. 2, 1858....	6 per ct.	25	Dec. 2, 1883....	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Hospitals	3,000
					DUE 1884.			
Ord. 5273	Currency....	April 20, 1864.	6 per ct.	20	April 20, 1884.	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Renewal bonds.....	8,000
Ord. 5480	Currency....	Dec. 28, 1864..	6 per ct.	20	Dec. 28, 1884..	City Treasury.....	Renewal bonds.....	1,000
					DUE 1885.			
State Act, Jan. 7, '65	Currency....	Feb. 1, 1865...	7 per ct.	20	Feb. 1, 1885....	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Loan to P. R. R. Co.....	700,000
Ord. 5593	Currency....	July 1, 1865...	6 per ct.	20	July 1, 1885....	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Renewal bonds.....	2,000
					DUE 1886.			
Ord. 3506	Currency....	Feb. 9, 1856...	6 per ct.	30	Feb. 9, 1886...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of harbor.	15,000
Ord. 5745	Currency....	June 1, 1866..	6 per ct.	20	June 1, 1886...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of harbor.	45,000
Ord. 5778	Currency....	June 15, 1866.	6 per ct.	20	June 15, 1886..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	House of Refuge.....	20,000
Ord. 5745	Currency....	Sept. 1, 1866..	6 per ct.	20	Sept. 1, 1886...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of harbor.	98,000
Ord. 5841	Currency....	Sept. 15, 1866.	6 per ct.	20	Sept. 15, 1886.	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Opening Fourth Street	50,000
Ord. 5745	Currency....	Nov. 1, 1866..	6 per ct.	20	Nov. 1, 1886...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of harbor.	97,000
Ord. 5745	Currency....	Nov. 15, 1866..	6 per ct.	20	Nov. 15, 1886..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of harbor.	10,000
Ord. 5745	Currency....	Dec. 15, 1866..	6 per ct.	20	Dec. 15, 1886..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of harbor.	210,000
					DUE 1887.			
Ord. 5745	Currency....	Jan. 1, 1867...	6 per ct.	20	Jan. 1, 1887...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of harbor.	10,000
Ord. 5745	Currency....	Jan. 15, 1867..	6 per ct.	20	Jan. 15, 1887..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of harbor.	50,000
Ord. 5745	Currency....	Feb. 1, 1867...	6 per ct.	20	Feb. 1, 1887...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of harbor.	92,000
Ord. 3616	Currency....	April 1, 1857..	6 per ct.	30	April 1, 1887..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	City Hospital.....	20,000
Ord. 6053	Currency....	April 1, 1867..	6 per ct.	20	April 1, 1887..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Floating debt.....	150,000
Ord. 6053	Currency....	May 1, 1867....	6 per ct.	20	May 1, 1887....	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Floating debt	148,000
Ord. 3565	Currency....	May 16, 1857..	6 per ct.	30	May 16, 1887..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Sewers.....	22,000
Ord. 6053	Currency....	June 1, 1867...	6 per ct.	20	June 1, 1887...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Floating debt.....	194,000
Ord. 3668	Currency....	June 10, 1857.	6 per ct.	30	June 10, 1887.	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of streets.	10,000
Ord. 6177) Ord. 6268) Ord. 6364)	Gold.....	June 25, 1867.	6 per ct.	20	June 25, 1887.	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	New water-works.....	3,500,000
Ord. 6220	Currency....	July 1, 1867...	6 per ct.	20	July 1, 1887...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Sanitary purposes.....	136,000
State Act, Mar. 7, '67	Currency....	July 1, 1867...	7 per ct.	20	July 1, 1887...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Insane Asylum.....	100,000
Ord. 6220	Currency....	Aug. 1, 1867...	6 per ct.	20	Aug. 1, 1887...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Floating debt.....	100,000
Ord. 6219	Currency....	Sept. 1, 1867...	8 per ct.	20	Sept. 1, 1887...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Soulard Market.....	25,000
					DUE 1888.			
Ord. 6368	Currency....	Jan. 1, 1868...	6 per ct.	20	Jan. 1, 1888...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Union Market.....	100,000
Ord. 6368	Currency....	Jan. 1, 1868...	6 per ct.	20	Jan. 1, 1888...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Renewal Bonds.....	200,000
Ord. 3616	Currency....	Feb. 1, 1858...	6 per ct.	30	Feb. 1, 1888...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	City Hospital	1,000
Ord. 3616	Currency....	Feb. 5, 1858...	6 per ct.	30	Feb. 5, 1888...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	City Hospital.....	7,000
Ord. 3616	Currency....	March 6, 1858.	6 per ct.	30	March 6, 1888.	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	City Hospital.....	2,000
Ord. 6449	Currency....	May 1, 1868...	6 per ct.	20	May 1, 1888...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Floating debt.....	950,000
Ord. 6449	Currency....	May 1, 1868...	6 per ct.	20	May 1, 1888...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Sewers	495,000
Ord. 3890	Currency....	May 20, 1858..	6 per ct.	30	May 20, 1888..	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	General purposes.....	4,000
Ord. 3890	Currency....	June 2, 1858...	6 per ct.	30	June 2, 1888...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	General purposes.....	38,000
Ord. 6653	Currency....	Aug. 15, 1868.	6 per ct.	20	Aug. 15, 1888.	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Improvement of harbor.	44,000
Ord. 3565	Currency....	Aug. 27, 1858.	6 per ct.	30	Aug. 27, 1888.	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Sewers.....	25,000
State Act, Mar. 2, '67	Currency....	Sept. 1, 1868...	7 per ct.	20	Sept. 1, 1888...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	County jail.....	500,000
					DUE 1889.			
State Act, Mar. 2, '67	Currency....	July 1, 1869...	7 per ct.	20	July 1, 1889...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Renewal bonds.....	100,000
Ord. 6955	Currency....	Aug. 1, 1869...	6 per ct.	20	Aug. 1, 1889...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Sewers.....	729,000

BONDED DEBT.—*Continued.*

Authority of Issue.	How Payable.	When Issued.	Rate of Interest.	Years to Run.	When Due.	Where Payable.	For what Purpose Issued.	Amount of Outstanding Principal.
					DUE 1890.	(*See also* "*Due* 1900.")		
State Act, Ord. 682	Gold..... Currency....	June 25, 1870. Dec. 1, 1840...	6 per ct. 5 per ct.	20 50	June 25, 1890. Dec. 1, 1890...	City Treasury..... City Treasury.....	New water-works..... Public square.....	$450,000 25,000
					DUE 1891.			
Ord. 7344 Ord. 7628	Currency.... Gold.....	Feb. 1, 1871... June 1, 1871...	6 per ct. 6 per ct.	20 20	Feb. 1, 1891... June 1, 1891...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y.... Bonds at Nat. Bk. Commerce, N.Y... (Int. at Nat. Bk. Republic, N.Y.)	Renewal bonds..... Renewal bonds.....	155,000 475,000
					DUE 1892.			
State Act, State Act, Mar. 9, '72	Gold.....	April 1, 1872..	6 per ct.	20	April 1, 1892...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y...	New water-works.....	1,250,000
	Gold.....	June 1, 1872...	6 per ct.	20	June 1, 1892...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or City Treasury.....	General purposes.....	600,000
Ord. 8103	Gold.....	Dec. 10, 1872..	6 per ct.	20	Dec. 10, 1892..	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y...	Bridge approaches.....	461,000
					DUE 1893.			
Ord. 7970 State Act, Mar. 9, '72	Gold.....	Jan. 1, 1873....	6 per ct.	20	Jan. 1, 1893...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y...	Sewers.....	200,000
	Gold.....	July 1, 1873...	6 per ct.	20	July 1, 1893...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or City Treasury.....	Renewal bonds.....	250,000
Ord. 8654	Gold, $1000 £200	Nov. 1, 1873...	6 per ct.	20	Nov. 1, 1893...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London.....	Renewal bonds.....	1,074,000
					DUE 1894.			
State Act, Mar. 9, '72	Gold.....	Jan. 1, 1874...	6 per ct.	20	Jan. 1, 1894...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or City Treasury.....	Renewal bonds.....	100,000
Ord. 8748	Gold.....	March 1, 1874.	6 per ct.	20	March 1, 1894.	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Sewers.....	6,000
Ord. 8792	Gold, $1000 £200	July 1, 1874...	6 per ct.	20	July 1, 1894...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London..... (Interest payable 1st May and Nov.)	Renewal bonds.....	372,000
Ord. 8792	Gold, $1000 £200	July 1, 1874...	6 per ct.	20	July 1, 1894...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London. ..... (Interest payable 1st May and Nov.)	Floating debt.....	900,000
State Act	Gold, $1000 £200	July 1, 1874...	6 per ct.	20	July 1, 1894...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London..... (Interest payable 1st May and Nov.)	Refunding water-pipe tax.....	800,000
					DUE 1895.			
State Act, Mar. 9, '72	Gold.....	Jan. 1, 1875....	6 per ct.	20	Jan. 1, 1895...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Renewal bonds.....	100,000
Ord. 9470	Gold, $1000 £200	May 1, 1875....	6 per ct.	20	May 1, 1895...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London.....	Renewal bonds.....	372,000
Ord. 9470	Gold, $1000 £200	May 1, 1875....	6 per ct.	20	May 1, 1895...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London.....	Mill Creek sewer.....	80,000
Ord. 9470	Gold, $1000 £200	May 1, 1875....	6 per ct.	20	May 1, 1895...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London.....	Carondelet indebtedness	55,000
State Act,	Gold, $1000 £200	May 1, 1875....	6 per ct.	20	May 1, 1895...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London.....	Fire department.	100,000
State Act, Mar. 25, '75	Gold.....	May 1, 1875....	6 per ct.	20	May 1, 1895...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	General purposes.....	500,000
Ord. 1494	Currency....	July 21, 1845..	6 per ct.	50	July 21, 1895..	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Purchase Block 7.....	40,000
Ord. 9792	Gold, $1000 £200	Nov. 17, 1875..	6 per ct.	20	Nov. 17, 1895..	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London..... (Interest payable 1st May and Nov.)	House of Refuge.....	50,000
					DUE 1896.			
State Act, Mar. 9, '72	Gold.....	Jan. 1, 1876....	6 per ct.	20	Jan. 1, 1896...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Renewal bonds.....	100,000
					DUE 1898.			
Ord. 10,743	Gold, $1000 £200	June 1, 1878...	6 per ct.	20	June 1, 1898...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London.....	Renewal bonds.....	593,000
Ord. 6606	Gold.....	Aug. 1, 1868...	6 per ct.	30	Aug. 1, 1898...	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Tower Grove Park.....	346,000
					DUE 1899.			
Ord. 10,743	Gold, $1000 £200	Jan. 1, 1879...	6 per ct.	20	Jan. 1, 1899...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London.....	Renewal bonds.....	675,000
					DUE 1900.			
Ord. 11,066	Gold, $1000 £200	Jan. 1, 1880...	5 per ct.	20	Jan. 1, 1900...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London.....	Renewal bonds.....	476,000
Ord. 11,561	Gold, $1000 £200	June 1, 1880...	5 per ct.	10 — 20	June 1, 1900... — Red'mable at city's option after 1890.	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y., or £ London.....	Renewal bonds.....	548,000
					DUE 1905.			
State Act, Feb. 2, '75	Gold.....	April 1, 1875...	6 per ct.	30	April 1, 1905...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Purchase Forest Park...	1,300,000
State Act, Mar. 12, '75	Gold.....	April 1, 1875...	6 per ct.	30	April 1, 1905...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Purchase Carondelet Park	200,000
State Act, Mar. 14, '75	Gold.....	April 1, 1875...	6 per ct.	30	April 1, 1905...	National Bank of Commerce, N.Y..	Purchase O'Fallon Park	400,000
					DUE 1906.			
Ord. 8790	Currency....	April 10, 1866.	6 per ct.	40	April 10, 1906.	National Bank of Republic, N.Y....	Purchase Block 121.....	245,000
	Total.....							$22,167,000
	To this amount should be added renewal bonds fiscal year 1881–82, held for sale to the sinking fund, the matured bonds 1881–82 having been redeemed by means advanced from the treasury.....							144,000
								$23,311,000

Sewerage System.—As early as 1778 provision was made for draining the town of St. Louis, as appears from the fact that on the 15th of March of that year the inhabitants assembled at the close of the mass

"in the government hall, in presence of Don Francisco Cruzat, Lieutenant-Governor, to consider as to the most convenient means of giving a proper drainage to the rain-water that settles in the back lots of the village along the back street; and they agreed that a gutter or canal should be made at once down the street or road between the lots of François Bissonnet and Conrad (now Chestnut) Street, to draw the water to the Mississippi, and to allow a constant drainage to the water from the gullies and sink-holes; and for this purpose they named Lapierre, Taillon, Deschennes, Lachause, and Baccaunet to devise a plan for the same and have it done."

Those present and signing the official record were Lachause, Baccaunet, Deschennes, Taillon, Bissonnet, Conand, Dubreuil, A. Chouteau, Labuscière, Barada, Terraute, Benito, Jos. Labrosse, Ortes, Roubien, Bargas, Francisco Cruzat.

No action looking to the construction of a general system of sewerage, however, was taken until 1843, in which year the Legislature granted the city a new charter, among the provisions of which was one giving the mayor and City Council power by ordinance to "establish, erect, and keep in repair bridges, culverts, and sewers, and regulate the use of the same; to establish, alter, and change the channel of watercourses, and to wall them up and cover them over." In the message of the mayor, Hon. John M. Krum, to the City Council on the 8th of May, 1848, it was stated that the want of proper sewers was a serious cause of complaint on the part of the citizens. St. Louis, he added, was favorably situated for the construction of sewers, but the city finances would not then admit of the expenditure. Mayor Krum, however, recommended that the subject be kept steadily in view in all the street improvements thereafter made. "Sewers," he said, "are so essential to cleanliness, and contribute so largely to comfort and convenience, that their construction in this city cannot and will not be long delayed. If the public mind is not now prepared to sanction the undertaking it will soon be. Of this I have no doubt." Mr. Krum's prophecy was realized much sooner than he anticipated, for the great cholera epidemic of 1849 directed public attention most forcibly to the vital importance of at once beginning the construction of an efficient system of sewerage. Prior to this time the city had depended mainly upon surface drainage, and within the city limits were a number of sluggish streams and stagnant ponds, into which the drainage of the most thickly-settled quarters found its way. The water thus became fearfully contaminated, exhaling noxious vapors and miasma, which were a prolific source of disease. The cholera made its appearance early in January, and was undoubtedly stimulated by the wretched sanitary condition of the city. In those days the topography of St. Louis was very different from what it is at the present time. There were sink-holes where level streets now extend, and knobs, mounds, and hillocks. As the neighboring grounds were cleared away and plowed over, and there began to be accumulations of garbage in the city which it was necessary to remove, the great sink-holes that used to gape over the surface from Eighth Street to Twentieth Street, and from Chestnut to Salisbury Streets, became dumps, and their outlets became obstructed. In course of time the city was surrounded by stagnant ponds which turned green in summer, and from their fetid waters was wafted the breath of the dreadful malaria. For years St. Louis was noted far and near as the "sickly city," and men avoided it, travelers hastened their journeys, and business men from abroad pressed their affairs to a speedy conclusion and hastened away from the place.

Among the most noted of these poison laboratories with which St. Louis was afflicted a generation ago was that situated about where are now Eleventh and Twelfth and O'Fallon Streets and Cass Avenue, extending north of the last-named street for nearly a block. It was called "Kayser's Lake." Mr. Kayser was at that time city engineer, and the residents in its neighborhood, no doubt thinking he was in some way responsible for the continuance of the nuisance, dubbed it "Kayser's Lake." It was a very large pond, the basin of a sink-hole whose outlet had been stopped up; and it was a very ugly body of water which in summer changed to a yellow-green, and emitted vapors freighted with chills, fevers, and death. Means to drain it effectually were demanded. It was deep and wide then, and to fill it up at once would be an undertaking not to be thought of. An underground sewer was the practical thing by which to accomplish the desired end. Surveys were made, and "Kayser's Lake" became the location of the Biddle Street sewer, the first of the great underground drainage canals with which St. Louis is supplied. This was about 1851–52.

The dam across the stream, and the growth of the city, with the rapid accumulation of garbage, filled up the lower portion of the course of Mill Creek, and Chouteau's Lake became an unsightly pond. The water which fell upon seven thousand acres of ground was all collected and forced down the valley of Mill Creek, and hundreds of acres of land on which

city is now built were converted into swamps when the heavy spring rains fell. It became necessary to do something with Mill Creek, and a vast arched underground canal was projected.

St. Louis is admirably located for drainage purposes, its site descending in a series of terraces to the river. Its surface, almost impenetrable by water and exhibiting no extensive levels, possesses all the conditions requisite for perfect drainage; but before the streets were graded and sewers constructed the ground was broken by ridges which cut off large districts from all direct drainage to the river, and there were, as stated above, numerous basins or depressions of considerable area which had no natural outlet for surface water except through sink-holes and crevices of the rocks.

These natural outlets sufficed for a time, but as the city grew and grades were established and elevations leveled off, the earth was deposited in the sink-holes. Consequently the natural drains were clogged, and noisome pools of stagnant water, into which most of the city's filth was swept, were created. In time, as already indicated, malaria was generated, and, according to a local writer, "an atmosphere of chills and fever seemed to envelop the town."

The problem of constructing a complete system of drainage was carefully studied before the work was finally undertaken, and at first it presented very unpromising features to the engineers. Elaborate surveys, however, developed the fact that while there were few natural water-courses, there was no serious obstacle to a complete and effective drainage. Mill Creek, cutting through the centre of the city, was really the only natural channel practicable for a large sewer, but there were several important basins entirely without outlets, and to tap these was the necessity. The succession of ridges rising one behind the other which diversified the surface of the city constituted a system of barriers which had to be pierced through by the sewers in order to drain the stagnant waters beyond, and it is this method of piercing through a ridge to tap the inclosed basin that distinguishes the St. Louis sewer system.

The principal basins were as follows: Beginning on the north, the ridge at the southwest of Gingrass Creek enclosed a broad depression that had no surface outlet. Then in the vicinity of Fifteenth and Benton was another region that required artificial drainage. From this range southward along Twentieth Street runs a rocky ridge which constitutes a divide between the river slope and a depressed region farther west. This depression was formerly filled with sink-holes, the drainage of which had cut natural channels through the rocks under the ridge. Rocky Branch found its way under the divide by these channels and broke out on the eastern slope. From the fact that the ridge, so to speak, bridged these drains, it was called the Natural Bridge.

West of Grand Avenue, in Butchertown, was still another sink-hole basin, comprising about one thousand acres. The water from this region, draining through under the Grand Avenue ridge, used to come out about Elliott Avenue, which was the head of Rocky Branch. About the neighborhood of Twentieth and Wash Streets was a depression which had to be tapped. Passing on to the southward the valley of Mill Creek, comprising some six thousand acres, shed all its water, freighted with filth and surface-washings, into Chouteau's Pond. This eventually became an unwholesome slough, and was made the central artery of the great system. South of Mill Creek there was a broad stretch of land that slopes with comparative evenness from the region of the city hospital to the river. At Arsenal Street, however, the ridge incloses another depression with walls of stone. Still farther south at Chippewa Street was one more sink-hole basin, and in Carondelet at Stein Street was another.

The need of a thorough system of sewerage having, as we have shown, been brought into conspicuous prominence by the frightful mortality from cholera in the winter of 1849, the Legislature passed an act authorizing the City Council of St. Louis to borrow a sum not exceeding fifty thousand dollars for the construction of a sewer or sewers, "commencing at any point on or near Seventh Street, and north of Washington Avenue, as may be deemed most desirable, to drain off all the water that collects at intersections of cross streets with Seventh Street and north of Washington Avenue." This act was approved March 12, 1849. About the same time the Legislature passed the first act (also approved March 12, 1849) "to provide a general system of sewerage in the city of St. Louis." The act was as follows:

"*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri as follows:*

"1. The mayor and City Council of St. Louis shall cause by ordinance the city to be laid off into districts to be drained by principal and lateral or tributary sewers, having reference to a general plan of drainage by sewers for the whole city, and number and record the same.

"2. Whenever a majority of the owners of real estate within any district shall petition for the construction of the sewers in said district, the City Council shall have power by ordinance to levy and collect a special tax on the real estate within said district so drained, not to exceed one-half of one per centum per annum on the assessed value of said real estate, for the purpose of constructing said sewers, which tax shall be annually levied and collected as other city taxes, and shall constitute a lien on the real estate on which it is assessed, and shall not be repealed

or altered until the debt created thereby shall have been fully paid.

"3. Whenever a petition signed as aforesaid is presented to the City Council, they shall provide by ordinance for the letting and construction of the sewers or such parts thereof as shall be necessary, and may from time to time extend, enlarge, or alter the same, under such terms and on such conditions as they may deem necessary.

"4. The mayor and City Council, upon the presentation of a petition as aforesaid, may borrow any sum of money necessary for the construction of the sewers in any district, and issue the bonds of the city for the same, payable and predicated in interest and principal upon the tax in the second section of this act mentioned.

"5. All moneys collected under and by virtue of this act shall be applied to the district from which they are so collected, and to no other purpose or use."

Prior to the passage of this act a number of short box drains had been built across the public landing to the river, nearly or quite all having been constructed by private parties for the drainage of their own property. In March, 1850, the construction of the first public sewer was commenced. It was known as the Biddle Street sewer, and was intended to drain a large pond formed by the closing of sink-holes or openings in the rock which were the natural outlet for the drainage of a large basin centering in the vicinity of Ninth and Biddle Streets.

On the 27th of July, 1850, the mayor, Hon. Luther M. Kennett, approved an ordinance passed by the City Council "to provide a general system of sewerage," which directed that the sewers should be constructed under the supervision of the city engineer, in conformity with plans and specifications to be made by him in each case, and to be submitted by him to the City Council for approval. It was also provided that there should be constructed

"in addition to the large sewer on Biddle Street, already provided for by ordinance, another large sewer on Poplar Street, commencing at or near Ninth Street, and ending at the low-water line at the foot of Poplar Street. Said sewer shall be twenty feet wide in the span of the inverted flat arch, and forming the bottom of it, or of the same width if the bottom should be on the natural rock, and ten feet high in the middle, and shall have a regular and uniform descent from its upper to its lower end."

Besides these large sewers the construction of other sewers was ordered,—on Seventh Street, commencing at the highest point in said street and running thence northwardly with a regular descent into the sewer on Biddle Street; on Ninth Street, commencing at the highest point on said street and extending to the sewer on Poplar Street; on North Ninth Street, commencing at the highest point north of Biddle Street and south of Cass Avenue, and running thence to the Biddle Street sewer; and on every street running east and west between Poplar and Biddle Streets, a sewer commencing at the highest point in the street east of Eighth Street, and running thence eastwardly with a regular descent to the low-water line at the foot of such street; and also from said highest point, running westwardly, to intersect the sewer in Seventh or Ninth Street, as the case might be. For the purpose of draining the cellars on private property, it was provided that lateral sewers should be constructed on all the streets in each sewer district running at right angles to the main sewer of such district.

Four days later, July 31, 1850, the mayor approved an ordinance providing for the creation and management of a common sewer fund, which authorized him to issue bonds from time to time as they were needed in the prosecution of the work to an amount not exceeding ten thousand dollars, and directed the officers of the Treasury Department to open an account to be styled the "Common Sewer Fund," which should be charged with the amount of all the common sewer bonds sold and with all payments made under authority of the ordinance. It was further provided that it should be the duty of the auditor in the month of January of every year to make out sewer tax bills charging each lot in any sewer district with a tax in equal proportion, not exceeding one-half of one per centum on the assessed value thereof, according to the assessment of the same and the improvements thereon as the same appeared on the assessment books of the city for the preceding year; such tax to constitute a lien upon the real estate respectively charged therewith until paid. The tax was to be collected in the same manner as the other taxes were collected, and all moneys thus obtained were to be placed to the credit of the common sewer fund, and credited to every sewer district accordingly.

In his message to the City Council, Oct. 14, 1850, Mayor Kennett stated that the sewers necessary below Market Street had been put under contract, and recommended that the Legislature be petitioned for legislation authorizing the city to borrow money for the completion of the Biddle Street sewer, and the construction of the sewer on Poplar Street from Ninth Street to the river, and the sewers provided for by the ordinance on Ninth and Seventh Streets. In this connection the mayor said,—

"The great sewer on Biddle Street is a work of which our city might be proud, as well on account of its magnitude and the good it is to accomplish as the excellent manner in which it is being constructed. The necessary means to complete and make the connection on Seventh Street, at least as far up as Franklin Avenue, should be provided at the earliest possible moment, and I confidently hope that the Legislature will give the power, and that these works, as also a sewer of large size

Poplar Street, from Ninth to the river, will be completed before the expiration of the ensuing year."

In the report of the city engineer for the same year attention was called to the remarkable advantages possessed by St. Louis for the perfecting of a complete and thorough system of drainage. "The deep channel and rapid current of the Mississippi," he remarked, "will be the great trunk which lies one hundred and fifty feet below the highest portions of the city. The Biddle Street sewer, twelve feet in diameter, now in progress in the north part of the city, will serve as a stem for all such branches as may be found necessary to completely drain the deep depression in the northwest part of the city. The work is rapidly progressing under the efficient exertions of the contractor, Mr. Brooks. . . . The north part of the city will next year in all probability be penetrated with a sewer which will effectually drain the offensive pool that is now located in that portion of the city." Even at this comparatively early day the importance of constructing a sewer to drain Mill Creek was fully recognized. "Another large sewer," wrote the city engineer, "should be constructed to drain the valley of Mill Creek, including the pool of the dam known as Chouteau's Pond. This pool is now the receptacle of all the sewage water of the adjacent grounds, and it is constantly filling up, as a great cesspool, with the solid particles of the sewage, augmented by the offensive deposits that are discharged from the adjacent dwellings."

In the engineer's report, Oct. 12, 1852, it was stated that "sewer-work continues to increase in all sections of the city, and in all instances seems to satisfy the designs of those who have urged it forward." At this time the Thirteenth Street sewer had been completed; Poplar Street sewer was "progressing with energy and success;" Morgan Street sewer was being built; and St. Charles and Christy Avenue sewers had been commenced.

In the city engineer's report, Oct. 10, 1853, the drainage of Chouteau's Pond was again brought to the attention of the City Council. "The water," it stated, "collecting in the artificial pond created by the dam in former years built across Chouteau's valley west of Ninth Street finds its passage only gradually through the flood-gate of the old mill, which, being somewhat higher than the surface of the bottom of the pond, does not effect a complete drainage, and forms a large shallow sheet of water, which during warm weather soon becomes very offensive and injurious to the health of the neighborhood. With the consent of the owners concerned and under the order of the Board of Health to correct the evil, a cut is now being made through the dam, in continuation of the sewer, wide and deep enough to carry off all the water as fast as it collects, and to effect a complete drainage." On the 8th of May, 1854, the city engineer reported that there were thirteen districts in which sewers had been built, "covering together an area of about one hundred and fifty-six acres." The total length of the principal sewers in these districts was about twenty thousand five hundred feet, and of the branches upwards of twenty-two thousand feet. The number of inlets was two hundred and seventy-five. The construction of the common sewer on Poplar Street was reported to be progressing slowly. In the report for the following year (Oct. 8, 1855) the engineer stated that sewers were constantly on the increase. At that time there had been constructed "thirty-one main sewers, draining over four hundred acres of that part of the city most densely populated, having a total length, including laterals and inlets for surface drainage, of about seventeen miles." Their construction had cost over four hundred thousand dollars, excluding Biddle Street sewer, which alone cost one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. In the engineer's report of May 12, 1856, it was stated that the whole length of the sewers was twenty miles, draining an area of six hundred and twenty-five acres, and their cost up to that time over five hundred thousand dollars.

The construction of Poplar Street sewer progressed very slowly, owing to the fact that "a stratum of quicksand percolated by water" had been encountered at one of the stages of the work, presenting difficulties which were not easily overcome; and on the 10th of May, 1858, the engineer reported that the sewer had not capacity enough "to drain off at some future time all the water and filth collecting in Mill Creek valley," and intimated that a larger sewer for that purpose would have to be constructed. The sewer system of St. Louis at this time is thus described:

"Our sewer system is divided into three parts,—public, district, and private sewers. The public sewers are built at the general expense of the corporation along the main lines of drainage, such as Benton, Biddle, Poplar, Barton, and some other streets, and are paid for out of the proceeds of the sale of bonds issued by the city under the authority of a vote of the people, in accordance with the charter and act of March 12, 1849. This system of public sewers has not yet been extended over the territory of the new portion of the city, nor has any plan for that purpose yet been presented to the City Council for adoption.

"District sewers are the lateral and branch sewers connecting with the main public sewers. The districts are established by the City Council, and upon the petition of the owners of a majority of the property within the limits of a district, the Council directs the engineer to cause the sewer to be constructed under contract with the lowest and best bidder for the work at public

letting. The sewer is paid for out of the proceeds of the sale of bonds issued by the mayor and comptroller, for the payment of the principal and interest of which a special sewer tax of one-half of one per cent. is levied annually upon the property within the limits of the district, according to its assessed valuation, until the whole debt is paid. The Council specifies the amount of bonds that may be issued for each district, and this specified amount is generally in accordance with the liberally-estimated cost of the sewer. The bonds are negotiated as the money is required during the progress of the work, and the amount sold is limited to the final cost of the sewer.

"Private sewers are the drains from cellars, etc., connecting with the district sewers, and are built and paid for entirely by the persons whose premises they accommodate."

Prior to 1859 about thirty miles of sewers had been constructed, including the following main sewers with their branches: Biddle Street sewer (already described); Benton Street sewer, from the river to Fifteenth Street, thence along Fifteenth Street to Howard Street, draining a smaller basin adjoining the Biddle Street sewer on the south; southeastern sewer, on Lesperance Street; Emmet Street sewer, draining the then southern portion of the city; and a number of smaller sewers in the central portion of the city, built on each street from the river westwardly to the summit of the grades near Sixth Street. On the 14th of March, 1859, the General Assembly of Missouri passed an act establishing the present sewer system.

F. Hassendeubel, city engineer, reported, May 14, 1860, that "a thorough system of public sewers for draining the whole city (as far as the tracts of land within the same are sub-divided and streets laid out therein) was at the close of the last fiscal year submitted to the honorable Council and finally adopted." The public sewers, it was added, would as nearly as possible follow the natural water-courses and the lowest parts or valleys of the city, and the grades of the streets were established so as to drain all surface water from the dividing ridges; "the district sewers to be established and to extend from said public sewers towards the ridges."

In the engineer's report of Oct. 8, 1860, it was announced that the work on the public sewers was progressing rapidly. "Mill Creek sewer," it was stated, "from Chouteau Avenue to Seventh Street, is a work of great magnitude, and although every effort has been made to urge it forward, yet it may be regarded as only just commenced. The portion passing under Chouteau Avenue has proved a more difficult piece of work than was anticipated, owing to the soft nature of the base upon which the Chouteau Avenue embankment rests, and to the presence of the main gas-pipe and district sewers. Serious slides have occurred in the side slopes of the excavation, which have caused necessarily a much larger amount of work to be performed than under ordinary circumstances would have been required. . . . This sewer is intended to drain a large portion of the city for all future time, and in consideration of the fact it was deemed advisable to remove all the old culverts, in order to give it a uniform capacity and render it complete and efficient. . . . The public sewerage is much behind every other species of improvement, for the reason that the former system had become inoperative long before the present system was established."

In his report of May 13, 1861, the city engineer remarked that it was manifest "to the most casual observer that St. Louis without her sewer system would be almost uninhabitable at certain periods of the year, and although there is over thirty miles of sewerage completed, still there is much to be done that cannot well be delayed." During the war, owing to the general suspension of works of improvement the progress in the construction of sewers was naturally slow, and in the city engineer's report of May 8, 1866, it was stated that the sewerage of the city was still far behind other improvements, although nine miles had been added during the previous year. St. Louis was again scourged by cholera in the summer of 1866, and public attention was once more directed by the stern hand of death to the dangers of an inadequate or defective system of sewerage in so populous a community. It is worthy of note in this connection, however, as showing in part the good results accomplished by the construction of the sewers which St. Louis then possessed, that notwithstanding the population had increased enormously the percentage of deaths during the epidemic of 1866 was not so great by one third as during the epidemic of 1849. In his message of Oct. 8, 1866, Mayor Thomas, after congratulating the citizens on the fact that the city was "again free from the devastating blight of the fearful scourge that has lately visited us," said that the experience which had been gained during the season of the epidemic taught that more efficient and stringent regulations should be adopted for the care of the public health, and called special attention to the defects of the sewerage system. "The great want of this city, in a sanitary point of view," said the city engineer, in his report of April 30, 1867, "is the complete extension of the sewer system, and the large public sewers needed are so costly that extraordinary means must be provided to pay for them." In the revised charter granted to the city by the Legislature, and approved March 13, 1867, the Council was empowered to establish a general sy-

ystem, which should be divided into three classes,—public, district, and private sewers. To pay for their construction the Council was authorized to levy a tax on all property made taxable for State purposes over the whole city, to be known as the "special public sewer tax." Up to Oct. 11, 1869, the total length of public sewers built was nearly twenty-one miles, at a cost of about one million three hundred thousand dollars, and of district sewers about one hundred and five miles, at a total cost of about three million one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, including all expenses for repairs, superintendence, etc. At this time the sewerage in most of the old parts of the city had been completed, and the system was extended only as the progress of improvement required it. The following table shows the length of sewers built during the preceding years, beginning in 1861, with the cost of same, including miscellaneous expenses:

	Miles.	Cost.
Sewers constructed up to January, 1861	31.50	$841,768.78
Sewers constructed during the year 1861	1.17	47,895.18
Sewers constructed during the year 1862	.76	37,090.10
Sewers constructed during the year 1863	1.96	41,262.18
Sewers constructed during the year 1864	3.25	73,735.58
Sewers constructed during the year 1865	9.44	201,418.12
Sewers constructed during the year 1866	18.92	553,353.26
Sewers constructed during the year 1867	16.50	555,519.23
Sewers constructed during the year 1868	17.50	575,463.35
Total	101	$2,977,505.78

In 1869 the greatest height of the public sewers varied from four feet, the height of Barton Street sewer, to fifteen feet, the height of Mill Creek sewer, the best of all in regard to construction and size. Their greatest width varied from four feet, the width of Barton Street, Carroll Street, Chambers Street, Morris Street, and Twelfth Street sewers, to twenty feet, which was the width of Mill Creek sewer, while some of the branches were not higher than three and a half wider than two feet. Their height and width diminished in proportion to their distance from the river and the more densely populated parts of the city. The Rocky Branch sewer, for instance, to a length of one thousand three hundred and forty-seven feet, was seven feet high and twelve feet wide; from thence it was only ten feet high.

The sewer system was made to conform with the grade of the streets, the main or public sewers following up the lowest grades or valleys (except in those cases where they passed through ridges to secure more direct passage), and decreasing in size as they approached the head of these valleys; then there were branch sewers following up the valleys on either side of the main trunk, into which the district sewers emptied their contents, the whole system corresponding with the natural drainage of the surface. The size and capacity of the different sewers were determined by the engineer, who had to estimate the quantity of water that might be required to pass a given point, taking in consideration the rate of fall. To the class of public sewers belonged also the so-called wharf sewers.

The sewers across the wharf in the central part of the city were originally constructed in a temporary manner with plank, and were subsequently connected with the district sewers on the west line of the wharf.

The second class comprised the district sewers. They were constructed in any district, whenever a majority of the property-holders resident therein petitioned for them, or whenever the City Council deemed the establishment of a district sewer necessary for sanitary or other purposes. Immediately after the work was accomplished the city engineer computed the whole cost, and assessed it as a special tax against each lot of ground within the district, in proportion to the area of the whole district. The repairs, cleaning, and other incidental expenses were paid out of the *general* appropriations made for that purpose, but at the end of each fiscal year they were charged on the tax bills of the property-holders in whose district the repairs were made.

The first of these district sewers, built in 1849, 1850, and 1851, were all higher and wider than those made subsequently. They had a height of five feet and five feet six inches by a width of from three to four feet. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, the city engineer during Mayor Kennett's administration, is said to have first opposed the large-sized district sewers. He reduced the original size of the Seventh District sewer, calculating the necessary capacity of a sewer not to be the sectional area alone, but taking in account also the length, the inclination, the friction, and the head which accumulates at the inlets. The new district sewers at the commencement, and some at a length of about two thousand five hundred feet, were not more than three feet six inches in height by two feet six inches in width, and then they narrowed generally to thirty by twenty inches, and a great many terminated even in round pottery tubs of eighteen inches in diameter.

In 1871 the total number of main sewers was 56 miles, their length 24¼ miles, and the total cost up to that time $1,730,389.08. The number of district

sewers was 306; total length, 92½ miles; total cost, $1,943,090. In 1875, 164.40 miles of public and district sewers has been constructed. In addition to this upwards of seventy-five miles of private sewers had been built, at an estimated cost of more than one million five hundred thousand dollars.

Since 1875 the work of extending and perfecting the system has been carried forward with great energy and skill by the present efficient sewer commissioner, William Wise. Section 20 of the new city charter, adopted in 1876, provided that a sewer system was thereby established consisting of three classes,—"public," "district," and "private" sewers; the public sewers to be constructed "along the principal courses of drainage, at such times, to such extent, of such dimensions and material, and under such regulations as may be provided by ordinance to be approved by the board of public improvements," with such branches as might be considered expedient; district sewers to be established within the limits of districts to be prescribed by ordinance as approved by the board of public improvements, and "so as to connect with a public sewer or some natural course of drainage;" such district sewers to be constructed in any district, "whenever a majority of property-owners resident therein shall petition therefor, or whenever the board of public improvements shall recommend it as necessary for sanitary or other purposes;" private sewers, connecting with the public and district sewers, to be constructed "under such restrictions and regulations as the Assembly may prescribe, by general or special ordinance, approved by the board of public improvements," the city, however, to be at no expense in the construction, repairing, or cleaning of the same. All special tax bills for work contemplated by the section were to be registered by the city comptroller, and by him delivered to the party in whose favor it was issued for collection, "and his receipt taken in full of all claims against the city on account of said work," the tax bill to be and become a lien on the property charged therewith. It was further provided that, except in case of necessary repairs requiring prompt attention, the work should be given out by contract, after proposals had been advertised for, to the lowest bidder. Section 2, Article IV. of the charter authorized the mayor to appoint an officer to be known as the sewer commissioner, who was to be one of the members of the board of public improvements and the head of his department, and to have under his special charge the construction, repairs, and cleaning of all public and district sewers, inlets, man-holes, and other appurtenances belonging thereto. In accordance with these provisions, the Municipal Assembly from time to time enacted ordinances for the perfecting of the sewerage system, and for carrying on the work of the department. Article V. of the revised ordinance approved March 29, 1881, provided that the sewer commissioner should hold office for four years, or until his successor was appointed; that he should be a civil engineer, and should take cognizance of all matters pertaining to the city, have general charge of the sewers, etc. Various other ordinances were adopted providing regulations for the management of the department, construction and repairs of sewers, etc.

As previously indicated, Mill Creek sewer is the most important of the system. It was commenced in August, 1860, is twenty feet wide by fifteen feet high, and is now three miles in length. The Mill Creek valley, through which it is located, divides the southern part of the city from the central, and is the entrance to the city for all the railroad lines west of the Mississippi, except the Iron Mountain. Several large tributaries to Mill Creek sewer have been constructed in the valleys branching to the north and south, and the western portion will require considerable extension. Among the other main sewers may be mentioned Arsenal Street sewer, with its branches draining an area of about seven hundred acres west of the United States arsenal; the southern sewer on Chippewa Street, draining an area of one thousand acres; the Stein Street sewer in South St. Louis, and Louisa Street, Trudeau Street, Barton Street, Carr Street, Miller Street, Rutger Street, Chambers Street, Rocky Branch, Bremen Avenue, and Ferry Street sewers, making a length of 45.23 miles of public sewers, together with 157.15 miles of district sewers. The total length of public and district sewers in St. Louis in 1882 was 202.38 miles, draining an area of 4215 acres, and providing as complete and effective a system as any in the country. Each sewer or sewer district is regulated according to the requirements as it comes up, but is made to conform with the existing sewer system. Perforated man-hole covers are placed on some of the sewers, but the greater portion is without ventilation. The Mississippi carries off the sewage flow, the upper portion of the large sewers being above the surface during the ordinary boating stage, and the mouths of the smaller sewers delivering below the surface of the river except at low water. Public sewers, which are the main channels of drainage, are paid for out of the general revenue of the city, while district sewers are paid for by the property-owners within the district in proportion to the ground area.

Table showing the length in miles of public and district sewers constructed annually from April, 18 to April, 1882:

Date.	Public sewers constructed during the year.	District sewers constructed during the year.	Total length of sewers constructed during the year.	Total length of public sewers.	Total length of district sewers.	Total length of public and district sewers.
Up to April, 1861	10.63	20.89	31.52	10.63	20.89	31.52
Year ending April, 1862	.74	.....	.74	11.37	20.89	32.26
" " 1863	.63	.54	1.17	12.00	21.43	33.43
" " 1864	.26	1.70	1.96	12.26	23.13	35.39
" " 1865	.60	2.65	3.25	12.86	25.78	38.64
" " 1866	1.36	8.10	9.46	14.22	33.88	48.10
" " 1867	1.56	17.24	18.80	15.78	51.12	66.90
" " 1868	2.52	15.88	18.40	18.30	67.00	85.30
" " 1869	2.20	14.60	16.80	20.50	81.60	102.10
" " 1870	2.10	6.93	9.03	22.60	88.53	111.13
" " 1871	2.14	3.89	6.03	24.74	92.42	117.16
" " 1872	1.28	10.81	12.09	26.02	103.23	129.25
" " 1873	2.21	9.54	11.75	28.23	112.77	141.00
" " 1874	1.21	7.79	9.00	29.44	120.56	150.00
" " 1875	2.64	10.75	13.39	32.08	131.31	163.39
" " 1876	1.58	7.03	8.61	33.66	138.34	172.00
" " 1877	1.23	4.30	5.53	34.89	142.64	177.53
" " 1878	1.29	.45	1.74	36.18	143.09	179.27
" " 1879	3.67	5.32	8.99	39.85	148.41	188.26
" " 1880	3.86	4.23	8.09	43.71	152.64	196.35
" " 1881	1.48	4.83	6.31	45.19	157.47	202.66
" " 1882	1.31	7.33	8.64	46.50	164.80	211.30
	46.50	164.80	211.30			

Table showing the cost of public and district sewers (including miscellaneous expenses) for each fiscal year from 1862 to 1882:

Date.	Cost of public sewers completed during the year.	Cost of district sewers completed during the year.	Total cost of sewers completed during the year.	Total cost of public sewers.	Total cost of district sewers.	Total cost of public and district sewers.
Up to April, 1862	$666,215.79	$309,970.97	$976,186.76	$666,215.79	$309,970.97	$976,186.76
Year ending April, 1863	28,209.73	8,859.13	37,068.86	694,425.52	318,830.10	1,013,255.62
" " 1864	30,678.57	10,582.61	41,261.18	725,104.09	329,412.71	1,054,516.80
" " 1865	42,690.58	27,236.34	69,926.92	767,794.67	356,649.05	1,124,443.72
" " 1866	80,767.56	129,256.44	210,024.00	848,562.23	485,905.49	1,334,467.72
" " 1867	132,083.90	409,728.97	540,812.87	979,646.13	895,634.46	1,875,280.59
" " 1868	126,246.96	441,838.86	568,085.82	1,105,893.09	1,337,473.32	2,443,366.41
" " 1869	240,846.59	329,368.22	570,214.81	1,346,739.68	1,666,841.54	3,013,581.22
" " 1870	219,748.58	112,217.13	331,965.71	1,566,488.26	1,779,058.67	3,345,546.93
" " 1871	286,653.53	52,551.24	339,204.77	1,853,141.79	1,831,609.91	3,684,751.70
" " 1872	255,300.91	123,334.75	378,635.66	2,108,442.70	1,954,944.66	4,063,387.36
" " 1873	304,111.06	131,695.81	435,886.87	2,412,563.76	2,086,640.47	4,499,194.23
" " 1874	214,858.67	164,616.93	379,475.60	2,627,412.43	2,251,257.40	4,878,669.83
" " 1875	182,455.74	179,111.82	361,567.56	2,809,868.17	2,430,369.22	5,240,237.39
" " 1876	132,792.14	115,274.00	248,066.14	2,942,660.31	2,545,643.22	5,488,303.53
" " 1877	78,400.41	55,386.52	133,786.93	3,021,060.72	2,601,029.74	5,622,090.46
" " 1878	88,623.56	4,547.64	93,171.20	3,109,684.28	2,605,577.38	5,715,261.66
" " 1879	141,178.07	63,260.86	204,438.93	3,250,862.35	2,668,838.24	5,919,700.59
" " 1880	146,307.10	43,058.38	189,365.48	3,397,169.45	2,711,896.62	6,109,066.07
" " 1881	109,427.79	43,623.29	153,051.08	3,506,597.24	2,755,519.91	6,262,117.15
" " 1882	115,448.82	70,892.15	186,340.97	3,622,046.06	2,826,412.06	6,418,458.12
Total	$3,622,046.06	$2,826,412.06	$6,448,458.12			

Table showing the cost of district sewers per one hundred square feet of area assessed for each calendar year from October, 1859, to Jan. 1, 1882:

Year.	Number of sewers built.	Cost per 100 square feet.			Year.	Number of sewers built.	Cost per 100 square feet.		
		Maximum.	Minimum.	Mean.			Maximum.	Minimum.	Mean.
1859	2	$1.943	$1.593	$1.768	1871	23	$2.862	$1.118	$1.767
1860	26	5.138	.725	2.307	1872	34	4.384	.895	1.885
1861	...	.....	.....	.....	1873	33	4.199	1.110	1.851
1862	4	1.715	.917	1.302	1874	46	4.611	1.112	2.195
1863	1	1.740	1.740	1.740	1875	30	2.753	1.175	1.752
1864	6	3.300	1.282	1.973	1876	14	3.556	1.220	1.938
1865	20	4.555	.865	3.124	1877	7	1.712	.834	1.440
1866	48	6.398	1.900	3.704	1878	14	2.479	.857	1.226
1867	59	5.834	.842	3.319	1879	15	2.257	.831	1.408
1868	53	9.722	1.500	3.301	1880	16	1.781	.575	1.124
1869	23	2.973	1.351	1.980	1881	30	2.370	.690	1.252
1870	15	2.484	1.382	1.793					

Water-Works.—For some years after the settlement of St. Louis there were no wells sunk, the underlying formation being limestone but a few feet below the surface and cropping out at various points, particularly on the edge of the bluffs, where the rock was bare along the whole front. With the exception of two or three springs, the inhabitants used the river water for all purposes, and for this reason the lots along the river-front were first sought and built upon. "A long period elapsed before any wells were dug, and the original water-works of St. Louis consisted of a man with Chinese attachments, the water being carried in buckets fastened by strips of wood to a yoke which rested on the shoulders. Sometimes the water was brought up to the village from the river on a rude sledge drawn by ponies. This sledge was constructed of two long poles connected by cross-bows, the front ends being used as shafts and the rear ends resting on the ground. On this primitive 'drag' barrels of water were hauled up for the use of the inhabitants. In course of time a few wells were dug on Second and Third Streets, but the cost was so great that only a wealthy man could afford the luxury, the expense of sinking a well through the thick bed of limestone amounting in some instances to one thousand dollars,—in those days a modest fortune. Nor was the effort to obtain water always successful even when the well had been sunk. Col. Chouteau, for example, sunk two wells on his grounds, one of them being over one hundred feet deep, but in neither instance did he succeed in reaching water. The river water was healthful and pleasant to the taste, but in summer too warm to be palatable. As ice-houses were then unknown, wells were the only sources from which a supply of cool water could be obtained. Even those who had wells, however, drank the water from them only during the summer season; in cool weather the preference for river water was universal."[1]

In the summer of 1829 a movement was set on foot for the construction of a system of water supply. The first suggestion appears to have been made in a communication signed "An Old Citizen," and read at a meeting of the board of aldermen on the 17th of July of that year, which called for the establishment of water-works. Later in the same year, on the 7th of September, the then mayor, Daniel D. Page, sent to the board a communication relating to the subject, and inclosing three propositions made by a firm named John C. Wilson & Co. for building water-works. It was considered important enough to be referred to a select committee, which was instructed to hold a conference with the firm. Still further action was taken a few days after, when the committee, in conjunction with the mayor, were authorized to contract with J. C. Wilson & Co. for supplying water to the city. The "company" was, it appears, Abraham Fox, for on the 17th of September Wilson & Fox entered into the contract, and it was approved by Messrs. Charless, Bryan Mullanphy, and the other members of the board, unanimously.

By the terms of the contract Wilson & Fox agreed to furnish a supply of "clarified water" from the Mississippi. The condition of the original agreement was that Wilson & Fox, for and in consideration of certain grants of privileges and concessions made to them by the city, should furnish water for twelve fire-hydrants for the Sisters of Charity's hospital, and for a fountain to be erected on the grounds of Gen. Wm. H. Ashley, free of charge for all time. This agreement was entered into and signed, as stated, on the 17th day of September, 1829, and was the first decisive action taken toward supplying the city with water by means of reservoirs and a system of pipes. The first plans were drawn by Thaddeus S. Smith, civil engineer.

Nothing, however, was done toward commencing the work of construction until the following spring. April 3, 1830, a lot of ground was acquired by Wilson & Fox from Gen. Wm. H. Ashley, one hundred and seventy by one hundred and sixty feet, on what was then known as the Little Mound, situated on the corner of Ashley and Collins Streets. The cost of this property was five hundred dollars, conditioned, however, upon its continued use for the purpose of a reservoir, and to revert to the original owner or his heirs when it should be diverted from that use.

On the 29th of June, 1830, the firm purchased from the United States, for the sum of two thousand two hundred and sixty-five dollars, a lot of ground on the bank of the river, at the foot of Bates Street, one hundred and fifty by two hundred and fifty feet, as a site on which to erect their pumping-engines and such buildings as would be necessary for carrying on the business of the company.

Work was commenced in 1830, but very little progress was made. In May, 1831, a competent engineer made an estimate of the cost of the works when completed, placing it at thirty-five thousand dollars. Previous to this time it had become manifest to the projectors of the St. Louis water-works that the conditions to which they had subscribed were one and could not be fulfilled except at a sacrifice to them of their individual interests. In those days rain was not so abundant as now, and St. Louis was

[1] Prof. Waterhouse.

mere village compared with its present extent. To add to the embarrassments of the original proposers of the project, who were Eastern mechanics, with much energy but small capital, their funds ran short before the work was half completed. It thus happened that little progress was made, and the unsatisfactory prospect led the city authorities to enter into a new agreement with the company, which was accomplished April 12, 1832. Meanwhile, the financial embarrassment of the company was relieved by Daniel D. Page, who came forward and advanced the money to continue operations. The work thenceforward progressed satisfactorily. A reservoir was built on Little Mound, excavated, and partly embanked. The floor was of heavy boards, tongued and grooved and driven together, on which was laid a brick pavement. The steam engine for the works was built by Mr. Pratt, of Pittsburgh. It was not a very large piece of machinery. Engine-houses were built at the foot of Bates Street, the supply and service pipe laid down, and water dispensed to the people for the first time in 1832.

The main pipe at that time was only six inches, and the supply pipes for the city were four, three, and two inches. The first pipes laid down in the city were manufactured by Vanleer & Co. and Woods, Tucker & Co., of Tennessee. Afterwards the Messrs. Harrison and Gaty & Coonce, of St. Louis, furnished the pipe. About 1833 Fox became sole proprietor of the water-works, and acted as superintendent. In the revised agreement of 1831 he had a right to tax private families ten dollars per annum, and hotels and similar establishments in proportion. The works were in operation, but the proprietor did not find them a very profitable investment. An ordinance passed by the board of aldermen, Nov. 23, 1833, and approved November 26th, authorized a loan for the further extension of the water-works, and in July, 1835, during the mayoralty of Hon. John F. Darby, a proposition was made to buy the interest of Fox in the water-works, and make them an institution solely owned and controlled by the city. Previous to this time the city had been compelled to lend assistance in order to keep the works in operation. The proposition met with favor, and a bargain was consummated in the same month, the city agreeing to pay Fox eighteen thousand dollars, from which were to be deducted certain advances made to Fox, so that he actually received only about seven thousand dollars.

An ordinance passed by the board of aldermen and approved March 31, 1835, provided that a superintendent of the water-works should be appointed by the mayor, who should hold his office for one year, and receive a salary of eight hundred dollars, and that the water rates should be as follows:

"For each private family not exceeding eight persons in number, at the rate of ten dollars.

"For a family of nine, and not exceeding sixteen persons, at the rate of twenty dollars.

"For each tavern, hotel, or public-house, at the rate of not less than fifty, nor more than one hundred and fifty dollars.

"For each private boarding-house, at the rate of not less than ten, nor more than one hundred dollars.

"For each livery stable, at the rate of not less than fifty, nor more than one hundred and fifty dollars.

"For each blacksmith's shop or foundry, at the rate of not less than ten, nor more than two hundred dollars.

"For the supply of any store, shop, office, or other establishment, any sum not less than at the rate of ten, nor more than five hundred dollars."

It was also provided that no person should use water from the water-works without having a license for that purpose. The necessary hydrants were to be supplied, and the furnishing and laying of the pipes required for the conveyance and delivery of the water from the main pipe or conduit to the place where the water was intended to be delivered were to be done at the proper cost and expense of the person or persons requesting or causing the same to be done, and no pipe or other fixture for the conveyance of water was to be permitted to be placed in communication with the water-works under any pretense, unless it was done under the control and direction of the superintendent or of the mayor and aldermen, under a penalty of fifty dollars. By an ordinance approved March 10, 1836, the superintendent was empowered to appoint a deputy, and the salary of the superintendent was fixed at nine hundred dollars, and of the deputy at four hundred dollars.

Abraham Fox, who continued to act as superintendent under the new system, gave place before the year 1835 closed to John M. Wimer, afterwards mayor, who remained superintendent until about the end of the year 1836. Mr. Wimer was succeeded by William Burd, who ceased to be superintendent Oct. 19, 1838. Peter Brooks, a somewhat distinguished civil engineer of those days, assumed the position of superintendent Oct. 20, 1838. During his incumbency it was found that the demand for water had become greater than the capacity of the works could supply. Accordingly he proceeded to erect a new reservoir, immediately above the old one. This was really nothing more than a huge tank built of solid oak lumber, sustained by immense beams and stays. It was one hundred by one hundred feet and twelve feet deep. This tank proved to be quite durable; but as it was built immediately above the old reservoir, which was still retained in use, the difficulties

encountered in repairing the latter were very great, and as it had become cracked and the embankment was sliding away, the people of the neighborhood became much alarmed lest it should burst and do great damage to surrounding property. It was during this period that new main pipes were laid down. These were ten-inch pipes, and it was deemed that they would be sufficient to meet any probable future requirement.

Before 1846 there were no water-pipes laid down west of Fourth Street; indeed, that street was scarcely marked out. All the pipe that had been laid had been manufactured by Vanleer & Co., Woods, Stacker & Co., of Tennessee, and by Garrison Brothers, and Gaty & Coonce, of St. Louis. In 1846 the third engine put up in the water-works was built by Kingsland & Lightner, of St. Louis. This engine was of larger size than any yet erected in the West, but owing to want of stability in the foundations for it, it was in a measure a failure and soon broke down. It was afterwards repaired, and continued to be run until Gaty & McCune placed the "Hercules" in position in 1852. This engine was then regarded as a mighty achievement in engine-building. Nothing like it in the way of machinery had ever been seen in the West, and for years it was so much of a wonder that visitors to the city were deemed not to have seen all its features unless they had inspected the big engine at the water-works. This engine cost the city twenty-five thousand dollars.

A newspaper description of the engine before its completion (Jan. 6, 1847) says,—

"In this foundry we saw the new but unfinished engine and pump for the city water-works, and, so far as we may judge, they will be no discredit to the manufacturers. The cylinder of the engine is about twenty inches in diameter, and of eight feet stroke. The new pump is of about fifteen inches in diameter and eight feet stroke, and will be capable of throwing an immense stream of water. This pump, it should be known, is manufactured of iron from the Iron Mountain in this State, which Mr. Kingsland pronounces greatly superior to every other metal used or brought to this city from any quarter." The engine was at the foot of Bates Street, and its capacity was not any larger than required. The plan of supplying the water was the same imperfect one which existed for many years afterwards. A pipe was thrust into the current, and the thick fluid forced to such an elevation that it could be distributed through the mains with just such a small portion of the mud freed from it as could form itself into a sediment during a short storage in the reservoir. As the city grew the capacity of the reservoir lessened by reason of the accumulating deposits, and there was an increased demand for water. The step next taken to remedy the deficiency was the construction of another receptacle on Benton Street. This was about two hundred feet square, considerably larger than the other, but still of quite limited extent. The power had to be increased, and an engine was constructed with an eighteen-inch cylinder and ten feet stroke. A new engine-house was also erected.

The introduction of water into the new reservoir is thus described under date of Jan. 22, 1850:

"Yesterday a number of the members of the City Council, city officers, and invited guests attended to witness the introduction of water into the new reservoir. The new reservoir is situated in the northwestern part of the city, west of the late Mrs. Wright's residence, upon a plat of about ten acres owned by the city. It is the highest point of ground around the city within a suitable distance from the river. This reservoir is but the commencement of more extended works. The ground has been so laid off that it is calculated that four reservoirs of equal size with the present may be constructed upon the plat. It is two hundred and fifty feet square and fifteen feet deep, and capable of holding one million of gallons of water, or, with the present population of the city, a supply for seven days. It is firmly embanked around with clay, the walls well covered with flagstone coping, a mud valve in the centre, a twenty-inch main leading the water into it, and other proper connections with the old reservoirs on Broadway and the street mains and pipes through the city.

"The new reservoir has cost the city about thirty thousand dollars, and the laying of the ascending mains and other expenditures have swelled the whole cost of the new water-work as stated by Mr. Donovan, the superintendent, to about the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand dollars."

The demand for water continued to increase apace as the city grew, and the capacity of the works had to be increased to meet the demand. In 1854, under the direction of the then city engineer, Henry Kayser, the Benton Street reservoir was constructed, with a capacity of forty million gallons. It was commenced in the spring of 1854, and water was let into the reservoir, which measured five hundred and twenty-seven feet in length, two hundred and thirty-seven feet in breadth, forty-seven and one-half feet in depth, and rose about forty feet above the natural surface of the ground upon which it was built, Aug. 15, 1855. The work of extending the mains, meanwhile, had steadily gone on. During this time the superintendency of the works had successively devolved upon Willis R. Pritchard and Daniel H. Donovan. During the early part of the war Gen. Schofield, then in command at St. Louis, relieved Donovan from the post of superintendent, and Willis R. Pritchard was appointed his successor, and continued to serve throughout the war.

In his report of Oct. 6, 1859, Superintendent Pritchard stated that the city then had an abundant sup-

of water in its seventy miles of iron pipe, and that as additional attachments were made to the old ascending main on Mullanphy Street, it might be expected that the few high points that then experienced a scarcity would be fully supplied.

During the war there was a general suspension of improvements in the city, and but little was done in connection with the water-works, but in January, 1865, the State Legislature passed a law creating a board of water commissioners for St. Louis.

The first board was appointed by Governor Fletcher, and consisted of Hon. James S. Thomas, then mayor, and Messrs. Dwight Durkee, T. Weigel, N. C. Chapman, and S. D. Barlow. Dwight Durkee was elected president of the board, the organization being effected on the 24th of March, 1865.

The requirements of the city had become such that long before the appointment of the first board of water-works commissioners it was deemed absolutely necessary to establish new works. When this board was appointed the members sought to take active measures, and they requested James P. Kirkwood to supply them with a plan. He did so, but it was rejected by the City Council. The plan contemplated the placing of low-service engines and the construction of settling reservoirs and filtering beds at the Chain of Rocks, some six miles north of the northern city limits, a brick conduit to Baden, high-service engines on the Bellefontaine road, and storage reservoirs at Rinkles, on the St. Charles Rock road, with an auxiliary reservoir in the city commons, the capacity of the proposed works to be twelve million gallons daily. It was estimated that the total cost would not be less than seven and a half million of dollars. The commissioners recommended the adoption of the plan on the ground that if the water was taken from the river at Bissell's Point it would contain many impurities, while at the Chain of Rocks it would be much purer. This plan was submitted to the Council in March, 1866. It was rejected because it was complex and costly and the result doubtful, the plan being regarded as merely experimental. Mr. Kirkwood devoted much time to the subject, and visited Europe to inspect the most celebrated water-works there, and afterwards prepared the plans which led to the construction of the present works. It was represented to the City Council by a sub-committee appointed to inquire into the matter that the objections to Bissell's Point were based upon popular prejudice, and not upon facts, and the Bissell's Point plan was consequently carried out.

Upon the rejection of their plan the commissioners resigned, and a new board was appointed by the Governor, which organized on the 2d of August, 1866. This board was composed of Mayor Thomas, Messrs. Amadee Vallé, G. M. Dreyer, C. E. Salomon, and George K. Budd. New plans were submitted to the Council without result, and during the session of 1867 the Legislature passed another act, approved March 13, 1867, which created a board of three commissioners, named in the act, viz.: Alexander Crozier, Henry Flad, and Amadee Vallé. The board met on the 22d of March, and organized by electing Mr. Vallé president, Mr. Crozier vice-president, and A. R. Bowman secretary. Thomas J. Whitman was subsequently appointed chief engineer, at a salary of four thousand dollars per annum, Mr. Kirkwood being retained as consulting engineer.

The works which came under the charge of the first board of water commissioners were the two reservoirs on Benton Street and the engine-house at the foot of Bates Street. Subsequently a reservoir two hundred feet square was constructed on Gamble Avenue, near Garrison Avenue.[1]

The smaller Benton Street reservoir, however, was abandoned, as it was too low and nearly filled with mud. The adjoining one was forty feet higher, and was one hundred and thirty-nine feet and ten inches above the city directrix. The machinery in 1870 still remained on Bates Street. The engines were the one with an eighteen-inch cylinder, before referred to, and two with cylinders thirty inches in diameter and with ten feet stroke. No improvement had been effected in the quality of the water supplied to the public since the first reservoir was built. The old works cost one million seven hundred thousand dollars.

Ninety-seven acres of land at Bissell's Point were purchased of Capt. Bissell, and work was commenced in the fall of 1867. The work was not without the delays which frequently take place in such undertakings. Considerable difficulty was experienced in laying the foundations of the low-service engine-house, but they were at last laid, and the reservoirs were constructed.

The settling reservoirs—the object of which is indicated by their name—are the most important part of the system. Situated about three hundred feet from the river-bank, they are each six hundred feet in length by two hundred and seventy feet in width and four-

[1] Ground was broken July 6, 1867, for a new reservoir, with a capacity of two hundred thousand gallons, in block No. 1007, extending from Gamble Avenue through to Dayton Street, which was intended to temporarily supply the city with water while the old reservoir was being cleaned out, the contractors, Messrs. Budd, Decker & Ault, engaging to complete the work by the 15th of October. The reservoir, which cost four hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was abandoned prior to 1870.

teen feet in depth. There are four of these huge basins, which are separated from each other by division walls eleven feet in width at the base and eight feet at the top. The outer walls are five feet in width, buttressed every seven feet, with an embankment behind them twenty feet wide at the top, and having a slope of two to one, which gives, where the walls are fifteen feet high, a width of about fifty feet at the base. The foundations of the walls are in excavations, and are laid upon a base of six inches of concrete, bedded oak timbers placed transversely and longitudinally, and another layer of concrete. The material used in the construction of the walls is Grafton limestone, but the copings are of Cannelton sandstone. Between the masonry and the embankment there is a puddle wall of clay four feet in thickness.

The bed of the reservoirs, with the view, of course, of rendering it impervious to the water, is formed of a layer of clay puddle one foot in thickness, six inches of concrete, and a course of brick paving laid on edge. The bed has a slope to the centre, where there is a wide gutter for the carrying off of the mud.

There is a distributing well near the centre of the eastern bank and opposite to the middle division wall, and the water is conveyed into it by the two lines of pipe before mentioned. The inside divisions of the well are twenty-six feet by eight feet, and the depth eighteen feet. The water is carried from this well by two other lines of thirty-six-inch pipe two hundred and seventy feet in length to ends of the north and south division walls, where it flows into the influx wells. There is a waste-well in the middle of the front well of each reservoir for carrying off the sediment during the process of cleaning. There are two gates in each influx well. On the opposite side of the reservoirs are the efflux wells, with eight gates in each chamber, for the taking of the water from the surface, at whatever height that may be.

The water settles in twenty-four hours, which is considered a sufficient time to eliminate all the mud from it except that which would require filtering-beds for the purpose.

The buildings at Bissell's Point comprise two series of structures, known as the high-service and low-service buildings, the latter located on the river-bank, and the former about a quarter of a mile distant. They are of brick trimmed with stone. On the pediment of the principal façade of the high-service engine-house are two sculptured figures, the Union of Waters, representing the union of the Missouri and Mississippi.

Each of the reservoirs has a capacity of twenty-three millions of gallons, and while one is being cleaned, the second reservoir is being filled, the third being drawn from, and the fourth one being settled.

The water flows from the reservoirs in a brick conduit, after it has gone through this rough process of purification, to the clear well. This is a basin one hundred by one hundred and fifty feet and sixteen feet deep, adjoining the high-service engine-house and not far from the settling reservoirs. It has been constructed for safety and as a preventive of accident to the engines in case the water at the reservoirs should be shut off by mistake, or any accident occur to the gates.

The pumping is done by two sets of pumping-engines. The first set, consisting of two pumping engines of a capacity of eighteen million gallons each and one engine of twenty-four million gallons capacity, lifts the water from the river into the settling basins. After being cleaned of its sediment the water is elevated into the storage reservoir and into the distribution mains by another set of pumping-engines, two of which have a capacity of sixteen and one-half million gallons, and the third a capacity of twenty-four million gallons per day. The water is carried by a brick conduit ten feet in width and sixteen feet in height from the clear well to the wet well of the high-service engine-house, and is pumped through eighteen thousand feet of thirty-six-inch pipe and seven thousand feet of thirty-inch pipe laid along Grand Avenue, Cass Avenue, Laclede Avenue, and various other points connections are made with twenty-inch mains, and the water is there partly distributed through the city; but the distribution is not completed until it passes through Compton Hill reservoir.

A stand-pipe was erected at Fourteenth Street and Grand Avenue to relieve the strain on the high-service engines at the time of starting. It will be readily seen that to move the mass of water in the miles of pipe between the high-service engine-house and Compton Hill reservoir up grade requires immense power. The stand-pipe is one hundred and sixty feet in height, and the power required to move the body of water in motion is lessened by the latter being broken, a portion of it being forced up the stand-pipe. The diameter of the pipe is five feet, and is made of various thicknesses of boiler iron, the latter decreasing as the height increases. The pipe is inclosed in a Corinthian column, and there is a mound eight feet in height and ornamental work of Chicago stone at the base. The shaft is of brick, and the interior a spiral staircase winds round the pipe, and there is an observatory at the top from which a fine view of the surrounding country may be obtained.

The storage reservoir known as Compton Hill

rvoir is situated on the block of ground south of Lafayette Avenue and adjoining Grand Avenue. The area owned by the Water-works Department is forty acres, about half of which is covered by the reservoir. The dimensions of the basin are eight hundred feet by two hundred and fifty feet, and the depth wenty-two feet, and it has a total storage capacity f fifty-six million gallons. It is divided into two compartments by a division wall running from the influx to the efflux chamber. The water in the Compton Hill reservoir is one hundred and seventy-six feet above the city directrix, thus commanding the whole city.

On the 16th of July, 1870, the completion of the four settling reservoirs was made the occasion of a celebration. At the invitation of the contractors, Thomas M. Hackett and John Ackley, a number of leading citizens participated, among them being Hon. J. J. Lindley, Chas. M. Elleard, G[illegible] S. P. Simpson, P. McCahill, city auditor, Bernard McSorley, J. R. Finley, W. J. Budd, Dr. D. V. Dean, J. S. Metcalfe, M. Lemmon, of Hill, Lemmon & Co. Edward H. Garrigues, M. B. O'Reilly, Judge Dryden and others. The system thus inaugurated supplied from nine to ten millions of gallons of clear water daily, while its capacity was fifteen and a half millions. Its chief feature was the securing of the water without retaining the mud of the Missouri and Mississippi, and the furnishing of it in a comparatively pure state to the public. This was the great desideratum, and one that received great attention from the board of water commissioners and the engineers which its importance suggested.

The sudden change in the water, effected by the new works, was very marked, and a local writer declared that it "would be astonishing to our citizens had it not been generally anticipated. This change has yet been unaccompanied by any public celebration or ovation, as was done in other cities on the completion of such enterprises. Where the supply is abundant all are unanimous in their praise of the clear water that they now receive, instead of the muddy fluid that they have been in the habit of using for years."

The great advantage possessed by St. Louis consists in the fact that its source of supply is inexhaustible. The Mississippi, in time of an ordinary stage, carries past the city about one million gallons of water per second, or enough in a few seconds to supply the greatest necessity for a whole day. It is not only abundant, but is one of the most wholesome waters known. It is true that in time of high water it contains a large percentage of sedimentary matter, brought down by the swift current of the Missouri River, but of this it is easily freed by settling and filtering.

An analysis of the river water, made by Dr. Theodore Fay, chemist of the board of water commissioners, is given in the following form, exhibiting the comparative quality of the water obtained from the old and new reservoirs:

Water drawn from hydrant (old supply).

Solid matter separated by filter.....	232	grains per gallon.
Hardness.....	7.05	
Oxidizable organic matter.....	.504	grains per gallon.
Carbonate of lime.....	5.60	grains per gallon.

Settled water drawn from hydrant (new supply).

Hardness.....	8.75	
Oxidizable organic matter.....	.784	grains per gallon.
Carbonate of lime.....	7.17	grains per gallon.
Animalculæ.....		in considerable numbers.

Dr. Fay, in connection with the above, makes the following explanation:

"The above statement in regard to the difference in organic matter and hardness is hardly a fair test, on account of the excess of time that the water remained exposed to the sun, the solution of a portion of the lime used in the construction of the reservoirs and culverts, in which many thousands of bushels have been used. It is my opinion that we will have as good water from the Mississippi as any in the United States when the clay and sand are removed."

Early in March, 1871, a test of the high-service engines was made. "On Monday afternoon," says a contemporaneous account, "high-service engine No. 2 was started and was worked several hours, but without the water being let on. The engine was run at varying speed, making as high as fifteen and twenty revolutions in a minute. On Tuesday afternoon, after running the engine light for about half an hour, the water was let on, and in a moment was rushing through the main pipe towards Compton Hill reservoir, five miles distant, and at an elevation above the river of nearly two hundred feet. At half-past five o'clock the cataract burst through the circular mouth of the pipe, and a steady stream was soon pouring into the reservoir.

"On Thursday and on Friday afternoons the engine was kept running several hours, and was satisfactorily tested in various ways. On Friday morning steam was let on No. 1 high-service, but the water was not let in. Six hours afterwards the load was put on, and the engine was worked for some time, pumping directly into the reservoir. The conduct of the engine was pronounced elegant, and the result of the first informal test was generally regarded as most satisfactory.

"The new water-works are now practically completed, at a cost to the city of nearly four million dollars. The actual cost of the construction is as follows (in a few particulars the figures are close

approximations, as the work is not yet quite developed):

"Low-service engines	$111,943.54
High-service engines	198,374.00
Settling reservoir	578,436.94
Compton Hill reservoir	290,444.81
High-service engine, foundations	120,000.00
Low-service engine, foundations	250,000.00
Two engine-houses, chimneys, etc.	220,000.00
River inlet tower (iron resting on rock)	115,000.00
Pipe line and bridge	116,000.00
Reservoir gates, stop-cocks, etc.	45,000.00
Piping connected with new works	677,752.00
Stand-pipe	50,000.00
Real estate	444,000.00
Total	$3,216,951.09"

The value of the entire St. Louis water-works and grounds was estimated in 1882 as follows: real property, $263,090; improvements, $6,920,000; total estimated value, $7,183,090.

The low-service engines were tested in June, 1871, and during that month water was supplied to the citizens generally from the new works. The length of the force main pipe from the river at Bissell's Point to the Compton Hill reservoir is a little over five miles, and its diameter is thirty-six inches.

The Water Department of St. Louis, as at present constituted, is in charge of a water commissioner, that office having been created by an ordinance of the City Council (embodied in the revised ordinance approved March 29, 1881), who holds office for four years, and must be a duly qualified engineer. The present water commissioner is Thomas J. Whitman.

In his report for the fiscal year ending in April, 1882, Mr. Whitman gave the following statistics of work done at each of the pumping stations:

LOW-SERVICE STATION.

Record of Work done by Low-Service Engines.

Months.	Hours of Pumping.	No. of Revolutions.	Bushels of Coal.	Per ct. of Ashes.	No. of U. S. gallons of water pumped.
1881—April	1,128	615,400	21,150	14	749,121,000
May	1,164	612,300	21,384	15	834,785,000
June	1,250	717,300	25,449	14	880,628,000
July	1,215	664,500	26,470	16	852,740,000
August	1,318	707,400	27,104	14	920,785,000
September	1,311½	782,300	28,243	14	852,241,000
October	1,128	639,200	26,705	14	861,586,000
November	1,233½	681,200	29,908	14	791,927,000
December	1,229	629,500	27,693	14	857,063,000
1882—January	1,194	646,500	26,119	14	806,058,000
February	1,036½	587,600	22,122	15	682,267,000
March	1,145	603,100	26,389	15	834,398,000
Total	14,372½	7,826,300	308,774	...	9,932,410,000

HIGH-SERVICE STATION.

Record of Work done by High-Service Engines.

Months.	Hours of Pumping.	No. of Revolutions.	Bushels of Coal.	Per ct. of Ashes.	No. of U. S. gallons of water pumped.
1881—April	1,227½	864,800	67,394	14	742,113,000
May	1,436½	1,008,100	72,736	16	835,247,000
June	1 432	1,008,100	74,451	16	878,081,000
July	1,443	1,021,700	72,844	15	865,054,000
August	1,517	1,032,900	77,284	15	909,465,000
September	1,485¼	1,018,800	75,821	14	827,552,000
October	1,345	906,700	69,435	15	851,361,000
November	1,518½	1,050,000	80,570	15	796,763,000
December	1,378	875,500	75,455	15	827,538,000
1882—January	1,361	887,600	74,810	15	845,816,000
February	1,173½	747,800	66,930	15	665,069,000
March	1,491	1,029,100	76,076	15	827,891,000
Total	16,814½	11,437,100	883,308	...	9,852,430,000

Hours of pumping, Engine No. 1 ..... 5,214½
" " " " " 2 ..... 4,404½
" " " " " 3 ..... 7,195½
Total 16,814½

The cost of pumping one million gallons was $5329 at the low service, and $13,046 at the high service.

On the 6th of December, 1881, a contract was awarded to H. A. Ramsay & Co., of the Vulcan Iron Works, Baltimore, for the construction, at a cost of $89,900, of a fourth high-service engine, and on the 22d of February, 1882, Skrainka & Vieths were awarded a contract for building, at a cost of $87,81[illegible] the foundations for engine and building[illegible] conduits, etc.

"Another question requiring consideration and the official action of the municipal authorities," said Mr. Whitman, in his report, "is as to whether we shall continue to take the water from the river at Bissell's Point, or, in the extension of the works, they shall be planned with a view of taking the water higher up the river at the 'Chain of Rocks.'

"Within a very short time it will be required to procure additional pumping capacity at the low service, and the question as to whether the new pumping machinery shall be temporary or permanent depends upon whether we continue to take the supply of water from the river at Bissell's Point or not."

During the year ending in April, 1882, over twelve miles of water-pipe were laid, viz.: of 20-inch pipe, 0.873 miles; of 12-inch pipe, 1.132 miles; of 6-inch pipe, 10.726 miles.

The following table shows the property owned by the Water-Works Department and its estimated value:

WATER-WORKS AND GROUNDS.

City Block.	Feet Front.	Feet Deep.	Acres.	Street or Avenue on which Property fronts.	Water-Works and Grounds.	Estimated Value, 1882. Real.	Estimated Value, 1882. Improvem'nts.	Total Estimated Value, 1882.
1291								
1292								
1293								
1294			36.08	Grand Avenue	Compton Hill reservoir	$126,100	$585,000	$711,100
1295								
1296								
1297								
1298			97.85	Grand Avenue	St. Louis water-works	136,990	2,750,000	2,886,990
.....	.....	.....	.....	14th St. and Grand Avenue.	Water tower	.....	35,000	35,000
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Pipeage	.....	3,550,000	3,550,000
						$263,090	$6,920,000	$7,183,090

The average daily consumption of water in millions of United States gallons since 1871 has been as follows:

Months.	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882
January	.....	12.5	16.1	16.2	21.1	17.3	23.5	20.8	20.0	21.3	31.8	26.1
February	.....	13.1	15.5	15.5	21.7	16.9	20.4	19.6	24.6	21.0	28.1	25.0
March	.....	12.0	14.6	14.6	21.3	16.1	19.8	20.1	22.6	19.5	24.0	26.3
April	.....	12.5	13.8	15.2	18.7	17.4	19.1	22.0	21.6	21.2	24.8	.....
May	.....	13.0	14.2	17.5	18.9	20.1	20.8	23.1	24.8	24.1	27.4	.....
June	.....	15.0	16.6	20.0	19.6	22.0	22.7	22.5	26.0	25.5	29.5	.....
July	12.9	15.9	18.0	21.5	20.1	23.4	24.9	26.3	27.0	28.0	28.0	.....
August	13.2	16.9	19.2	19.4	21.9	24.2	27.3	25.9	28.5	30.0	29.4	.....
September	13.3	16.5	18.5	19.7	22.2	24.8	25.4	25.4	25.3	28.8	27.6	.....
October	13.1	16.1	17.8	18.6	21.8	24.5	23.7	24.5	25.7	27.4	26.8	.....
November	12.2	15.1	16.4	17.8	18.8	21.2	20.0	23.2	21.4	27.1	26.1	.....
December	12.6	15.7	15.7	18.8	16.5	22.6	20.6	22.8	22.9	27.7	26.6	.....
For the year	.....	14.5	16.4	17.9	20.2	20.9	22.3	23.1	25.0	25.1	27.5	.....

The amount of revenue collected each year since [illegible], and the percentage of cost for collecting the same, have been:

Date. From	Date. To	Collections.	Expenses.	Per Cent.
[illegible] 1, 1870	May 1, 1871	$385,626.91	$26,063.13	7.7
" 1871	" 1872	373,194.60	29,763.03	7.9
" 1872	" 1873	426,922.59	34,690.78	8.1
" 1873	" 1874	441,622.55	30,732.73	6.9
" 1874	" 1875	414,870.44	34,644.73	8.3
" 1875	" 1876	456,163.39	42,432.16	9.3
" 1876	April 9, 1877	445,041.14	45,358.12	10.1
[illegible] 1877	Oct. 6, 1877	263,080.98	23,659.92	9.0
" 1877	April 8, 1878	249,052.21	14,094.76	5.6
[illegible] 9 1878	" 7, 1879	550,140.60	29,445.15	5.3
" 1879	" 12, 1880	620,280.30	34,499.93	5.5
" 12, 1880	" 11, 1881	660,024.75	36,495.21	5.5
" 12, 1881	" 10, 1882	706,145.65	36,823.21	5.2

The following is a comparative statement of the [illegible] of revenue for the fiscal years 1880–81, and 1881–82:

	1880–81.	1881–82.
General licenses	$422,741.90	$428,006.00
Meters and elevators	180,904.35	222,397.00
Fixed sprinkling	14,080.00	14,800.00
Private sprinkling	17,189.00	15,811.00
Hose	1,674.00	2,156.00
Back-yards	1,500.00	1,600.00
Filing cisterns	2,214.50	2,160.00
Building purposes	$8,132.50	$10,043.00
Permits and taps	3,780.40	4,857.90
Meter repairs and connections	7,440.90	3,879.75
Private fountains	367.50	435.00
	$660,024.75	$706,145.65

There are now attached to service pipes nine hundred and five meters, of the following sizes:

Date.	Size. ½ in.	⅝ in.	¾ in.	1 in.	1½ in.	2 in.	3 in.	4 in.	6 in.	Total.
Up to April 11, 1881	...	117	8	235	91	81	32	6	...	573
During the past year	32	107	22	114	28	13	7	6	3	332
	32	224	30	349	122	94	39	12	3	905

Comparative statement of meters and elevators in use and the revenue derived therefrom:

Fiscal Year.	No. of Elevators.	No. of Meters.	Amount collected.
1877–78	95	318	$113,454.08
1878–79	114	363	127,616.17
1879–80	126	435	142,860.50
1880–81	139	573	180,904.35
1881–82	184	905	222,397.00

The yearly revenue derived from the water-works from their first introduction into the city is shown in the following table:

Date. From	Date. To	Annual Collections.	Increase.	Decrease.
Total receipts up to	May 14, 1835	$23,483.51	.....	.....
May 14, 1835	April, 1836	4,588.73	.....	.....
April, 1836	1837	5,338.21	$749.48	.....
" 1837	" 1838	8,372.13	3,033.92	.....
" 1838	" 1839	12,694.11	4,321.98	.....
" 1839	" 1840	20,517.25	7,823.14	.....
" 1840	" 1841	20,672.16	154.91	.....
" 1841	" 1842	14,954.31	.....	$5,717.85
" 1842	" 1843	12,507.81	.....	2,446.50
" 1843	" 1844	13,402.10	894.29	.....
" 1844	" 1845	14,518.69	1,116.59	.....
" 1845	" 1846	15,442.47	923.78	.....
" 1846	" 1847	17,858.70	2,416.23	.....
" 1847	" 1848	25,538.48	7,679.78	.....
" 1848	" 1849	21,967.92	.....	3,570.56
" 1849	" 1850	19,560.00	.....	2,407.92
" 1850	" 1851	30,943.78	11,383.78	.....
" 1851	" 1852	30,824.85	.....	118.93
" 1852	" 1853	36,995.38	6,170.53	.....
" 1853	" 1854	49,865.04	12,869.66	.....
" 1854	" 1855	51,735.29	1,870.25	.....
" 1855	" 1856	70,380.47	18,645.18	.....
" 1856	" 1857	68,597.20	.....	1,783.27
" 1857	" 1858	84,021.96	15,424.76	.....
" 1858	" 1859	87,352.20	3,330.24	.....
" 1859	" 1860	99,501.88	12,149.68	.....
" 1860	" 1861	114,760.35	15,258.47	.....
" 1861	" 1862	123,690.25	8,929.90	.....
" 1862	" 1863	147,121.95	23,430.70	.....
" 1863	" 1864	170,313.30	23,192.35	.....
" 1864	" 1865	208,340.90	38,027.60	.....
" 1865	" 1866	248,268.33	39,927 43	.....
" 1866	May 1, 1867	248,575.30	306.97	.....
May 1, 1867	" 1868	288,910.07	40,334.77	.....
" 1868	" 1869	321,402.50	32,502.43	.....
" 1869	" 1870	323,102.00	1,689.50	.....
" 1870	" 1871	335,626.91	12,524.91	.....
" 1871	" 1872	373,194.60	37,567.69	.....
" 1872	" 1873	426,922.59	53,727.99	.....
" 1873	" 1874	444,622.35	17,699.76	.....
" 1874	" 1875	414,870.44	.....	29,751.91
" 1875	" 1876	456,163.39	41,292.95	.....
" 1876	April 9, 1877	445,041.14	.....	11,122.25
April 10, 1877	" 8, 1878	512,053.19	67,154.55	.....
" 9, 1878	" 7, 1879	550,140.60	38,087.41	.....
" 8, 1879	" 12, 1880	620,280.30	70,139.70	.....
" 13, 1880	" 11, 1881	660,024.75	39,744.45	.....
" 12, 1881	" 10, 1882	706,145.65	46,120.90	.....
Total revenue of water-works		$9,001,184.49		

The assessment of water rates and the collection of the revenue therefrom are distinct from the duties of the water commissioner, and are confided to an assessor and collector of water rates appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the Council. The assessor and collector of water rates in 1882 was John D. Stevenson. All contracts for work, supplies, etc., ordered by the Water Department must be approved by the Board of Public Improvements.

CHAPTER XX.

FIREMEN, FIRE COMPANIES, AND PROMINENT FIRES.[1]

No special regulations with reference to the extinguishment of fires appear to have existed in St. Louis until 1810. On the 27th of January of that year Auguste Chouteau, Wm. C. Carr, Edward Hempstead, and Jean P. Cabanné, the trustees of the town, passed "an ordinance for forming the inhabitants of the town of St. Louis into fire companies and other purposes." The ordinance enacted

"that all the free male inhabitants within the said town above the age of eighteen years,—to wit, all the free male inhabitants as aforesaid residing south of a cross street bounded southerly by a lot the property of the widow of William Hebert, *dit* Le Compte, northerly by another lot the property of Auguste Chouteau, Esq., and leading from the Mississippi to the court-house of the district of St. Louis, shall be enrolled to form a fire company, to be commanded by Pierre Didier, Esq., and all the free male inhabitants as aforesaid residing north of said street shall be enrolled to form another fire company, to be commanded by Bernard Pratte, Esq.

"Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the said officers, immediately after the passage of this ordinance and once every six months to enroll all the free male inhabitants as aforesaid and appoint their under officers, and to exercise their respective companies at least one hour in each and every month, at such time and place as shall by them be thought most fit within the limits of their companies.

"Sec. 3. The said officers shall immediately, on notice that a fire has broke out in a dwelling-house or other building, assemble their respective companies and march them to the spot and arrange them in such a manner as to render the most effectual service.

"Sec. 4. Any person thus enrolled who shall neglect or refuse to meet at the time and place appointed for exercising aforesaid, after being notified thereof, or who shall neglect or refuse to obey any legal orders from his commanding officer shall be fined a sum not exceeding one dollar for every such neglect or refusal. And if an officer shall refuse or neglect to do his duty as aforesaid, he shall be fined in a sum not exceeding three dollars, to be recovered, with costs, before the chairman of the board of trustees or a justice of the peace of said town.

"Sec. 5. Each and every householder, occupier of a store or shop within the limits of the town of St. Louis shall within two months from the passage hereof furnish himself or her with two leather or other buckets to be made use of in case of fire, and in case of neglect or refusal to provide the same within the limited time as aforesaid, then in each and every such case the captain is hereby empowered to supply such deficiency and on complaint of such captain to the chairman of the board or any justice of the peace of the said town, process shall issue against such delinquent or delinquents for the purchase money of such bucket or buckets with costs.

"Sec. 6. The captain of each company shall, once in

[1] In the preparation of this chapter the author has been greatly aided by the "History of the Volunteer Fire Department of St. Louis," which was kindly placed at his disposal by the author, Mr. Thomas Lynch.

month, make a return of the delinquents in his limits who have neglected to furnish buckets as aforesaid to the chairman of the board, under the penalty of five dollars.

"SEC. 7. It shall be the duty of each occupier of a house, store, or other building to cause the chimneys thereof to be swept at least once in each month; and if any chimney shall take fire, the occupier of such house, store, or other building shall forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding ten dollars, to be recovered with costs before the chairman of the said board or a justice of the peace of the said town, unless such person proves to the satisfaction of such chairman or justice that such chimney has been swept within one month.

"SEC. 8. Vacancies occasioned by the death, resignation, or removal out of the limits of the town of any captain of a fire company shall be filled by the chairman of the board.

"SEC. 9. All fines arising from this ordinance shall go to the chairman of the board for the use of the town.

"SEC. 10. This ordinance shall be in force from the date hereof."

It would seem that these leather bucket companies served to keep down fires for a good many years, for it was not until about 1822 that the first regular fire company was formed and the first engine procured. The attachment of the early inhabitants to the leather buckets seems to have been nearly as great as that of the poet to the "old oaken bucket that hung in the well;" and if they were not regarded with quite so much sentiment, they were certainly made to render fully as valuable service. In those primitive times every householder was required to keep a ladder high enough to extend to the roof of his house, and two leather buckets hung up near the door. When an alarm of fire was given, every man took down his fire-buckets from the pegs whereon they hung and ran with all haste to the scene of conflagration; or, if he could not go himself, threw them out into the street for the use of the first comer who might pass. During the progress of a fire there were few or no idlers or mere spectators. Long lines of people were formed, extending from the pumps to the fire, to "hand along the buckets," and if the curious and idle attempted to pass, the cry echoed along the line, "Fall in! fall in!" The directors of companies were required to attend all fires, and to distinguish one from another, each director was required to carry a small staff with a small white flag on the end of it. Each company also had lane-men who were distinguished by a staff, and who regulated the formation of the lanes for the fire-bucket men. These buckets were used in later times for conveying water to supply the engines, as hose and fire-plugs were not then in use.

No further safeguards but the leather buckets appear to have been considered necessary by the good citizens of St. Louis for the suppression of fires until March, 1817, when the Territorial Legislature passed "an act to authorize a lottery for the purchase of fire-engines and other apparatus for the extinguishment of fire for the use of St. Louis." The lottery consisted of six thousand tickets at five dollars each, and three thousand blanks and three thousand prizes. There was one prize of five thousand dollars, one of one thousand dollars, four of five hundred dollars, forty-nine of fifty dollars, and two thousand nine hundred and twenty of six dollars each. All prizes were subject to a deduction of twelve and a half per cent., payable in sixty days after the drawing was completed, and prizes not demanded after the expiration of one hundred and twenty days were to be considered as donations for the benefit of the town. The commissioners appointed to superintend the lottery were Auguste Chouteau, Theodore Hunt, Henry Von Phul, William C. Carr, and Thomas F. Riddick.

This plan for the organization of a fire department did not succeed, however, as the people "so set their faces against lotteries," says the *Gazette* of Nov. 13, 1818, "that nothing could be done in that way to raise money for those who ought to buy and pay for engines out of their own purses."

At this time the citizens seem to have been roused to a sense of their danger, as two attempts had been made to set fire to the town. "They now see the necessity," said the same journal, "of organizing fire companies, and subscribing, liberally and agreeably to the value of each individual's property, a sum necessary to purchase two engines and a proper number of ladders, hooks, and buckets." It added that

"two fire companies, a northern and a southern, should be formed out of the owners and occupiers of town lots, their sons above twelve years of age, and inmates. Each company should have six directors and twelve sub-directors, whose duty should be to make a selection of twenty-four engineers, ten guardians of property, and a sufficient number of axe- and ladder-men. Stated meetings of the companies should be held to exercise in forming lines and passing buckets, so that in case of fire order and discipline would effect everything in the attack and defeat of the enemy."

The alarm occasioned by the then recent danger caused a meeting of citizens, which was held in the latter part of November, 1818, for the purpose of forming two companies, to be called the "St. Louis South Fire Company" and the "St. Louis North Fire Company," and for the election of officers. The former company met at the auction-room of Col. Thomas F. Riddick, and the latter at the house of De Vincent Buis. The "North Fire Company," it is believed, organized and elected officers at the time and place appointed, but the "South Fire Company" did not form until December 19th, at the room of Mr. Horrock.

After the organization of these two companies, all anxiety on the subject of fire seems to have died away for a time, and the inhabitants appear to have reposed implicit reliance in the protection and guardianship of those famous "leather buckets" and the strong arms of the firemen. Indeed, as late as May, 1823, another ordinance was passed by the authorities, "requiring the citizens of St. Louis to furnish fire-buckets." Before this date, however (in 1819), it is said, the citizens raised by private subscription a sufficient amount to purchase two small rotary fire-engines in Cincinnati. They arrived in due time, and for many years were kept in very unsatisfactory quarters. Up to 1826 they were operated by the citizens in general. One of these primitive engines was called the "None-Such," and is described as having been "a large square box on wheels, said wheels being not over eighteen inches in diameter, the whole being painted red and black. The internal pumping machinery was worked by two large iron wheels, one on each side, revolved by the hands of persons standing on the ground, communicating the power through cogs."

The first two fire-engines finally became so much out of repair that they were practically useless, and the populace returned to the "good old way" of extinguishing fires with buckets. After the introduction of the engines, however, greater attention appears to have been paid to the protection of property from fire, public interest in the matter probably having been quickened, as the town increased in wealth and population, by some disaster or danger from this source. At all events the inhabitants began to appreciate the importance and necessity of greater precautions and more thorough organization, and on the 12th of September, 1825, it was "ordained" by the mayor, William Carr Lane, and the board of aldermen, of which William Charless was president,

"that the citizens of the city be and hereby are empowered and authorized to form themselves into fire companies, one company in each ward, to consist solely of citizens of that ward, and that no person shall become a member of either company who shall not be at least twenty-one years of age.

"*Be it ordained*, That the number of members in each company shall not at any time exceed seventy-five, and as soon as fifty members shall have subscribed in either ward, that a meeting shall be called and officers appointed, and the said company, a majority being present, shall immediately proceed to draft a set of by-laws, which, if approved by the mayor and board of aldermen, shall be deemed to have the force and effect of city ordinances until repealed."

In accordance with this ordinance the following citizens enrolled themselves for the purpose of forming a fire company in the Middle Ward:

Josiah Spalding, Charles Wahrendorff, Wilson McGunnegle, August Kerr, Andrew Hay, H. L. Hoffman, John H. Gay, Henry Von Phul, William Hempstead, Joseph Powell, Frederick Dent, Theodore L. McGill, Samuel Willi, Edward Charless, Thomas Andrews, George K. McGunnegle, Antoine Chenie, William E. Starr, Hugh Richards, Joseph Charless, Jr., Thomas Cohen, John Warburton, Frederick L. Billon, A. L. Magennis, Charles Bosseron, John J. Bouberman, J. Baum, A. Hill, E. F. Smith, N. B. Atwood, E. Baker, W. S. Derring, John B. Sarpy, William Christman, John McCausland, Bernard Pratte, R. C. Pilkington, B. Berthold, John Smith, William Smith, Sept. Pettus, Sullivan Blood, Thomas Crusoe, Peter Powell, James S. Thomas, William R. Grimsley, R. H. McGill, C. M. Price, Thomas D. Potts, Henry Reilly, D. D. Page, I. J. Sparks, D. Shepherd, Thomas Essex, John Simonds, Thomas Estes, John L. Sutton, Henry Chouteau, John Andrews, James Philibert, R. J. Wilkinson, Michael Tesson, James Clemens, Jr., S. Parmelee, and J. Wilson.

The first meeting was held at the Baptist Church on June 2, 1826, when Josiah Spalding was chosen chairman, and Wilson McGunnegle secretary. A committee consisting of Charles Wahrendorff, who had been secretary of the St. Louis North Fire Company in August, 1819, Edward Charless, Wilson McGunnegle, and Charles Spalding was appointed to frame a constitution and by-laws to govern the company, which task they satisfactorily discharged. The following officers were elected to serve for the first year: President, Bernard Pratte; secretary, Wilson McGunnegle; captain, Christopher M. Price; lieutenant, John Simonds, Jr.; first engineer, Amos Hill; second engineer, John L. Sutton; first director, Henry Von Phul; second, Thomas Andrews; third, John H. Gay; fourth, Charles Wahrendorff.

The organization of the "Phœnix" Fire Company, as it was determined to call it, having been approved by the mayor and board of aldermen, the latter body passed the following order:

"WHEREAS, an association of the Middle Ward styled the Phœnix Fire Company have submitted a constitution and by-laws, *Therefore*, be it resolved that this board do approve the constitution so subscribed and constitute the same as a fire company for said ward, and said company shall have charge of the engine now in the market house,"

which was the "None-Such," one of the two purchased by the citizens in 1819.

The "Phœnix Fire Company" did not preserve its organization very long, and in 1829 another effort was made to form a company, which was called the "St. Louis Fire Company"; but, like its predecessor, it died after a very brief existence.

The fever of running "wid der masheen" having spread thoughout the city on the receipt of the new engine, culminated in 1832 in the formation of "Central Fire Company, No. 1," and in the fall of the year in the organization of another company called

the "Northern Fire Company," its location being in the North Ward. The membership of the latter, Mr. Lynch says, was composed principally of

"Irish citizens, backed by influential Americans, large property owners in the vicinity of Fourth and Washington Avenue, the site pitched upon being a lot on the east side of Third street, just north of Washington Avenue, removing subsequently to the west side, one-half block below, where they remained up to the date of their dissolution in 1855. They subsequently took the name of 'Union, No. 2.' The 'Southern Fire Company,' afterwards taking the name of 'Washington, No. 3,' the roll of whose membership with a few exceptions were German and French citizens, was organized in 1833, their location being on the east side of Second Street, south of Spruce, removing in 1835 to Spruce, between Second and Third Streets, and again in 1852 to Third Street, a few doors south of Elm Street, west side. They were considered the protectors of the southern portion of the city, though in after-years there was a company a mile south of their location. In the spring of 1839 the 'St. Louis Fire Company, No. 4,' was organized, their first location being a one-story frame shed on the northwest corner of Locust and Fourth Streets, removing in 1841 to the southeast corner of Locust and Third Streets, the membership of which was almost exclusively young mechanics, clerks, etc., the preponderance being aristocratic Eastern men. In the fall of the same year the 'Missouri Fire Company, No. 5,' was formed by a number of business men, merchants and their employés, they sharing the same shed in which the 'St. Louis' was domiciled, removing in 1841 to the east side of Third Street, next door to Ludlow & Smith's theatre, the present site of the post-office, southeast corner of Elm, where they remained up to the year 1852, when they again moved to the east side of Seventh Street, south of Olive, the present location of 'Old Headquarters.' In the year 1842 a company was formed, principally from the employés of Gaty, McCune & Co.'s foundry, the firm building their first engine, the location selected being a lot donated by the city on the northwest corner of Franklin Avenue and Broadway, which they occupied up to the time of dissolution in 1858. The next company to come forward as the champion of public safety was 'Phœnix Fire Company, No. 7,' composed mainly of German citizens who had settled on a site a distance south of the most orderly engine-houses, domiciling themselves in the spring of 1843 in a one-story frame building situated at the junction of Second and Fifth Streets and Carondelet Avenue, subsequently moving across to the west side of Fifth Street, opposite. In the winter of 1847 the citizens of the northwestern portion of the city felt the desideratum of a fire organization in their quarter, and formed 'Franklin Fire Company, No. 8,' housing their first apparatus in a shed comprising part of the wagon-yard of Fred. Laumann, Esq., situated on the northwest corner of Eleventh Street and Franklin Avenue, removing thence to Eleventh Street, north of Wash, west side, the present location of No. 13 in the paid department. The membership of this company was also German citizens ('wooden shoes,' as they were derisively called) with a few exceptions, developing into a very active company. Next in order was 'Mound Fire Company, No. 9,' composed of American citizens principally, residents of the northeastern portion of the city, their first house being on the south side of Howard Street, east of Broadway: their second and last, Broadway south of Brooklyn, succeeded by the steamer of the name and number of the present time. They were followed by 'Laclede Fire Company, No. 10,' a quarter of the city sadly needing their services, their original location being the south end of Lucas Market, removing subsequently to the west side of Sixteenth Street, north of Chestnut, and again, in 1850, to the north side of Market Street, three doors east of Fifteenth, the present location of No. 14. The membership was almost exclusively of old firemen, members of other companies who had moved into that neighborhood. There never were any hose companies proper in the department, each company including its own hose service, and the only hook-and-ladder company ever in existence was 'Lafayette, No. 1,' instituted in 1852, their original location being on the east side of Eighth Street, south of Washington Avenue, making several changes during their career, dissolving in 1858.

"But one other company may be mentioned, closing the record of the volunteer fire department, the 'Good Will Fire Company, No. 11.' They were an offshoot of several of the old companies, and born of the violent opposition of the volunteers to the establishment of the paid department. After an existence of a few months they succumbed to public opinion and returned their borrowed apparatus to their respective owners."[1]

Notwithstanding these efforts to establish a fire system for St. Louis, the inhabitants adhered to the old leather fire-buckets until a very late period.

On the 3d of June, 1835, Mayor John F. Darby approved an ordinance requiring the citizens to procure fire-buckets. By this act

"every owner in fee-simple, fee or tail for life, or on perpetual lease of any dwelling-house, store, or warehouse, or every tenant occupying the same, at the expense of the proper owner, shall keep at his or their own proper cost and expense for each story which such dwelling-house, store, or warehouse shall comprise at least one strong, substantial, and sufficient leather bucket, which shall be marked in paint and in conspicuous letters with the name or names of the owner or owners thereof, and which shall be kept in some convenient or public part of the house, and which shall not be removed, notwithstanding the tenant's may, and which shall not be used for any domestic purposes, under the penalty of five dollars, nor be employed except on occasion of fire or exercise of the engines belonging to this corporation, and shall always be kept in good order at the expense of the owner or owners of the dwelling-house, store, or warehouse, and which shall be carried or sent to places on fire, or to places where the engines may be exercised, by tenants or occupiers of such dwelling-house, store, or warehouse."

For a violation of this section of the ordinance the offender was compelled to pay five dollars for each bucket required, and it was "the duty of the city constable, from time to time, and at least once in every six months, to visit each and every dwelling-house, store, or warehouse," to examine if they were furnished with the requisite number of fire-buckets, and to report to the mayor. If the owner or owners of property failed to provide the number of fire-buckets required by the ordinance, they forfeited and were compelled to pay for the use of the city the sum of five dollars.

In time the old hand-engines superseded the fire-

[1] "The Volunteer Fire Department of St. Louis," by Tom Lynch, pp. 8 and 9.

buckets, and on May 13, 1840, an ordinance was approved repealing the ordinance of 1835 relative to the buckets. When the hand-engines had been brought near perfection they were in turn superseded by the present steam fire-engines, as will be seen hereafter.

In February, 1841, the fire department of the city consisted of the Central, Union, Washington, St. Louis, and Missouri Companies. To aid in keeping their engines and apparatus in repair, the city appropriated to each company the sum of three hundred dollars. In June of the same year the city also purchased for the fire companies two thousand feet of leather hose, which was divided among them; and in September following the mayor procured from Boston twenty-five hundred feet more. On Feb. 9, 1842, the superintendent of the water-works was directed to erect hydrants in the engine-house yards. On Aug. 24, 1842, the City Council appropriated the following sums to the companies named: Liberty, seven hundred dollars; Washington, seven hundred dollars; Missouri, two thousand dollars; and Central, seven hundred dollars. On the 31st of July, 1843, each fire company in the city which was organized and fully equipped with engine, hose, and other necessary apparatus was authorized to receive from the city the sum of three hundred dollars in quarterly payments on the last days of March, June, September, and December, provided they made a report to the mayor at the end of every quarter, showing the condition of the company, the number of active members, the officers of the company, and that their engine and apparatus were ready for service, together with a detailed statement of their expenditures, signed by the captain or superior officer of the company, and attested by the secretary.

On August 14th of the following year an ordinance was passed "for the prevention of fires," and on Aug. 8, 1845, the superintendent of water-works was authorized to lay down water-pipe in certain sections of the city and to contract for fire-plugs.

The fire department thus progressed until July, 1850, when it was organized under an ordinance embracing regulations for its government which was passed by the City Council. By this ordinance an inspector of fire department was appointed by the mayor, on the recommendation of the Firemen's Association, at a salary of three hundred dollars per annum. It was the duty of the inspector to make an examination every three months into the actual condition of each fire company in the city, and report the same to the City Council. He was to ascertain the amount and condition of the apparatus of each company, the number of members, and how many were under the age of twenty-one years. The city was authorized to pay to each company that had an effective organization with not less than forty men, and recognized the authority of the inspector, and obeyed the city ordinances regulating the fire department, the sum of one thousand dollars annually, payable in quarterly installments. The department under this organization was conducted successfully, and the number of fires during the next year was fewer than during the preceding one. All of the companies excepting the Union and Liberty accepted the ordinance immediately on its passage, and received the thousand dollars yearly allowance provided for their support. Those two large and efficient companies, under a misconception of the terms of the ordinance and the intention of the Council, refused to accept the conditions imposed, and preferred to remain independent of the city until late in 1852, when they joined the department. In the mean time they had continued to render valuable service whenever an alarm called them to duty, relying for their support upon contributions from their friends as before.

In accordance with the "ordinance establishing and regulating the fire department," Edward Brooks, the inspector, on May 10, 1852, made a detailed report of the condition of the department for the quarter commencing April 1, 1852. At this time there belonged to the department, under the organization and control provided by the city ordinances, eight companies, viz.: the Central, Washington, St. Louis, Missouri, Phœnix, Franklin, Mound, and Laclede, "having in service four forcing-engines, four suction-engines, three four-wheeled hose-carriages, eighteen two-wheeled ladders, and nine thousand nine hundred and fifty feet of leather leading-hose." Besides having eight hundred and fifty feet of leather hose, the Central had in service six hundred feet of hemp hose, and the Missouri one hundred feet of the same kind, which was used only for forcing through from the engine. There belonged to the department 493 enrolled members, distributed among the several companies as follows: Central, 48; Missouri, 53; Franklin, 52; Washington, 80; Phœnix, 46; Laclede, 45; St. Louis, 11; and Mound City, 52. The aggregate amount of indebtedness of all the companies was $648.54. The aggregate amount of cash on hand belonging to the companies was $3444.69. The estimates of the department for the ensuing year were as follows:

Allowance for eight companies ($1000 each) ..	$8,000
Repairs of buildings and apparatus.....	500
Salary of inspector	300
One new engine and two suctions.....	4,000
Three new hose-carriages.....	2,100
Amount necessary to be appropriated...	$15,300

In May, 1854, Edward Brooks, the inspector, made another report to the Council, in which he stated that

the following companies belong to the department under the control of the city: Central, Union, Washington, St. Louis, Missouri, Liberty, Mound, Phœnix, Franklin, and Laclede. They have in service five forcing-engines, nine suction-engines, seven four-wheeled hose-carriages, seventeen two-wheeled tenders, and nine thousand two hundred and fifty feet of hose. The department numbers 805 enrolled members, the several companies numbering as follows: Central, 51; St. Louis, 100; Phœnix, 90; Laclede, 47; Union, 67; Missouri, 66; Mound, 83; Washington, 46; Liberty, 151; Franklin, 104. The aggregate amount of indebtedness of the companies on April 1, 1854, was $1381.02. The amount of cash on hand was $1331.17, exclusive of the quarterly allowance of two hundred and fifty dollars due to each company. The amount paid for hose, repairs, etc., during the year was $1681.95, in addition to which several bills of repairs which were rejected by the inspector make the whole sum expended for repairs $2357.85. The fire department will require during the current year six thousand two hundred and fifty feet of hose to be purchased by the city. The appropriation required for current expenses for the present year is estimated at $18,826.

In May of the following year, George N. Stevens, the inspector of the fire department, recommended to the City Council among other things the propriety of purchasing the requisite apparatus for a hook-and-ladder company. This company, under the presidency of Charles P. Chouteau, was organized about the same time, and was provided with a house for its truck.

On April 5, 1856, an ordinance was approved by the mayor which regulated and reorganized the fire department. In pursuance of this ordinance, on May 1, 1857, the inspector (George N. Stevens) reported that there were then under the control and organization of the city ordinances eleven companies,—Central, Liberty, Laclede, Missouri, Mound, Franklin, South St. Louis, Jefferson, St. Louis, Washington, and Phœnix,—with a total membership of seven hundred and forty-nine enrolled men. The service had eight forcing-engines, nine suction-engines, fourteen four-wheeled hose-carriages, ten two-wheeled tenders, and nine thousand eight hundred feet of leather hose. The Jefferson and South St. Louis were new fire companies which had been added to the department during the year, and during the same year the Lafayette Hook-and-Ladder Company, with fifty enrolled members, one truck, five ladders, nine hooks, four axes, and two picks, was also incorporated with the department. The current expenses required during the ensuing year were estimated at eighteen thousand three hundred and seventy dollars. The inspector also renewed his recommendation, made the year before, for the erection of cisterns near the intersection of the several streets where no fire-plugs were located, to remedy the deficiency of a supply of water.

"The city, up to the year 1846, possessed a small reservoir of the capacity of only half a million gallons per day, the site of which is now the southwest corner of Bates and Collins Streets, the débris of which can still be seen, while the 'plug' privileges amounted to a stand-pipe, inclosed in a cast-iron cylinder eighteen inches in diameter, by a height of three feet above the sidewalk, surmounted by an urn, and having two openings of two and one-half inches diameter each. These plugs or hydrants were distributed through the business portion of the city at a distance of every three blocks, or about one thousand feet apart, and were a familiar object to all the inhabitants up to the year 1860, and probably the last to fade away before the march of improvement was one which stood upon the southeast corner of Sixth and Olive Streets. The largest diameter of pipe in those days was only nine inches, and it was not until the advent of the steam-engine in 1856 that the city fathers concluded to adopt not only the underground plug, of which there is now one on every corner in the district bounded by the Levee and Eighth Street and Cass and Chouteau Avenues, and one on every other corner in the rest of the city, but also an increased diameter of pipe, the latter now reaching a maximum of three feet, while the present water-works contribute a daily quantum of thirty-three million gallons of clear water, in place of the half-and-half mud and water of the old *régime*.

"St. Louis being built upon the bank of the river principally, and of very narrow breadth, the majority of the engine-houses were located on Third Street, or Broadway; the former name extending from the southern limits to Green Street, and then taking the name of Broadway to the northern limits. These two streets were the main artery of the city from north to south, and six of the engine-houses were but a few blocks apart, necessitating the greatest vigilance on the part of the members to prevent surprises, and to obviate the disgrace, as it was always considered, of being 'passed in the house.' Particularly was this the case with the volunteer hose companies, and the exciting contests of speed occurring on this thoroughfare north to the 'Mound' and south to the 'Phœnix' were the inexhaustible theme of comment and glorification in the engine-houses, and if written up would fill volumes."

In those days, when a fire was discovered, "the steward" or watchman at each engine-house would ring his bell violently, and not only members, but a certain class of shoulder-hitters who were retained by each company to help it through an "emergency" made a grand dash for their respective engine-houses. The "bunkers," or such of the members as occupied bunks in the houses, always had all in readiness for a start; a long rope was led off, all hands caught hold, and with a whoop and a yell that the clangor of the bells could not drown, away the brigade went for the fire. A captain, with a huge tin trumpet, always ran alongside, shouting encouragement and making liberal contributions to the general din. The aim was to secure the plug nearest the fire, and to throw "first water." Not infrequently engines met at the intersections of streets, and the tactics then were for the engineer having the strongest force to run in on the rope of the other, and "skin the rope," running along its full length and compelling all who had hold of it to let go. This gained a little time and distance, and

often won the nearest plug. But even then the company accomplishing this success was not sure of "first water," for some enthusiatic, conscientious member of another company, rather than witness the defeat of his organization, might cut a gap in the hose of number one. This last was a trick often resorted to, and the uniform result was that two or three companies left the fire to take care of itself, while they tried issues with clubs and stones. The plugs in vogue then were large, upright, unsightly objects with two attachments. Frequently a collision was necessary to determine which of the companies should have the lower attachment, which was more desirable, for the obvious reason that the one having possession of that could suck nearly all of the water away from the men who were pumping on the other, leaving them to "pump wind."

Besides the regular apparatus of an engine and four-wheeled reel, each company had a light two-wheeled tender or "plug-catcher," the members of which, instead of being a separate organization, generally consisted of the younger members, constituting a company within a company, whose duty was to be on hand at all times, in order to secure, in case of fire, the best attainable position by an early arrival at the nearest plug. These volunteer hose companies, combined with others which several of the companies adopted, whose province was to follow the engine carrying the requisite amount of "leading" hose, were the nucleus or training-school for young men and boys under age, in which they were fitted to become at their majority the best and most efficient of firemen. Fanciful names were generally adopted for these tenders; No. 1's being "Shanghai"; No. 2's "Greyhound"; No. 3's "Wild Pigeon"; No. 4's "Tiger"; No. 5's "Snapper"; No. 6's "Gray Eagle"; No. 7's "Fashion"; No. 8's "Reindeer"; No. 9's "Peytona"; and No. 10's "Fairy." These companies consisted on an average of twenty men, and were considered the flower of the organizations to which they belonged; and no efforts were spared to make them all that practice and emoluments could make them, as regarded speed, vigilance, and efficiency. Many of them had a regular system of prizes, to be given to the member taking out the tender the greatest number of times in stated periods, quarterly, semi-annually, or annually; and nearly all of them had their race-course, in which they practiced speed at regular intervals, the Greyhound's being Washington Avenue from Eighteenth to Third Street, just one mile, which distance was often run, with twelve men on the rope, inside of six minutes. The Gray Eagle's was from Mound Market, on Broadway, "home," time at this day unknown.

Upon the establishment of the paid fire department in 1857, there were in active service ten companies as follows: "Central" Company, No. 1, was located on Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth. It had fifty-six active members, two forcing-engines, two four-wheeled hose-carriages, and one two-wheeled One engine and one hose-carriage were owned by the company, and the others by the city. "Washington" Company, No. 3, was located on the west side of Third Street, between Elm and Myrtle Streets, and numbered fifty-eight members. It had one suction engine and one four-wheel hose-carriage, belonging to the city. The company owned the lot on which the engine-house was built, but the city owned the latter. "St. Louis," No. 4, was located on the southeast corner of Third and Locust Streets, and owned the house and lot and one engine and hose-carriage. All engine and hose-carriage then in its possession belonged to the city. This company had enrolled one hundred active members. "Missouri," No. 5, was located on Seventh Street, between Pine and Olive. It had one engine and two hose-carriages in its possession and the engine-house and lot were owned jointly by the company and the city. It had forty-eight members enrolled. "Liberty," No. 6, was located on Franklin Avenue, at the corner of Fourth Street, and had ninety-eight enrolled members. Its apparatus consisted of two forcing-engines and two four-wheeled and one two-wheeled hose-carriages, belonging to the company. The engine-house was the property of the company, and the lot belonged to the city. "Phœnix" No. 7, was situated on Fifth Street, near Park Avenue, and had eighty-seven active members, and owned one forcing-engine. It also had one suction-engine and two hose-carriages, belonging to the city. The company owned its engine-house, but the lot belonged to other parties. "Franklin," No. 8, was located on Eleventh Street, between Wash and Carr, and had seventy-three active members. It owned one forcing-engine and one four-wheeled hose-carriage, and was part proprietor with the city of one engine and one hose-carriage. "Mound," No. 9, was situated on the corner of Broadway and Mound Streets, and had eighty members enrolled. The city owned the hose-carriage, and the engine was the joint property of the city and the company. The engine-house was owned by the city.

"Laclede," No. 10, located at the corner of Fifth and Market Streets, had forty-eight members enrolled and owned one suction-engine and an interest with the city in another. Its hose-carriage belonged to the city, the engine-house to the company, and the lot to James H. Lucas. Lafayette Hook-and-Ladder

Company, on Wash Street, between Seventh and Eighth, owned its apparatus, but the house belonged to the city.

At this time the Fund Association for Disabled Firemen had on deposit between six and seven thousand dollars. The department was regulated by a union board of three members from each company, to which all matters concerning the department were referred. The fire department system was voluntary, and the organization was sustained by an annual appropriation of one thousand dollars to each of the companies, and by contributions from insurance companies, business men, property-owners, and the members of the various companies.

The engine-houses were all comfortable, and supplied with every convenience, and almost all of the halls or places of meeting in them were lavishly furnished with all that taste or utility could demand, the finest of them being the beautiful Gothic structure erected by Union, No. 2.

The abolition of the old department was not unattended with regret. For many years it had served the community faithfully without reward, and rendered valuable and important service. It had numbered many brave and generous men in its organization, and could boast of many deeds of gallantry, self-sacrifice, and heroism. The old system, however, not only trained bold and expert firemen, but gave rise to evils of the greatest magnitude. The spirit of rivalry not only produced competition in battling with the flames, but led to constant disorders and breaches of the peace.[1]

Some of the engine-houses became hot-beds for the growth of lawlessness and depravity. Youths not controlled by parental restraint, as soon as the shades of night closed in, sought the engine-houses, where hours

[1] A writer in the *Republican* of Dec. 30, 1877, says,—

"A few of these organizations were composed largely of men who preferred a whole skin to the excitement of a bit of fight, but the majority had always some unsettled score against some company or other, and, notwithstanding numerous vain and friendly essays, never tired of trying to effect a settlement. Whenever too much chaffing about town brought on a fighting mood there was sure to be a fire-alarm, and everybody of a belligerent disposition was fully accommodated. Of course many of these alarms were bogus, but they served their purpose well, and if genuine it was an easy thing always to open the hose by turning a stream of water into some industrious pump-well. It invariably had about the same effect as water upon lime,—generated an intense heat where it alighted, and the red-hot pumpers lost no time in abandoning their hose and hunting for something that might serve to lay out their fellow-men.

"This feeling of rivalry was exceptionally strong between the Franklin and Liberty Companies, and their little set-tos usually threw all others in the shade. So great did the mutual antipathy become that it was the rule, and not the exception, for them to begin to square off at each other on sight. One night a squad of men quietly effected an entrance to the engine-house of the Franklin Company, without awaking the watchman, stole the hose-reel, rushed it out to the vicinity of Uhrig's Cave, led off the hose, and laid it along in front of the residence of Capt. Cozzens, and then broke the reel to pieces and threw it into the pond or hollow which existed there then. Reels had frequently been captured and run into ponds or into the river before, but they were always recovered, and hence this unprecedented piece of mischief made the Franklin boys 'look cross-eyed,' and filled them with a desire for vengeance that nothing could satisfy. Of course the trick was chalked up against the Liberty men, and many a sore head attested to the earnestness of the desire to get even. Finally these companies had a battle that was calculated to satisfy the most savage of their members, and that 'laid over' anything in the history of the department. One Saturday evening, not a great while before the paid department was inaugurated, the companies met at the corner of Fifth and Morgan Streets, and indulged in a few knock downs as usual, and each drew off vowing vengeance. On the following morning, Sunday, a fire occurred in a little one-story building just south of Allen's foundry. There was a general turn-out. The fire was easily handled, but a few minutes later the Franklin and the Liberty Companies came together at the corner of Broadway and Liberty Streets. The Liberty men took up their position on the east side of Broadway, and the Franklin men on the west side. Two Liberty men got on the roof of a small house there, and two others got on the 'upper deck' of the Agnew engine which they possessed, and which was what was known as a 'double-decker,' being arranged for two sets of pumpers. The men on the roof kicked the bricks of the fire-wall loose, and then pitched them to their companions on the 'upper deck,' who passed them below. In this manner a good stock of ammunition was laid in for the inevitable conflict. After a little jeering on both sides the initiative brick was thrown by one side or the other, and then ensued a terrible scene. The air was fairly filled with clubs, bricks, and stones, and yells went up that could be heard to the uttermost limits of the city then. Blood flowed as freely as in a slaughter-house, and charge after charge was made on both sides without either securing any marked advantage. Finally pistols were drawn, and some forty or fifty shots were fired. Men dropped here and there from bullets or stones, and the scene resembled a real battle-ground. An eye-witness, in telling of the encounter, said that it was simply appalling. The sharp bark of the pistols, the dull thud of stones, and the yells and groans of men made many believe that there would be quite a death-roll for the city to mourn over that night. 'There was one man in that fight,' proceeded this relator, 'who did some of the most wonderful dodging I ever saw in my life. About half a dozen of the Franklin men got him by himself in front of a brick wall, and stood off and began to pelt him. He wore a red shirt, and was quite conspicuous. They were all throwing at once, and that fellow kept dodging around there for five minutes, with bricks cracking against the wall within an inch of his head or body every second, but never a one of them breaking his skin. It was probably the liveliest work he ever did in his life, and everybody who wasn't in the fight was hoping that he'd get away from them, but he began to grow a little tired, and a very swift shot finally doubled him up on the sidewalk. Then they let him alone.'

"Of the leaders of the Liberty men in this memorable battle, . . . two, as reckless dare-devils as ever lived, subsequently entered the Confederate service as spies, and made

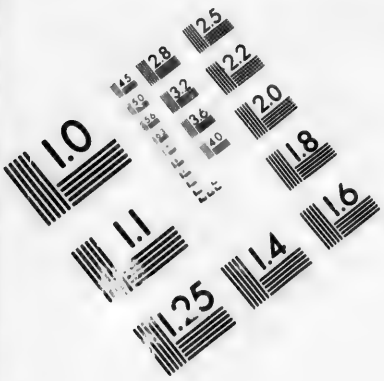
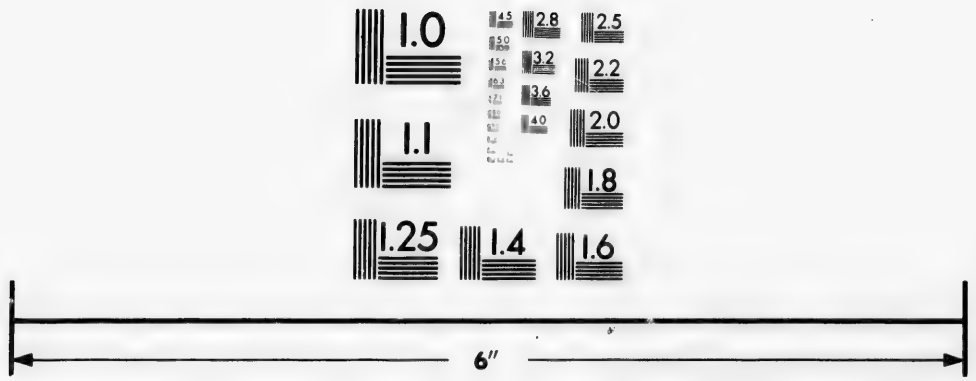
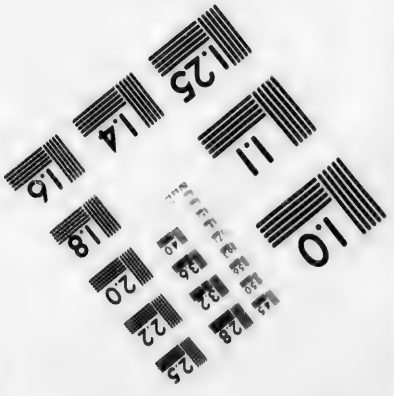




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were spent in the rehearsal of deeds of violence and crime, the planning of attacks on rival companies, or in scheming for the application of the incendiary match without danger of detection. Nightly, however, their conversation would be interrupted by the alarm-bell, "which in a majority of instances only heralded the intelligence that the incendiary had been at work." The "masheen" would go forth, "amid hootings and howlings, and the flames, fierce as they might be, would be as fiercely fought by the firemen, and when subdued, if not while they were still raging, the insulting taunt would be thrown out, and then a wild scene of riot would follow. Some of the participants would be taken to the police-stations, while others, with bloody heads, returned to the engine-house, to be the heroes of the next few hours." These riots were created and participated in by a certain class known as "hangers-on" and "runners." Many worthy citizens belonged to the companies, and exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent or check these evils. As has been truly said, the system had become a standing outrage. The spirit of rowdyism which had grown up under it, not satisfied with an occasional demonstration at fires, turned to the highways, and assailed the inoffensive citizen as he walked to his home. Political feuds were added to company fights, and the climax was an open warfare, not only as to companies, but individuals, the sight of a member of a rival organization being the signal for an attack. Suggestion followed suggestion, and restriction followed restriction, in the vain hope that a remedy could be found for the evils without the destruction of the system.

The old system was a power. It was no child's play to destroy an organization which the habits and needs of years had made a living thing, and which was endeared to the people by acts of the noblest heroism. The advocates of the department could point to half a century's unpaid toil; to acts of bravery for which comparisons could scarce be found; to deeds of daring which would have appalled the sternest warrior. All these deeds and all this half-century's toil had been given without reward, or at least none other than a knowledge that a whole community was grateful. They claimed for the members of the companies exemption from the charge of being riotous, and asked for protection against those who used the department for these disgraceful exhibitions. On the other hand, those who favored the change saw plainly the impossibility of separating the two elements. Nothing but the destruction of the good and commendable part would eradicate the evils which all deplored. They conceded the historical facts, of which all were so proud, but at the same time pointed to the disgrace which was inseparably connected with the department. They asserted that a volunteer department and acts of lawlessness were concomitants.[1]

many passages from St. Louis 'through the lines' with mails. They were everywhere in that row, urging on the boys, and doing very effective work themselves, yet, strangely enough, they were among the few who were unhurt. Once they went around a whole block and attempted to flank the Franklin men, but were set upon, and barely escaped with their lives. The outcome was that the Franklin men, in one of the most desperate charges of the day, routed the larger part of the Liberty men, just as the police, under command of Dan Rollins, then chief, arrived and put a stop to the proceedings. An inventory then showed that, although there was a very large list of wounded, only nine were seriously hurt, and only one was killed. This one was Owen Foy, a member of the Liberty Company. He was hiding behind a corner, and a crowd of the enemy coming suddenly round that way ran right on him, and one of them shot him through the heart. Several parties were arrested on suspicion, but it was never definitely ascertained who fired that shot, although it was done in broad daylight. None of the nine men who were badly injured died of their wounds.

"Owen Foy was the only fireman killed in any of the myriad rows, which is a very remarkable fact, but some of the volunteers met violent deaths by other means. During the great fire of 1849, for instance, Mr. E. Targee, a member of a volunteer company, in his efforts to check the flames, carried a keg of powder to a building which had just caught fire and threw it in. It exploded before he could get out of the way, and he was blown to pieces. The accident occurred at the corner of Second and Market Streets, and some time afterwards some repairers on the roof of old City Hall, at the corner of Main and Market Streets, found a part of one of Targee's legs in the water-trough. It was identified very positively by some peculiarity which was known to some of his friends. Another volunteer fireman was burned to death on the steamer 'Sultana,' which was destroyed at the foot of Florida Street in 1852 or 1853. He was on the upper deck, when the flames got so strong below him as to cut off his escape. He was a member of the old St. Louis. Another fireman named Baker was murdered one night in 1841 or 1842, in a building where he was employed, at the corner of Pine Street and Commercial Alley."

[1] Mr. Thomas Lynch, in his interesting history of the old fire department of St. Louis, says,—

"Toward the year 1851, two causes militated against the further successful prosecution of the extinguishment of fires by the volunteers. The first and prominent one was the acquisition as members, from time to time by the different companies, of a lot of refugees from justice and chronic roughs from the departments of the Eastern cities. The typical 'B'hoy,' or 'Sykesy,' was unknown in the department up to this time, but unfortunately he involuntarily transplanted himself from a clime where his safety and the wholeness of his skin were in jeopardy to 'the West,' where he would be unknown; but, alas for human calculations, the inherent 'cussedness' of their natures did not allow them to remain in obscurity any length of time, for, as a general thing, they were the best-known characters in the city within a few months subsequent to their arrival. These parties soon changed the aspect and *personnel* of the department from a band of friends and brothers to that

It became evident that nothing but the complete destruction of the volunteer system would secure the results desired. The ordinance creating the paid system was passed, and following close on its passage was its institution. The volunteer system retired. The engine-houses became places of mourning. The adherents of the system, chagrined at the cavalier manner in which they had been disposed of, met nightly to speak of the ingratitude of the people, recount the valuable services which had been rendered, or recall the crowd of reminiscences which were the glory and honor of the department. All the deeds, which were to them as precious jewels,—the heroism which only ended in the sacrifice of life, the winter midnight scene, the generous rivalry to risk life and limb, the hours of toil,—all, all were poured into sympathizing ears. One after another of the martyrs who at the post of duty scorned danger and courted death were reverted to, and as the virtues and heroism of each were truthfully recounted, many an eye that had looked fiercely and defiantly on the glaring flame grew dim with a manly tear. But while these brave firemen were sincerely mourning for the destruction of a system which they loved for the good it had done and still could do, there was another class who were lamenting its demise for entirely different reasons. This class were those who styled the apparatus "*de masheen!*" who said "*nah!*" and "*yaas!*" They regretted its destruction because they would have "*no more musses.*" They cursed a steam-engine as it passed them on the street, and called it a "*lum-mix!*"[1]

of rioters, 'scalawags,' and thieves and to this cause alone may be attributed the dissolution of the Union Fire Company in 1855.

"The character of 'Mose,' brought out about this time at the theatres, contributed largely to give *éclat* to the sayings and doings of these parties, and particularly in moulding the future character of the younger members. The other cause which also contributed largely to the change in the *personnel* of the companies was the passage through the Council in 1850, and during the administration of Mayor Kennett, of an ordinance appropriating the sum of one thousand dollars annually to each company, the immediate result of which was the withdrawal of all the wealthy citizens who heretofore had countenanced them by their membership and contributions, thus taking away their moral influence, or, in other words, their respectability or 'prestige' from the remainder. Still another source of mischief was the practice, too much indulged in, of giving false alarms, 'just for a run, you know,' often ending in disreputable scenes and lasting animosities. As may be imagined, the dissolution of the Union Fire Company and their introduction of the steam fire-engine created the greatest consternation in the ranks of the remaining companies, and the tremendous opposition set on foot by them delayed the formation of the steam paid fire department many months. Yet, through the extraordinary exertions of Daniel G. Taylor, George Kyler, of No. 8, and Davis Moore, of No. 6, who luckily were then members of the Common Council, and who possessed the unprejudiced foresight to recognize the advantages of the offer, the bill to accept the proposal of the Union Fire Company to present a steam fire-engine under certain conditions was carried against the combined efforts of the volunteers and all the 'old fogy' element at their back. Thus was the new order of things put upon a secure footing. In recognition of the supreme efforts of the two latter gentlemen mentioned, the first engines ordered by the department were named in their honor. This signal failure on their part only increased the opposition of the volunteers, who strained every nerve to not only strengthen their own position, but to throw every obstacle in the way of the successful completion of the 'new-fangled idea,' by not only starting new companies, but by harassing and impeding the work of the steamers at every opportunity.

"Spite of all their efforts, however, they weakened, and at last gave up the ghost. Evident superiority will conquer, and this fact being patent to a discriminating public and to the old firemen themselves, they gradually wound up and disappeared from the scene of action, the last one to fade away being the Central, the first to appear in 1837 and the last to succumb in 1858. Some of them, actuated by the good of the public, and recognizing the fact that they owed all they possessed to them, turned over their property to the city; others sold out and greedily pocketed the proceeds, and one became so disgusted at the turn affairs had taken that their premises were discovered on fire one evening, and everything they possessed went up in smoke. On this occasion the building was allowed to burn, the paid firemen having no disposition to 'conquer' so as to 'save' anything, and thus ceased to exist an active company deserving of a better fate, the ground upon which the house stood reverting to the city, its original owner."

[1] A writer in the *Republican* says that when the city determined to establish a paid fire department, the proposition met with the most bitter opposition "on the part of the volunteers, and on the part, too, of many others, for, notwithstanding their frequent little troubles, the volunteers unquestionably did some splendid service in fighting fire. Many of the boys opposed the 'paid department' project because at that time it seemed absurd to pay firemen. Others opposed it because it was sure to spoil lots of fun that could only be had under the volunteer system. Others opposed it because only eight men out of each company could get any benefit from it; and others opposed it because it threatened to do away with all opportunities for pillage at fires which the volunteer system gave, and which were always taken advantage of by a riff-raff class who are bound to get into all such miscellaneous organizations. Shortly after the ordinance was passed, and while Mayor Wimer was looking about for a chief engineer, Marlow's factory, on the site of the present foundry of Smith, Beggs & Co., burned down. H. Clay Sexton conducted affairs at that fire, it being in his part of the town, and through his efforts a man who was caught by the fire in the fourth story was saved. A lot of quilts, etc., were formed into what is known by the *pompiers* of the present day as a grip-sack, twenty or twenty-five men held them, and just as the flames reached him, the man in the fourth-story window was induced to jump. He was caught and suffered no injury. The mayor was so well pleased with Sexton's work that he tendered him the position of chief of the new department, which was accepted. The Mound Company joined the paid department by a unanimous vote, as did the Washington. The other companies were very vindictive towards these organizations, whom they regarded as renegades, and Sexton found a big job on his hands. He went to work, quietly, however, and by some

This class was severely grieved that they could not "bunk any more," and the wisest of them prophesied the failure of the system. Overcoming the few obstacles that were thrown in its way, the new system was inaugurated, and years have since elapsed. The results which have followed are the best encomiums which can be paid it. The startling alarm-bell, instead of being heard at almost any hour of the night, sending forth notes of horror from its brazen throat, is now seldom sounded. The institution of the fire-alarm telegraph, which is the great auxiliary of the department, is another great blessing. The alarm comes noiselessly over the wires, telling its tale with unerring accuracy. At the first stroke of the signal-box in the engine-house the firemen springing from their places, rush to the horses, and in another moment the harness is on, and the intelligent animals, apparently eager to reach the scene of fire, stalk unbidden to the apparatus. The match is applied, and in another instant they are on their way. Nothing is heard but the rumbling of the wheels of the engine and hose-carriages, the quick steps of the horses, and the occasional sharp whistle which is given *en route* to show that in five minutes and a half from the time the signal was received the engine was ready for work. There are no loud words spoken, no hooting or howling, and no street-fights. The same daring, the same heroism which characterized the volunteer firemen, is displayed by their successors. Tremendous streams of water are poured incessantly on the burning building, and as the angry flames burst out the *fiat* of the fireman goes forth, "Thus far shalt thou go, but no farther." Sinew and muscle will fail, the strength of men will grow to weakness, but the iron muscles and steel arms of the steam-engine are tireless,—no exertion can exhaust them, no labor affect them. As soon as the fire is extinguished, the horses, apparatus, and men are returned to their places. Such is the practical working of the St. Louis fire department,—a model in every particular, a source of pride to St. Louis, and a credit and honor to those who compose it.

The Paid Department.—For many years before the abolition of the old volunteer fire department, the subject of introducing a new system had occupied the public mind, and as early as October, 1854, the attention of the City Council was formally called to the matter by Mayor John How. In his message of the 9th of October he says,—

"I deem it my duty to recommend to your body the gradual abandonment of the volunteer fire department and the establishment of a paid one. In doing so care should be taken to secure, as far as practicable, the services of many of our experienced firemen, whose judgment and courage have been so frequently and thoroughly tested. The advantages of a well-regulated fire department are so great as to be absolutely necessary for our safety and comfort; and experience has shown that whilst the volunteer system possesses many strong recommendations, there are defects that a proper pay-roll would remedy."

The condition of the city treasury at this time was not such as to warrant the increased expenditure which would have been necessitated by the establishment of a paid department, and no practical action was taken upon the mayor's suggestions.

smooth talk induced Dick Beggs, of the Franklin, and Judd Bame, of the Phœnix, both of whom were excellent firemen, to accept positions as his assistants. The Phœnix and Franklin, after some ugly demonstrations, were induced to listen to a good-humored address one night from the chief, however, and not long aftewards 'came in.' The Liberty was very stubborn, but one night some one got into their engine-house and took the wheels off the engine and hose-reel, so that they could not be dragged out, and then set fire to the building. It burned down, and the wheelless outfit was ruined. This was the night of a grand parade by the volunteer companies, and not long afterwards the Liberty boys put their old machine on wheels, put on it the placard, 'Phœnix-like, we will rise from our ashes,' and paraded the streets with it. They never carried out the promise of the placard, however.

"The opposition to Sexton's men soon took a very annoying form. The volunteers, being much the stronger, used to make desperate attempts to draw the paid men into a row, but of course always made a failure of it. At nearly every fire for the first few months something would be done to harass the paid men and prevent them from accomplishing any good. At one fire, on the corner of Broadway and Franklin Avenue, when Madame English's house burned, two fine horses belonging to the department were stabbed and killed, and two men were knocked down, to say nothing of hose cut, etc. One night Mike Dressel, driver of the Mound engine, was struck with a stone and knocked off his horse on Franklin Avenue, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, while going to a fire, and frequently men were assailed by unknown parties. The only fire for a long time where there was harmonious work on the part of all was when the Pacific Hotel was burned, and so many lives were lost. It was a bitter cold night, and engines in one or two instances got stuck in the icy gutters, but always found ready hands to help them out, as everybody appreciated the terrible importance of united effort.

"One very troublesome trick the volunteers had was that of sounding false alarms, just to bring out the paid department and give it a tiresome run to no purpose. One night there were thirteen alarms. The paid men, of course, responded each time, and their horses were fairly worn out.

"The volunteers also endeavored always to beat the paid men out of the nearest plug to the fire, but Sexton conceived a plan to beat them that worked admirably. He had a light vehicle, with a few wraps of hose on it, and a very fast horse attached, located in a shed at a central point, and on the first alarm of fire Mike Dressel, the driver in charge, let his horse go his best. The result was that he reached the plug before any of the hand-engines of the volunteers in nine cases out of ten, and, having hose with him, was enabled to hold it till the first paid company arrived.

"Finally all of this opposition was tired out, and the volunteers, one by one, either dropped into the paid department or disbanded."

The subject was revived by Mayor Washington King in his message to the City Council on May 14th of the following year, but, for the reason previously mentioned, and owing to the great opposition manifested on the part of the volunteer firemen to the establishment of a paid system, nothing was done with the matter. Upon his re-election to the mayoralty in 1856, Mayor How, in his message to the City Council on May 12th, again renewed his recommendation made to that body in 1854, suggesting a change in the organization of the fire department. The subject was allowed to rest until July, 1857, when an ordinance was passed by the City Council and approved by the mayor creating a paid fire department. The first section of this ordinance provided that the fire department should consist of a chief engineer, two assistant engineers, and a board of fire engineers, one captain and twenty-five men for each regularly organized company, and as many hook-and-ladder men, not exceeding twenty-five, as should be required.

The late John M. Wimer, who was mayor at the time, took great interest in the establishment of the new fire department, and appointed H. Clay Sexton, who had been president of the Mound Fire Company, chief engineer of the new organization. The City Council appointed George Kyler and John Sexton, of the board of aldermen, and Davis Moore and Henry Almstedt, of the board of delegates, as a "board of fire engineers." The fire engineers held their first meeting on Aug. 24, 1857, and organized by the election of George Kyler chairman, and George W. Tennille secretary, and selected John W. Bame and Richard Beggs as assistant engineers. The new department went into operation on the 14th of September. The City Council, in establishing a paid fire department, was no doubt stimulated by the action of the Union Fire Company, No. 2, which, owing to the ruffianism that marked the old system, had resolved as early as June 22, 1854, to disband and retire from the department.

The company was urged to adopt this course mainly through the efforts of Frederick M. Colburn, who deserves distinction as being the father of the present steam fire department. Mr. Colburn was born in St. Louis, Nov. 26, 1826, and has distinct recollections of the great metropolis when it was but a small village, and the rendezvous of Indian tribes coming to receive their annuities. He received his education at the St. Louis University, where he passed through a full collegiate course. For many years he was one of the chief clerks in the St. Louis post-office, and in 1849–51 was manager of the telegraph lines on their first opening to St. Louis.

In 1853 he entered the railroad business as ticket agent of the Terre Haute and Alton Railroad. With the Terre Haute and Alton he also discharged the duties of general passenger agent and general treasurer of the company. Upon the completion of the Vandalia line to St. Louis he became its resident ticket agent, which important position he still fills to the satisfaction of the corporation and the public at large. No man connected with the vast railroad system of St. Louis is better or more favorably known than he. Naturally courteous, gentlemanly, and obliging, he is one of the most popular men in his position in the city.

Mr. Colburn was for eight years the efficient secretary of Union Fire Company, No. 2, and was an active member of the organization. In the spring of 1854, in view of the ruffianism which then marked the department, the members, as we have before stated, resolved to close their doors and retire from active service. They met, however, with great trouble in determining how to dispose of their property, for they were the only company which had refused to accept the stipend of one thousand dollars a year appropriated by the city, and were therefore the custodians of the only undisputed property in the entire department; but they also felt that all they possessed had been generously given them by their fellow-citizens, and should in some way still be employed for the public benefit. Several meetings were held to settle the matter, but without result, until on one occasion Mr. Colburn offered the following:

"*Resolved*, That the Union Fire Company dispose of their possessions and de.ote the proceeds to the purchase of a steam fire-engine, said engine to be presented to the city of St. Louis under the following conditions, viz.: The city to build a house for her reception in the quarter formerly guarded by us. Second, to employ at a salary a sufficient number of men to render her efficient. Third, the engine must bear the name of 'Union, No. 2,' and said name must be perpetuated in the new department for all time."

It is related that the idea struck the members like a revelation, and was followed by the greatest enthusiasm; the men sprang to their feet, hurrahed themselves hoarse, and adopted the recommendation unanimously. The city agreed to accept the terms proposed by the Union Company, and on Aug. 1, 1854, entered into a contract by which it was stipulated that the city should furnish the company with a suitable house, the company to provide a steam-engine, as proposed in the resolution offered by Mr. Colburn.

The smaller engine of the Union Fire Company was sold to parties in Highland, Ill., and its apparatus and property to other parties. About eleven thousand dollars was thus realized and invested in a

handsome steam fire-engine, and equipments manufactured by Abel Shawk, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Thus the city is indebted to Mr. Colburn for the conception of the successful and brilliant fire department which to-day is the boast of all her citizens, and in which the name and fame of old "Union, No. 2," will forever live, when all its contemporaries shall have been forgotten.

Upon the dissolution of his company in 1855, Mr. Colburn retired from a fireman's life. He has for many years lived on his farm in St. Louis County, but is daily at his post in the city, dispensing the courtesies of a true gentleman to the traveling public.

Mr. Colburn is most respectably connected. His sister was the wife of the Hon. J. B. Bowlin, once member of Congress, United States minister to Central America, and United States commissioner to Paraguay.

The new steam fire-engine purchased by the Union Fire Company, No. 2, arrived on the east bank of the Mississippi Dec. 26, 1855, and the river being frozen it was drawn over on the ice by one of "Myers teams" at a cost of one hundred dollars. The new engine attracted a great deal of curiosity in the city, and a vast crowd stood for hours in the snow, which fell continuously, accompanied by a wind from the north and northeast, on Jan. 26, 1856, to witness the first trial. The experiment was entirely satisfactory, and the machine proved all that had been "heralded and anticipated of it." Six minutes and five seconds elapsed from the first application of fire to the first stroke of the engine; and from first lighting the fire until the first water was thrown, six minutes and fifty-eight seconds. The Union Fire Company having requested a number of prominent gentlemen to witness the trial of the first steam fire-engine introduced into the city of St. Louis and to report upon its merits, they acceded to the company's wishes, and the trial having been made, rendered a very flattering report in its favor. The document was signed by W. King, J. How, J. B. Mounton, J. W. White, James McCord, John Renfrew, Samuel Gaty, Wm. H. Clark, Wm. Palm, Edward Brooks, T. H. Buckland, George N. Stephens, A. Hull, George K. McGunnegle, N. J. Eaton, F. L. Ridgely, G. W. Sparhawk, Sr., George Kyler, James Cuddy, and John Sexton, Jr.

The City Council, in recognition of the liberality of the Union Fire Company in presenting to the city the first steam fire-engine in St. Louis, on motion of Alderman Kyler, passed a vote of thanks.

A second test of the new engine was made on January 31st, in compliance with a request of the committee appointed by the Union Company "to test the ability of the machinery to keep up steam for a longer period of time than was done on the 26th instant, at a pressure sufficient to warrant the belief that the engine will do the work which is expected of her." The second trial took place under the direction of the inventor and builder, Abel Shawk, at the foot of Carr Street. The committee in their report say,—

"The committee look upon this yet almost untried experiment in our city as the dawning of a new era in the organization of our fire department, and believe we have good reason to assert that at no distant time the efficient members who now compose the fire-fighting force will, in a great measure, be relieved from their most arduous labors. This opinion is supported not only by witnessing the experiments recently made in our city of the operations of the steam fire-engine, but from reports of their efficacy in other cities, where they have been introduced so successfully as not only much to reduce the number of persons employed in fire departments in those cities, but have had the effect of saving a large percentage of the cost of keeping up fire companies and lessening the rates of insurance.

"Results so desirable, if they can be obtained at a reasonable cost, should at once arrest the attention of our city government so far as to cause all necessary investigations to be made, in order to determine the propriety of introducing more of these engines into St. Louis. And if found to be expedient, it will be well for contracts to be entered into for their construction without loss of time, in order to secure to our citizens the greatest amount of benefits."

The new experiment was found to be entirely satisfactory; and the City Council, when it established by ordinance the paid department, in July, 1857, ordered, through the board of fire engineers, from A. B. Latta, of Cincinnati, three additional steam-engines, to be delivered in ten, thirty, and sixty days. The board of fire underwriters of the city also, immediately upon the organization of the new system, took measures to examine and assure themselves of the merits of the new agent for extinguishing fires. Becoming satisfied of the benefits of the steam system, they determined to order the construction of three new engines and present them to the city, as aids to the four that were already in use and owned by the municipal authorities. Accordingly, the association entered into a contract with Mr. Latta, who furnished the engines. The first of these, the "Missouri," arrived in St. Louis on June 30, 1858, and was tested on the following day at the corner of Olive and Main Streets, in the presence of the insurance representatives, officers of the fire department, and many citizens. It was described by one of the newspapers of the day as follows:

"It is called the 'Missouri, No. 5,' and bears on the wheel hubs an inscription indicating that it is the first gift of the board of underwriters to the city of St. Louis. On the metallic plate on the tool-box, in the front standing-place of the

machine, is engraved the motto, 'A sure thing.' The engine itself, in size, form, and capacity, is an exact counterpart of the 'George Kyler' and 'Davis Moore,' both of which are of the Latta make and patent. With it arrived a hose-carriage and 'dinker,' as the cart for the conveyance of fuel is called. The cost of the 'Missouri, No. 5,' we believe, is five thousand five hundred dollars, delivered, and the price of the whole, including tenders and all necessary apparatus put down in St. Louis, is five thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars."[1]

As soon as the three engines of the fire underwriters went into service, the old volunteer system began rapidly to dissolve.[2]

The first semi-annual report of the new department, rendered March 1, 1858, as compared with the report of the old system, from Sept. 14, 1856, to March 1, 1857, makes the following exhibit:

Old organization.

Loss by fire from Sept. 14, 1856, to March 1, 1857...	$595,580
Loss to insurance companies on same.....	383,010
Loss over and above insurance.	$212,570

New organization.

Loss by fire from Sept. 14, 1857, to March 1, 1858...	$244,930
Loss to insurance companies on same.....	141,550
Loss over and above insurance.....	$103,380

The annual report of the officers dated March 1, 1859, makes a much better showing:

Old organization.

Losses by fire from Oct. 13, 1856, to Oct. 13, 1857...	$1,302,250

New organization.

Losses by fire from March 1, 1858, to March 1, 1859.....	$211,629

The first anniversary of the organization of a paid fire system in St. Louis was celebrated Sept. 14, 1858, in an appropriate and handsome manner, by a parade of the entire department. The display was a very fine one, and elicited many complimentary remarks. The firemen were all dressed in their uniform,—black pantaloons and white shirts, without coats and vests, and each wore a water-proof hat. The machines were burnished and polished to the utmost, and several of them were gayly dressed with flowers and ribbons arranged in a tasteful manner.

The procession, under command of H. C. Sexton, chief engineer of the department, after forming at the corner of Fourth Street and Washington Avenue, traversed the principal streets, headed by a band of music in one of Arnot's cars, drawn by six black horses. Following the band came the engines, with their respective hose-carriages, in the following order: the George Kyler, No. 1; Old Union, No. 2; Davis Moore, No. 3; John M. Wimer, No. 4; Missouri, No. 5; Underwriter, No. 6; and Deluge, No. 7. Each of these machines were drawn by four horses, except the old Union, No. 2, which, weighing about a ton and a half more than any of the others, required six. Excepting the old Union, No. 2, the engines were all of Latta's manufacture, Cincinnati.

At three o'clock all the companies were in readiness at the corner of Fifth and Pine Streets to show the assembled people the relative efficiency of their respective engines. Patrick E. Burke, A. R. Easton, William A. Robinson, and M. W. Squire were appointed a committee to time the performance and measure the distance thrown. Twenty minutes were allotted to each engine for the trial, and they were tried in the same order that they had occupied in the parade. Each threw through one hundred feet of hose, using a nozzle of an inch and a quarter. The George Kyler raised steam in five minutes and fifty-five seconds, and threw two hundred and forty feet and eight inches. The old Union raised steam in nine minutes and five seconds, and threw two hundred and thirty-one feet. The Davis Moore raised steam in five minutes and five seconds, and threw two hundred and forty-four feet. The John M. Wimer raised steam in six and a quarter minutes, and threw two hundred and twenty-seven feet and three inches. The Missouri raised steam in six minutes and nine seconds, and threw two hundred and twenty-seven feet and seven inches. The Underwriter raised steam in six minutes and fifty seconds, and threw two hundred and thirty feet ten inches. The Deluge raised steam in four minutes and thirty-eight seconds, and threw two hundred and six feet and eleven inches. The average distance thrown was about two hundred and thirty feet. The whole affair was in a high degree creditable to the department and the city.

There were no changes in the officers of the de-

[1] On March 25, 1857, the mayor and City Council and a number of other invited guests visited one of the Wiggins Ferry Company's boats, which had been fitted up with one of Latta's steam fire-extinguishers. It proved a great success.

[2] The *Republican* of March 31, 1858, contains the following "card:"

"A report having been circulated that the volunteer fire companies are opposed to steam fire-engines, this is to notify the public that we, the undersigned, officers, in behalf of our respective companies, are, on the contrary, in favor of steam-engines, and that the only objection or difference between the volunteer and paid fire department is that the volunteer companies wish to have a voice in the election of the chief engineer and assistants, believing that they are the most competent persons to judge as to who is capable of taking charge of the companies in case of a fire.

"A. C. Hull, Central, No. 1; A. Sprague, St. Louis, No. 4; W. W. Branson, Missouri, No. 6; J. R. Wiseman, Liberty, No. 6; Geo. H. Clacker, Phœnix, No. 7; James Luthey, Laclede, No. 10; F. A. McDonald, Good Will, No. 11; E. E. Allen, V. P. Lafayette Hook-and-Ladder Company."

partment from its organization up to 1862, when the water and fire departments of the city were taken possession of by the military authorities. On June 20th, George W. Tennille, secretary, was removed on account of his alleged Southern sympathies, and on or about September 3d of the same year H. Clay Sexton, chief of the department, was removed by Gen. Schofield for the same cause, and put in Gratiot Street prison. Charles H. Tilson was chosen secretary to fill the vacancy occasioned by the removal of Mr. Tennille, and George N. Stevens was appointed, on September 15th, chief engineer by Gen. Schofield. Richard Beggs and John W. Bame continued as assistant engineers.

In May, 1863, there were connected with the department seven steam-engines, one hook-and-ladder, seven hose-reels and thirty-eight horses. The whole membership of the department, including the officers, was sixty-six men. The expenses from March 1, 1861, to March 1, 1862, amounted to $56,192.62, and from March 1, 1862, to March 1, 1863, to $51,543.54. The engine-house of the Davis Moore was burned in September, 1862, while the members were laboring at another fire. During the year ending April 1, 1866, the department purchased of A. B. Latta, of Cincinnati, one new rotary engine at a cost of six hundred dollars, for one of the new engine-houses which was then being built for the city. During the ensuing year two additional companies were organized, which increased the number of members to eighty-five. The city also purchased two of Silby's rotary engines for the department.

George N. Stevens continued as chief engineer until January, 1867, when he was succeeded by A. C. Hull, who held the office until the second Monday in May of the same year, when he was replaced by John W. Bame as chief engineer, whose assistants were Jacob Trice and Richard Beggs. During the administration of Hull and Bame, and up to May, 1869, there were no additions made to the apparatus of the department, excepting the purchase of one hook-and-ladder truck from E. C. Hartshorn, of New York, which was bought while Hull was chief engineer. In April, 1868, the fire department of St. Louis consisted of ten steam fire-engines and ten four-wheeled hose-carriages, one two-wheeled hose-carriage, two hook-and-ladder trucks, two fuel-wagons, eighteen thousand feet of two-and-a-half-inch rubber hose, fifty-eight horses, and an old two-wheeled hose-carriage and a hook-and-ladder truck, which were kept on hand in case of accident. The cost of the department for the year ending March 31, 1868, was $137,734.48, the expenses for the previous year having amounted to $173,864.31. The department consisted at this time of the Franklin, No. 1, which had been in service since November, 1857, and was located on the west side of Eleventh Street, between Wash and Carr Streets; Union, No. 2, which had been in service since December, 1860, and was located on the north side of Franklin Avenue, between Twenty-second and Twenty-third Streets; Washington, No. 3, which had been in service since January, 1858, and was located on the west side of Fifth Street, between Spruce and Poplar Streets; General Lyon, No. 4, which had been in service since April, 1858, and was located on Broadway, between Mound and Brooklyn Streets; Missouri, No. 5, which had been in service since June, 1858, but had no permanent location at this time, its apparatus being stored since Sept. 1, 1867, at the Central Station, on Seventh Street, between Pine and Olive; Underwriter, No. 5, which had been in service since July, 1858, and was located on Carondelet near Park Avenue; Deluge, No. 7, which had been in service since September, 1858, and was located on the north side of Market Street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth Streets; Veto, No. 8, which had been in service since December, 1865, and was located on the corner of Twelfth and Salisbury Streets; J. F. Thornton, No. 9, which had been in service since June, 1866, and located on the corner of Barton and Easton Streets; Hampton Woodruff, No. 10, which had been in service since October, 1866, and was located on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Estelle Street; Hook-and-Ladder Company, No. 1, which had been in service since September, 1859, and the present truck company, which was called W. T. Sherman, No. 1, after September, 1868, located on Seventh Street, between Pine and Olive Streets. Fuel-wagon No. 1 was located at hook-and-ladder truck-house, and fuel-wagon No. 2 was located at Washington Engine-House. The board of fire engineers were Messrs. Gottschalk, Parker, Friedrich, Etling, and Wells; John W. Bame, chief engineer; Richard Beggs and Jacob Trice, assistant engineers; and Wm. H. Dangler, secretary.

In May, 1869, H. Clay Sexton was again appointed chief engineer of the department, and has retained the position ever since. Mr. Sexton, before his first appointment as chief engineer of the fire department of St. Louis, had, as we have already stated, been for several years president of the Mound Fire Company.

Henry Clay Sexton was born in Wheeling, Va., in March, 1828. His father (who was a Virginian) gave him the fullest advantages of a public school education, and he graduated at the public high school. The elder Sexton moved to St. Louis in 1844, and took a leading position as carpenter and builder,

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Hon. Wm. Dayton
Chief of Fire Dept

erecting some of the finest edifices in the city. Young Sexton followed his father's trade until 1857, and was a fair mechanic. As we have seen, the question of organizing a thoroughly-equipped and well-paid fire department was under consideration in 1857, and H. Clay Sexton, who was a leader in the movement, exhibited in the discussions on the subject so thorough a knowledge of the requirements of the organization that his opinions were generally deferred to; and when in the fall of that year the department was established he was by universal consent appointed "fire chief" by Mayor Wimer. In a comparatively short time he organized the department, and had disciplined his men so thoroughly that the people reposed with a feeling of security from the ravages of fire. He discharged the duties so well that he was retained in the position by Mayors Filley and Taylor; but in 1862, when the city was under military rule, he was deposed, as previously stated, on alleged political grounds, although he had always been, and was then, a friend of the Union. The removal was resented by the most influential property-owners as an unwarrantable display of military power, but their protest was without effect.

Mr. Sexton then returned to his trade, in partnership with his brother, John Sexton,[1] and the firm transacted a very lucrative business, erecting some of the largest and finest buildings in the city. This connection continued until 1869, when Mayor Cole appointed him chief of the fire department once more; but the salary being only two thousand dollars a year, he declined. The insurance companies, however, having a very high estimate of his fitness for the position, offered to add three thousand dollars a year to the sum proposed by the Council, and Mr. Sexton then accepted the office, and has held it continuously ever since. It was his determination to make the department the best in the country, and it seems to be generally admitted that he has succeeded. The estimation in which he is held is shown by the fact that after the great fire in Chicago he was offered ten thousand dollars a year to take charge of the fire department of that city, but his salary having been increased he declined the proposition.

As "fire chief" Mr. Sexton is distinguished for his zeal and courage. He is usually first at the fire, and subordinates everything to duty, frequently risking his own life where he would not permit his men to venture. In "fighting fire" his judgment has been often most conspicuously exhibited in directing the right thing to be done at the critical moment. He has successfully battled with some of the worst conflagrations in the country, and his skill was specially displayed when lack of engines and of water rendered the conditions of his task inconceivably more difficult than at present. He has repeatedly been personally complimented by distinguished visitors who have witnessed his efficiency and bravery on critical occasions, and has frequently been injured while in the discharge of his duties. On one occasion his collar-bone, and on another his arm was broken. Among the members of the department he is is not only esteemed for his devotion and efficiency, but also for his magnanimous disposition. Although a thorough disciplinarian, he is generous and forbearing, and his treatment of the men is of a character that begets not only respect but affection.

Mr. Sexton has held many other offices of responsibility. In 1851–53 he served as constable; was collector of water rates under Mayor King; was director in the Benevolent Savings Association; is a prominent Mason, Knight Templar, etc.; belongs to the St. Louis Legion of Honor and nearly every other secret society, he says; and, besides this, has frequently been solicited to become a candidate for mayor, sheriff, etc., but has declined, much preferring the congenial duties of the St. Louis Fire Department.

In July, 1850, Mr. Sexton was married to Miss Sarah L. Lyon, of St. Louis, and from the union have sprung four children. He is eminently social in his tastes, warmly devoted to his family, and a man of healthy, religious convictions. For many years he has been a prominent attendant at St. John's Methodist Episcopal Church, and for a long while

[1] John Sexton was born in Wheeling, Va., in 1825, and removed in 1844 to St. Louis, where he was extensively engaged as a contractor and builder. Many of the principal buildings of St. Louis were erected by the Sexton brothers, among them being the *Republican* office, Jaccard's establishment, Singer sewing-machine building, City Hospital, House of Industry, and the fine buildings on Fourth Street adjoining the Chamber of Commerce building. Mr. Sexton was a member of the City Council for some ten or twelve years, being first elected a member of the board of delegates in 1852, having succeeded Hon. Daniel G. Taylor from the then Sixth Ward, as a Whig. In 1857, Mr. Sexton was a member of the first board of fire engineers, and assisted largely in organizing the present fire department. In addition to his services in the City Council, he represented his district in the Legislature in 1860–61, and went out with the "Jackson" Legislature to Neosho, but voted against the ordinance taking the State out of the Union. He was re-elected to the Legislature in 1872 and 1874, and held during his terms there the chairmanship of the Committee on Accounts and Retrenchment, and in 1875 was the chairman of the St. Louis delegation, in which capacity he won the confidence of his colleagues by his sturdy honesty of purpose. In many respects he wielded a decided influence over the deliberations of the House, owing to his energy and positive character. Mr. Sexton died April 25, 1875.

was superintendent of the Mound City Sunday-school. In every relation of life he is esteemed, and no man in St. Louis is more highly regarded or more deservedly popular.

George W. Tennille was appointed secretary of the fire department in May, 1869, and still discharges the duties of that position to the general satisfaction of the public. In 1871 an ordinance was passed by the City Council increasing the number of assistant engineers to three, and John W. Bame, on May 3d, was appointed to fill the extra position. During the year ending March 31, 1871, the department purchased new hose and a new engine, and erected an engine-house in Carondelet. Two years later, during the year ending March 31, 1873, the department was materially strengthened by the purchase of three new steam fire-engines of the "Latta" patent, with Ahrens & Co.'s improvements, of C. Ahrens & Co., of Cincinnati, Ohio, and four new hose-carriages, one of E. B. Leverch, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and three of B. Bruce, of Cincinnati. Two lots were also purchased and four new engine-houses erected, three of them for the three new engines, and one for a new hook-and-ladder apparatus which was purchased of G. W. Harris, of Chicago. The cost of these improvements amounted to more than fifty thousand dollars. The engines were fully equipped with men and horses and immediately placed in active service. The department had now (April 1, 1873) fourteen steam fire-engines, two hook-and-ladder trucks, and two fuel-wagons, all fully equipped and in good condition. The total expenditures for the year amounted to $242,416.14. In the following year three new steam fire-engines and five new hose-carriages were added, and three of the old engines were retired from active service, the department not having engine-houses for them. During the year ending March 31, 1875, the department had fourteen steam fire-engines, fourteen hose-carriages, two hook-and-ladder trucks, and two fuel-wagons in active use. On the 1st of December there were added three steam fire-engines, three hose-carriages, one chemical-engine, one fuel-wagon, and one hook-and-ladder apparatus. All the apparatus belonging to the department was then in good condition with the exception of seven of the old large engines, which had been in active service since 1857 and 1858. Although they were still used and were made to do good work, the department found that they were too heavy and took too long a time to generate steam to be as efficient as they should be, and, from their age and hard service and the increased cost of keeping them in repair, the city deemed it expedient to replace them with new ones of lighter build and all the later improvements. Accordingly, the department ordered seven new steam fire-engines of Messrs. C. Ahrens & Co., of Cincinnati, Ohio, to take the place of the old ones. Provision for paying for them was made by an act of the Legislature, which authorized the city to sell one hundred thousand dollars' worth of bonds for the equipment of the fire department. In the following year another new engine company was added to the department, which then had in all eighteen steam fire-engines and hose-carriages, one chemical-engine, four fuel-wagons, and three hook-and-ladder apparatuses. There were eight men for each engine and hook-and-ladder company, three men for the chemical engine, and two men for each fuel-wagon, all of whom, except the one on night watch, were on duty all the time both day and night. The total expenditures for the year amounted to $292,339.71.

The department, in equipment and general strength, was on March 31, 1878, at a higher point of practical efficiency than at any time in the previous history of the city. The number of engine-houses was seventeen; the number of fire-engines, eighteen; also one chemical-engine, eighteen hose-carriages, four hook-and-ladder trucks and apparatuses, and five fuel-wagons. The working force of the department embraced about two hundred men and one hundred and twenty-seven horses, and the length of hose was eighteen thousand feet two-and-a-half-inch rubber, and sixteen hundred feet two-and-a-half-inch cotton hose. The expenditures for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1878, aggregated $238,759.43, and the annual pay-roll $197,410.83. The amount spent for new apparatus was $3403.82. In January of the following year another steam fire-engine and apparatus was added to the department, making nineteen in active service. During the fiscal year ending March 31, 1881, another new steam fire-engine was purchased, making the department to consist of twenty engine and hose companies, one chemical-engine, two pompier companies, two hook-and-ladder companies, and five fuel-wagons; the force numbering seven officers and two hundred and seven men. There were also about twenty thousand feet of hose, and one hundred and thirty horses, and one extra engine and two extra hose-carriages. The cost of the department for the year ending April 10, 1882, was $290,276.86. All of the engines were of the "Ahrens Manufacturing Company" patent, and built in Cincinnati. The hose-carriages, which are two-wheeled, and made to carry one thousand feet of hose, were constructed in St. Louis. Under an ordinance passed by the City Council in February, 1876, two more assistant engineers were added to the department, and John Lindsay and John W. Shockey received the appoint-

ments. On Dec. 1, 1877, Jacob Trice, one of the assistant engineers, resigned, and M. J. Brennan was appointed to fill the vacancy. In August, 1881, Richard Beggs, first assistant engineer, died, leaving a vacancy which was filled by the appointment of John Lindsay, M. J. Hester being promoted to the position of assistant engineer. In October, Assistant Engineer J. W. Shockey was killed while on duty at a fire, and was succeeded by E. J. Gross.

The total value of the real estate, consisting of engine-houses, lots, etc., owned by the city and devoted to the use of the fire department is estimated at $150,000.

The officers of the department in 1882 were,—

H. Clay Sexton, chief engineer; John Lindsay, first assistant engineer; John W. Bame, M. J. Brennan, M. J. Hester, E. J. Gross, assistant engineers; G. W. Tennille, secretary.

The office of the department is at No. 816 North Seventh Street.

The following table shows the location of the different engine-houses, estimated value of the property, etc.:

ENGINE-HOUSES.

City Block.	Feet Front.	Feet Deep.	Street or Avenue on which Property Fronts.	Engine-Houses.	Estimated value, 1881. Real.	Estimated value, 1881. Improvements.	Total estimated value, 1881.
3006	156	137.11	Olive Street (South St. Louis)	Engine-House No. 2	$2,030.00	$4,000.00	$6,030.00
1397	40	122	McNair Avenue	Engine-House No. 1	560.00	3,500.00	4,060.00
743	55	132.6	Easton Street	Engine-House No. 11	990.00	6,010.00	7,000.00
1552	60	175 / 184	Carondelet Avenue	Engine-House No. 3	1,200.00	3,800.00	5,000.00
691	23.2½	76.8	Fifth Street	Engine-House No. 16	2,400.00	2,500.00	4,900.00
691	23.5	75.6	Fifth Street		690.00	500.00	1,190.00
483 W	50	127	Second Carondelet Avenue	Engine-House No. 7	2,500.00	4,500.00	7,000.00
163	50	127	Fifth Street	Engine-House No. 15	6,000.00	10,000.00	16,000.00
492	25	72.6	Market Street	Engine-House No. 14	2,500.00	8,000.00	10,500.00
1713	30.6¼	128.4	Pratte Avenue	Engine-House No. 10	2,288.00	5,000.00	7,288.00
129	29.9	128	Seventh Street	Engine-House No. 6	8,030.00	7,500.00	15,530.00
123	40	127.6	Seventh Street	Engine-House Nos. 12 & 18	5,600.00	12,000.00	17,600.00
264	25	103	Eleventh Street	Engine-House No. 13	1,000.00	8,000.00	9,000.00
655	27	82	Broadway	Engine-House No. 9	918.00	4,000.00	4,918.00
957	25	142	Wash Street	Engine-House No. 4	750.00	5,000.00	5,750.00
1986	110	115	Leonard Avenue	Engine-House No. 17	3,300.00	5,000.00	8,300.00
359	50	112.6	Spring Street	Engine-House No. 19	1,400.00	5,000.00	6,400.00
2448	50	142	Bellefontaine Road	Engine-House No. 20	900.00	5,000.00	5,900.00
.....	.....	.....	Located in Hyde Park	Engine-House No. 8	.....	3,500.00	3,500.00
.....	.....	.....	Located on Old Reservoir	Engine-House No. 5	.....	4,000.00	4,000.00
					$43,056.00	$106,810.00	$149,866.00

Fire and Police Telegraph.—One of the most valuable adjuncts to the fire department is the fire-alarm telegraph, which was completed and put in operation in St. Louis on January 2, 1858, by Gamewell & Co., of New York. The original cost was twenty-three thousand dollars, but since its introduction many improvements and additions have been made, until at the present time it is one of the most complete fire-alarm systems in the country. Upon the completion of the work and its transfer to the city, James A. Gardiner was appointed superintendent. At this time the alarm-bells were those of the Cathedral, St. Francis Xavier's Church, and the Mound fire-engine and South St. Louis fire-engine houses. The department had then only forty-five fire-alarm boxes in the city, but these have been from time to time increased until now it has in operation three hundred and forty-five street alarm boxes, eleven electro-mechanical tower bells, about seventy alarm-gongs (thirty of which are in insurance agencies and newspaper offices), twenty-two Barrett's engine-house registers, thirty-three police dial instruments, and five hundred and twenty-two miles of wire. The wires, which originally stretched across the house-tops, were nearly all removed in 1882 and reconstructed on poles. The appropriations for this department for the fiscal year ending April 22, 1882, amounted to $37,900, of which $18,900 was expended for improvements and additions, and $18,997.64 for salaries. Shortly after the introduction of the fire-alarm telegraph in the city, this system of telegraph was adopted by the police department. Several of the departments of the city government have in use also the telephone and police patrol telegraphic system, which have proven valuable auxiliaries to the municipal government. Ernest Hilgendorf is the present efficient superintendent of the fire and police telegraph department.

The Underwriters' Salvage Corps was organized on May 10, 1874, succeeding the organization then known as the "fire wardens," which had gone out of existence. The corps, which is conducted in the interest of the underwriters, relies entirely upon voluntary contributions from the local insurance companies for its support. During the year 1874 eighty-eight companies contributed. The force, as organized at

that time, consisted of one captain, one assistant captain, and six men. Charles Evans was selected captain of the corps in 1874, and has retained the position ever since. The first executive committee consisted of George T. Cram, chairman, W. D. Van Blarcom, J. B. S. Lemoine, W. G. Bentley, and Lewis E. Snow.

During the first (fractional) year, ending Dec. 31, 1874, the company attended sixty-seven fires, and spread two hundred and seventeen covers. On Nov. 21, 1874, William K. Keyes, a member of the company, was killed at the fire No. 309 North Fourth Street. He had been a member from the date of the organization. All the men belonging to the company have been selected with care, and are young, active, hardy, and intelligent.

In 1875 the executive committee was composed of William Bowen, president, Martin Collins, James Bartlett, W. D. Van Blarcom, and R. R. Fritsch, secretary and treasurer.

In 1876 the committee was composed of George T. Cram, president, H. A. Blossom, Martin Collins, W. G. Bentley, and W. C. Butler, secretary and treasurer.

In 1877 the Salvage Corps purchased for its headquarters the instrument known as "The Joker," by means of which alarms are received direct from the alarm-boxes, without the delay of waiting for their repetition at the court-house, as had previously been the custom, thus saving much valuable time. The executive board for this year consisted of George T. Cram, president, George D. Capen, Martin Collins, John W. Mason, W. C. Butler, secretary and treasurer.

In 1879 the company obtained a charter through an act of the Legislature, and removed to No. 619 St. Charles Street, leasing the premises now occupied by it for five years, at a rental of twelve hundred dollars per annum. The building was especially constructed for the Salvage Corps, and is complete in all particulars.

The members of the corps in 1882 were: Captain, Charles Evans; lieutenant, Frederick Williams; canvasmen, John Conway, Patrick Powers, Michael Kehoe, Frederick Williams, George W. June, John Leishman; driver, Francis Trowbridge; watchman, Henry Henley.

The executive board at present consists of George T. Cram, Martin Collins, George D. Capen, Howard A. Blossom, and C. F. Miller.

The following table shows the insurance, losses, and percentage on buildings and contents during thirteen years, ending December 31, 1881:

Year.	No. of Fires and Alarms.	Amount of Insurance.	Amount of Losses.	Percentage.
1869.....	146	$974,160.00	$362,322.00	$37.19
1870.....	220	1,798,950.00	650,317.00	36.69
1871.....	240	1,528,550.00	413,710.00	27.06
1872.....	234	2,442,945.00	944,231.00	38.57
1873.....	206	1,693,834.00	633,317.00	37.37
1874.....	222	2,214,133.00	503,937.00	27.75
1875.....	246	1,871,248.00	358,520.00	19.15
1876.....	301	2,161,890.00	401,147.00	18.55
1877.....	297	3,859,706.42	1,999,800.18	31.08
1878.....	293	2,057,346.00	372,186.67	18.09
1879.....	407	2,918,863.00	1,056,634.83	36.20
1880.....	461	3,398,819.08	1,110,725.34	32.70
1881.....	491	3,651,654.80	1,473,132.94	40.35

Old Volunteer Fire Companies.—Central Fire Company, No. 1. This company was organized in 1832, and was the first permanent company in the St. Louis volunteer fire department, its principal originators being Edward Brooks, G. K. McGunnegle, Thornton Grimsley, Thomas Andrews, Charles F. Hendry, and E. H. Beebe. To supply the company with necessary fire apparatus the mayor and aldermen of the city authorized Martin Thomas to visit the Eastern cities and purchase an engine. Mr. Thomas performed his task, and purchased a small brake engine manufactured by John Agnew, of Philadelphia, and called "Pat Lyon," in honor of a prominent iron manufacturer of that city and Pittsburgh. This engine was of the second-class pattern, with six-inch cylinders, seven-inch stroke, and had a "gallery," "brakes," and "foot-boards." Thomas Lynch, in his reliable little history of the "old fire-fighters" of St. Louis, says,—

"This engine arrived, as near as any information can be obtained, early in the fall, and the first test of her availability and fitness for actual service, considering the scanty means of water-supply, took place soon after her arrival, at the southeast corner of Third and Market Streets, in taking water from the cellar of Grimsley's National Hotel, which stood upon the original site of the old Baptist Church.

"Our old friends, the rotaries, were on hand also, and the announcement that all three engines were to be tried on a beautiful afternoon in October drew forth almost the entire population of the town, and much interest was manifested when one of the rotaries was put to the test, resulting in her discomfiture by the breaking off of almost all the cogs in the wheels at the third or fourth revolution, the breakage being caused by rust and neglect. This fact so disgusted the embryo firemen of the 'Central' that they refused to test the other rotary, and chose the 'Agnew,' which on trial proved satisfactory. What became of the two former engines it is now very difficult to discover, the prevailing impression among the old firemen being that the broken one was entirely discarded, and the other was used by the 'Union Fire Company,' pending the building of their regular engine, and then both dying an inglorious death by being sold for old iron."

The "Pat Lyon" was comfortably housed in a two-story frame structure situated on the west side of Main Street, about fifty yards south of Market Street, and opposite the only market-house in the city. In 1833 an engine-house was erected for the company's use on a lot belonging to the school board on the south side of Chestnut Street, midway between Third and Fourth Streets. The building was afterwards greatly improved, and a bell-tower erected on the roof. In 1842 the lot was purchased by the company.

In January, 1837, Edward Brooks, B. B. Brown, James P. Spencer, and E. H. Beebe, "their associates and successors," were "constituted and declared" by the Legislature "to be a body corporate and politic by the name and style of 'The Central Fire Company of the City of St. Louis.'" The first president was James Clemens, Jr., who served one year. He was succeeded by Thomas Andrews, who served two years; Edward Brooks, eleven years; Asa Wilgus, one year; Charles F. Hendry, one year; Edward Brooks (re-elected), five years; and A. C. Hull, until the company went out of existence. The other officers of the company during its existence were James G. Bury and William G. Hill, who were respectively secretary and treasurer. The foremen were Edward Brooks, Thornton Grimsley, Edward Polkowski, August Kehr, John Haywood, Joseph Andrews, and A. C. Hull. The company numbered among its members some of the most prominent and wealthy citizens of St. Louis.

The first engine of the company proving inadequate to the demands of the fire-service, a petition was presented to the City Council praying that body for the purchase of a new and more serviceable engine. The petition was granted, and in August, 1838, the company received from John Agnew, the builder, a fine fire-engine of eight-inch cylinder and nine-inch stroke. At the first trial "it every way equaled their expectations."

On the 7th of January, 1839, the following officers were elected to serve for the ensuing year:

Edward Brooks, captain; Charles Keemle, lieutenant; Thos. Andrews, first director; Nathaniel Paschall, second director; Edward Holden, third director; Jno. S. Shaw, fourth director; B. M. Backensto, first engineer; Thos. W. Cubberly, second engineer; Jos. W. Dougherty, secretary.

In January, 1840, the officers were,—

Edward Brooks, captain; C. F. Hendry, lieutenant; Jos. S. Simpson, first director; John Calvert, second director; Thos. Andrews, third director; Geo. Williams, fourth director; Geo. Trask, first engineer; Asa Wilgus, second engineer; J. W. Dougherty, secretary; A. E. Orme, J. Anderson, W. W. Amos, C. F. Hendry, John Calvert, committee of inquiry on applications for membership.

In 1843 the officers were,—

Edward Brooks, captain; Geo. Trask, lieutenant; D. H. Parker, foreman; J. C. Evans, first director; S. E. Polkowski, second director; J. S. Watson, third director; Bernard Pratte, fourth director; A. Wilgus, first engineer; J. F. Mitchell, second engineer; J. B. Carson, J. F. Mitchell, D. Tatum, C. F. Hendry, and D. H. Parker, committee on inquiry.

After it had been used for ten years, the company sold its second engine to J. P. Stiegers, and purchased a more modern engine of the same size and make, which, after a service of nine years, was sold to the city of Hannibal, Mo. "Their other apparatus, up to the year 1848," says Mr. Lynch,—

"consisted of a brace of two-wheeled hose-carriages painted black, one of which was surmounted by a bell hung amidships on a broad spiral spring, neither of which ever possessed a name, supplemented in the year mentioned by a four-wheeler built by Agnew, of Philadelphia, and called the 'Grace Darling,' painted blue, which color was thereafter adopted for the apparatus in general. The 'Grace Darling' is now in service in Springfield, Ill., and was, in the year 1853, replaced by another of the same make and of improved construction called the 'Perseverance,' also in use at present in the same place, and the usual tender or 'plug-catcher,' called the 'Shanghai.' The uniform worn upon parades or other gala occasions consisted of a light-blue shirt, trimmed with silver bullion fringe and stars (and while on this subject I will mention, to avoid repetition, that the shirts of all the companies in the department were made of fine merino,—no flannel being used, as was the custom in the Eastern cities,—and elaborately trimmed with either silver or gold bullion fringe, the wide sailor collar having a tassel and star in each corner), white pants, black necktie, patent-leather belt, light-blue low-crowned flat-top hat."

In August, 1859, the company sold its property to private parties and divided the proceeds equally among the remaining members, each share amounting to about seven hundred and fifty dollars. The Central was the last of the volunteer companies to disband. The only members of the company who joined the paid department were A. C. Hull, who was chief engineer for one year, Charles Tilton, of the "Pompier Corps," and John Murrell, of No. 8.

On its roll at different times appeared the names of the following citizens:

Joseph S. Pease, Frederick L. Billon, Bernard Pratte, Thomas H. West, Samuel Willi, Michael Tesson, Orville Paddock, John P. Reilly, Nathaniel Paschall, John Evans, E. H. Sheppard, James Spore, John Mullery, F. L. Cummings, Charles P. Chouteau, S. W. Meech, Alfred Tracy, Joseph L. Simpson, H. Smith, John and Robert Irwin, Edward Charless, J. A. Dougherty, John B. Gerard, N. Cross, Edward P. Tesson, John J. Anderson, Jules Delisle, Mark Smith, John H. Shannon, David Tatum, William F. Ferguson, A. L. Lyle, A. G. Switzer, John S. Watson, R. E. Ulrici, William and John Haywood, Charles Tilton, George W. West, Joseph Andrews, and William J. Austin.

Edward Brooks, who was captain of the Central Company for sixteen years, was born in Philadelphia on the 19th of August, 1809, and came to St.

Louis in the winter of 1830–31, embarking in the business of druggist on the corner of Chestnut and Main Streets, where he remained until burnt out by the fire of 1849. He then went into the insurance business as agent of the North American and Delaware Insurance Company, of Philadelphia, and afterwards accepted the position of secretary of the Boatmen's Insurance and Trust Company, of which Daniel G. Taylor was president. On the election of Mr. Taylor as city treasurer, Mr. Brooks was appointed his assistant, and continued to fill the position under all the succeeding administrations until his death, which occurred Jan. 23, 1879.

He was universally known and esteemed throughout the fire department for the sagacity, energy, and all-absorbing interest he manifested in everything pertaining to its welfare, and held more offices of trust in it than any other man who was ever identified with it. As previously indicated, he was one of the founders of the Central Fire Company, and continued an active member until the organization of the paid fire department, when he retired. Upon the creation of the office in 1850 he was appointed Fire Inspector, and held that position for some years. He was a member of the First Cavalry Company, commanded by Col. Thornton Grimsley, and was the founder and patron of the Firemen's Fund, and for eight years its president. He was also president of the "Fire Association" for three years. He was a member of the board of aldermen from 1840 to 1846, and was nominated by the Whigs for mayor about 1846 or 1847, but declined. Mr. Brooks was one of the founders of the Missouri Historical Society, and contributed materially to extending the sphere of the society's usefulness. He was noted for his kind-hearted and philanthropic disposition, and was generally regarded as one of the most valuable citizens of St. Louis.

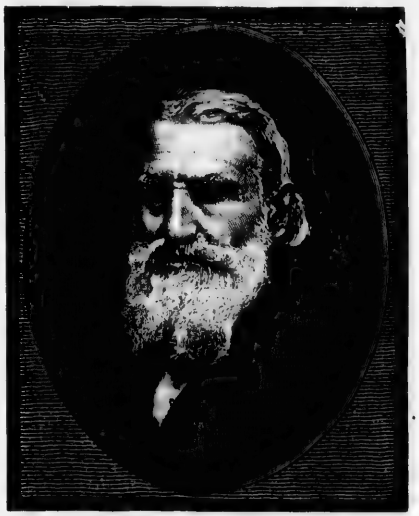
Union Fire Company, No. 2, was organized in the autumn of 1832, through the efforts of Samuel Hawken, and was incorporated Feb. 6, 1837, by Hugh O'Neil, Benoni Severson, and Bryan Mullanphy. Its successive presidents were John R. Dobyns, Hugh O'Neil, George Trask, Nathan Coleman, Benoni Severson, F. W. Beltzhoover, George W. Atchison, William C. Corby, and Patrick Gorman, the latter of whom served thirteen years; and its secretaries, William A. Lynch, George A. Hyde, James Fortune, M. Mooney, and F. M. Colburn. The treasurers were Aug. Guelbreth, who served nine years, and Col. Joshua B. Brant, who retained the position until the dissolution of the company.

The following well-known citizens were members of the organization:

David Weston, John B. Philibert, Jr., Louis Le Duc, George Collier, Benjamin Lawhead, John Finney, John B. Sarpy, John and Edward Walsh, Henry Von Phul, Robert Campbell, Alfred Vinton, R. E. Bolton, Sr., Samuel Jackson, Charles C. Whittelsey, William Brannagan, John and Steven Rice, Henry Winstanley, William Traynor, William Buckley, William Fulton, William Grumley, William A. Watt, William Fullager, William Flynn, Beeson Townsend, Charles Marlow, Sr. and Jr., Daniel Bowe, Nathan Roff, Mark Murphy, Thomas O'Flaherty, Aug. Boardman, John C. Smith, Thomas and James Noonan, Michael Somers, Jeremiah Dwyer, Christ. Hoffmann, Joseph Murphy, P. S. Langton, Patrick Driscoll, Fred. Engel, James L. Faucett, Robert Tucker, John E. Scheutz, Edward Eggers, Charles and Edward Doll, Hugh Lynchy, Henry Delisle, John Darley, Fred. Harkman, Morrison Bryan, John Foley, John Martin, William K. Boggs, Walter Ransom, A. L. Kimball, Patrick and Martin Deegar, Moses Craft, Macklot Thompson, William Flynn, Fred. and Louis Siedekum, John Middleton, John D. Reed, Herman Metts, P. Norton, Charles A. Rose, A. C. and F. Williamson, William Thorpe, Hugh Corcoran, James and Daniel Coyle, Chris., Samuel, Jr., and Jacob Hawken, William and Thomas Francy, James Garvin, Aug. and William Lawrence, Patrick Lanigan, William A. Smith, John Freligh, Ed. Shields, Frank and Patrick Mooney, Richard and Enoch King, Samuel R. Filley, Thomas Rucker, Thomas and John J. Murphy, John Egan, Chris. Pickering, Statius Eggers, Jerome and Joseph Boyce, Rossington Elms, Ford. L. Garesché, Philip Coyne, Allen Riley, Michael and William Cody, S. Kehrmann, Martin Burke, M. Fitzsimmons, James Quigley, James Stewart, William and Samuel May, A. R. Hynson, F. Granniss, S. Birmingham, James and Hunt Owen, Bernard Higgins, Reuben M. Davis, Robert Kelleher, Joseph Givens, George Fairbanks, William Spencer, John Myers, George Trask, Jr., Tom, Dick, and Harry Connor, William Cannon, Joseph Shields, Frank Dugal, Daniel, Richard, and Ed. Byrne, George Hunt, D. Brislin, John Mulhern, William McDonald, Harry Yeckel, Ed. Fox, George Fye, and Thomas Lynch.

The company was first located in a one-story frame shed on the east side of Third Street, north of Washington Avenue, on the site of the present bridge approach, but subsequently secured a lot of ground on the west side of the same street, about half a block below, which was supposed to be school-land, and erected a plain two-story brick building, using the first floor only, and renting the second for school purposes. The company first occupied the building in October, 1835, but it was soon discovered that the property belonged to William Chambers, who compelled the company to pay a heavy rental for it. In 1845 the company petitioned the City Council for an appropriation of two thousand five hundred dollars to purchase a lot, but the application was refused, on the ground that the appropriations had already reached the limit allowed by law. In 1846, however, the lot belonging to William Chambers was purchased for three thousand dollars, and in 1847 a handsome Gothic building was erected, at a cost of five thousand three hundred dollars. Pending the erection of the building, the apparatus was housed in an old amphitheatre on the northeast corner of Fourth and Green Streets. The

first engine used by the company was a rotary, and the next was a small suction-engine built by Chase & Seymour, of Cincinnati, which arrived in St. Louis in 1835, and was sold to Hannibal, Mo., in 1847. The third engine was a first-class suction-machine built by Agnew, of Philadelphia, and was the best engine that had yet been used in St. Louis. It was received in 1843, and remained in use for twelve years, being dismantled in 1857. During that time it engaged in contests with the "Old Bull," the "O'Fallon," the "Liberty," and the "Phœnix," defeating them all, and gaining for itself the name of "The Emperor." In 1850 the company purchased a small Baltimore suction-engine, built by Rogers, as a tender to "The Emperor," which was called the "Dinkey," and was so small that it was an easy matter to lift it over fences and to work it in positions impracticable for the ordinary engine. It was sold by the authorities in 1856 to the town of Highland, Ill. The company also had two reels, one built by Joseph Murphy, of St. Louis, the hind wheels of which were nine feet in diameter, and called the "Legbreaker," a name which, Mr. Lynch says, "she richly deserved," and the other, built by Agnew, at a cost of eleven hundred dollars, and called the "Sam Hawken," in honor of the founder and oldest member of the company. The hose company adopted the name of "Greyhound," and the engine-tender that of "Slowline." The apparatus was painted vermilion, and the uniform consisted of a blue shirt, white pantaloons, blue low-crowned round-top hat, red patent-leather belt, and red silk necktie. The figure 2, in gold, was worn as a breastpin. The motto of the company was, "In union there is strength."



SAMUEL HAWKEN.

During its existence the company lost two of its members while attending fires,—Frederick Turnbull, who was killed by the falling of the floors of a warehouse on the Levee, near Washington Avenue, and Anthony L. Kimball, chief engineer of the company, who was killed by the falling walls of the store of Collier & Pettus, April 17, 1841.

The ruffianism which prevailed in the volunteer department had increased to such proportions in 1855 that the company resolved to disband. The question as to the disposition of the property then arose and gave the members considerable trouble before it was satisfactorily settled; but it was finally determined to sell it and invest the proceeds in an engine to be presented to the city.

A committee consisting of Capt. P. Gorman, William Fullager, and William L. Lynch was appointed to go to Cincinnati and procure an engine, and on the 26th of December, 1855, the engine, built by Abel Shawk, arrived in St. Louis, and was housed by the company until the city had erected a building suitable for its use on the south side of Washington Avenue, west of Seventh Street. The old house and lot were sold to the Collier estate, and the proceeds, together with those from the sale of the apparatus, netted eleven thousand dollars, which was expended in the purchase of the engine. The Union was one of the most popular volunteer companies that ever existed in St. Louis, and, as elsewhere stated, the city is indebted to it for the foundation of her present efficient fire department.

Samuel Hawken, the originator of Union Fire Company, No. 2, was in his day one of the most prominent and popular volunteer firemen in St. Louis. He was born at Hagerstown, Md., Oct. 26, 1792, and was a soldier in the war of 1812, participating in the defense of Washington and the battle at Bladensburg, which was afterwards jocularly termed the "Bladensburg races." He removed to St. Louis in 1822, and became a member of the Common Council. He was a gunmaker, and his "Hawken rifle" was famous from the Alleghenies to the Rocky Mountains, and was the weapon chiefly used by the hunters of the American Fur Company. His shop was located on Washington Avenue, and one day in 1832 there was an alarm of fire in his neighborhood, and Central Fire Company, No. 1, responded to the call. One of its members (Gilbert Chouteau) laughingly

chaffed Mr. Hawken on the fact that when there was a fire in his quarter they had to come from down-town and put it out. Mr. Hawken, with some spirit, responded, "You won't have that to say long!" and at once canvassed among his neighbors with such success that the Northern Fire Company was organized, the name of which upon its incorporation by the Legislature was changed to Union Fire Company, No. 2. It proved, as we have seen, to be one of the most active and popular fire companies that ever existed, and "Sam" Hawken (or "Uncle Sammy," as he was universally called) was one of its most efficient and best-beloved members. In 1845 the members purchased a four-wheel "reel," built by the famous Agnew, of Philadelphia, and costing eleven hundred dollars, and called it "Sam Hawken" after their trusty comrade. He was always foremost in the perils of fighting fire, and passed through many startling experiences. One of them deserves to be told. It was one bitter night in the winter of 1841–42 that the members were called out at a fire in the leather and hide warehouse of Raborg & Shaffner, at Main and Walnut Streets. The thermometer was twelve degrees below zero; the streets were a sheet of ice, and it was with the greatest difficulty that water could be made to go any distance through the hose without freezing, and the experiment of pouring whisky into the pumps of the engine was resorted to to prevent them from becoming entirely useless. The experience of many of the firemen on this memorable night was indeed frightful; several were picked up in the street insensible from the cold, and one was resuscitated only after hours of continuous labor. "Uncle Sammy" surrendered for probably the only time in his life, and while on his way home from the fire fell on the street insensible from the cold, and but for the lucky circumstance of his being immediately discovered would never have achieved his brilliant reputation as a fireman.

Mr. Hawken remained in active connection with "Union Fire Company" until its dissolution in 1855, when, having secured a competency, he retired to his farm in St. Louis County, where he is yet living, having passed his ninetieth year, in October, 1882. He is quite active for one of his years, and nothing so delights him as an opportunity to sit down with "the boys" and talk over "old times" and "fight his battles o'er again." Throughout his long career he has been distinguished for his honesty and general integrity of character. He was not only the idol of his company, but won and held the esteem of every fireman in St. Louis.

Washington Fire Company. No. 3, was incorporated in 1833, the incorporators being B. W. Ayres, John D. Daggett, James G. Barry, J. W. Walsh, Louis Dubreuil, P. Walsh, Isaac McHose, M. Steitz, and D. S. Richards.

The presidents, in order, were James G. Barry, John Kern, Hiram Shaw, John Warren, and B. M. Runyon.

Captains, John Warren, Isaac McHose, and Louis Guerette.

Secretaries, L. Dubreuil, Eugene Alcan, and John E. Liggett.

Treasurer, Ezra O. English.

Among the prominent members were the following:

Samuel C. Davis, Eben Richards, George R. Taylor, Wilson Primm, John Grimsley, John F. Thornton, George Maguire, Joseph L. Simpson, Jacob Thomas, Elkanah, James, and Joseph English, René Paul, George and Peter Morton, Eugene Laveille, Jacob Kern, Peter Guerette, James L. and Matt. Faucet, Peter, Richard, Joseph, and James Warren, David and Peter Monastes, J. B. Godet, Jabez Mulholland, Jacob Ziblin, Isaac McHose, Jr., Peter Berger, John W. Frakes, George W. Brackett, Milton Richards, George Martin, Ed. L. Chideaux, Frank and Charles La France, Frederick Kretchmar, Sr. and Jr., William Weightman, John Blake, Peter Kruess, A. L. Roland, Louis and Peter Turnot, J. Sabine, Frank Roper, J. A. Guyon, John and Peter Harvey, George Eberle, A. Fischer, Joseph and F. Brohammer, M. and J. Marley, Joseph and Adolph Brazeau, L. Perrin, Charles Mayhew, Gilbert and George Yeoman, B. Laibold, J. B. Teft, Thomas Busby, Joseph and William Kribben, William Sanford, George Miller, John Mulligan, J. H. Scott, Paul Wonderly, William Quellmotz, Christopher Burkland, James Meddicroft.

The company first occupied a one-story frame building on the east side of Second Street, between Almond and Spruce Streets; but in 1836 removed to a two-story brick engine-house on the south side of Spruce Street, between Second and Third Streets. The erection of this house and the purchase of new apparatus, etc., had involved the company in debt, and in order to relieve it the City Council, by ordinance approved Feb. 22, 1843, appropriated one thousand three hundred dollars to pay off the indebtedness, provided the company conveyed to the city its ground and engine-house. The city also agreed to provide another place more central and convenient whenever the company should petition for it, provided it could be done without loss or expense to the city. The company accepted these conditions, and continued to occupy the building on Spruce Street until 1853, when it removed to the west side of Third Street, south of Elm, adjoining Washington Hall, where it remained until its dissolution in 1857.

The first engine used by the company was the "Pat Lyon," which was loaned by the city government, and which it retained until 1837. In this year

a first-class forcing-engine was completed for the Washington Company by John Kern, of St. Louis, one of the incorporators and afterwards its president. This remained in use for sixteen years, and was replaced by one of Jeffries' manufacture, Pawtucket, R. I., which was of the same class as the former, but of lighter build. On the dissolution of the company it was sold to the town of Washington, Mo. The rest of the company's apparatus was also built by Kern, and consisted at different times of a two-wheel hose-carriage, a four-wheel one, called the "John Kern" in honor of its builder, and another four-wheeler, called the "Ezra O. English," in compliment to the lifelong treasurer of the company. The company also had the usual tender or plug-catcher, which was called the "Wild Pigeon." The apparatus was painted blue-black, striped with gold, and the motto of the company was "Veni, Vidi, Vici." The uniform consisted of a yellow shirt with silver trimmings, black pantaloons and belt, and black flat-top medium-crown hat.

The *personnel* of the company was composed principally of French and Germans. Their house was located in the district known as Frenchtown, and the few Americans who joined the company were well-known and influential citizens. In 1839 the officers of the company were Benjamin W. Ayres, captain; Isaac McHose, lieutenant; James Barry, first engineer; Louis Dubreuil, second engineer; Ellis Wainwright, first director; Hiram Shaw, second director; Thomas Denny, third director; Thomas H. Maddox, fourth director; Philip Reilly, secretary; and in 1840, Benjamin W. Ayres, captain; Isaac McHose, lieutenant; Ellis Wainwright, first director; Ezra O. English, second director; David S. Richards, third director; John Dunn, fourth director; John Kern, first engineer; Daniel Clover, second engineer; Louis Dubreuil, secretary.

ST. LOUIS FIRE COMPANY, NO. 4, was organized in 1839, and incorporated in February, 1841, with James H. Bayfield, Edward Holden, S. Sumner, Benjamin Ames, Joseph Southack, and David Woodman, incorporators. The first president was Joseph Southack, who was succeeded by C. W. Allen, John McNeil, and Ambrose Sprague, who held the position for thirteen years. The first secretary was Charles E. Allen, whose successor was Rudolph Wohleim, and the successive treasurers were Oliver Harris, John McNeil, and Sherr C. Hunt; engineers, David Woodman, Joseph McNeil, Antoine Goodyear, George N. Stevens, Charles H. Rigdon, John Pawley, and John Dunn.

A large number of the leading citizens of St. Louis were members of the company, among whom were,—

Joseph Woodman, George and John Knapp, Charles G. Chesley, John Thorning, Joseph Briggs, James and Thomas Turner, William T. and Taylor Blow, John B. Gerard, J. M. Kershaw, A. Brewster, Oliver A. Hart, Ed. Parry, Edwin Ellis, Ed. Chadwick, Thomas M. Wannell, John J. Murdock, John G. Priest, Isaac T. Green, R. Boyd, C. Kimball, James McNeil, Charles D. Walton, H. Robinson, C. Dunsmore, Gilbert Deacon, H. C. Hollingsworth, George Mattoon, Charles Smith, G. Bowen, George Sutton, R. E. Bolton, Charles Purdy, John Waters, Louis Neivergelder, Thomas Stroup, J. M. Eagan, Robert Baldwin, Samuel Treadway, Zero Marks, Samuel and Charles Stevens, Howard Shibley, Matthew Burns, George Scott, A. Robinson, Jules H. Guibord, A. A. Tutts, J. A. Phelps, J. J. Menges, John English, Jules Lachance, John Bell, Isaac Rigdon, William H. Curtis, and John O'Fallon.

The original location of the company was a one-story frame shed on the northwest corner of Fourth and Locust Streets, where it was afterwards joined by the "Missouri Company," and the building was divided by a partition, the St. Louis Company retaining the south side, which it occupied until the spring of 1841.

Col. John O'Fallon, who was one of the earliest members, had in the mean time presented to the company a lot of ground on the southeast corner of Third and Locust Streets, upon which a two-story brick engine-house was erected, the City Council appropriating fifteen hundred dollars for that purpose by ordinance approved Aug. 23, 1841. The front of the building was adorned with Doric and Ionic columns and an iron balcony. Above the roof rose a tower crowned by a figure, half fish, half human, which, says Mr. Lynch, for want of a better name, "was yclept a 'Prock.'" Another story was added to the building in 1845 and the hall refurnished, making it one of the most complete engine-houses in the city. The company remained in the building until its dissolution in 1859.

The St. Louis Company was partial to engines of Boston manufacture, but their qualities were not appreciated by any firemen outside of its own members. They were serviceable, but unwieldy and uncouth in appearance. The first engine, a second-class suction, built by Thayer, was known as the "Little Red," and after six years' service was purchased by the city of Galena, Ill. The second engine, "first-class in every respect," was built by Hunneman & Co., and was named the "O'Fallon" in honor of Col. O'Fallon. It remained in the possession of the company until the latter's dissolution, when it was sold to the city of Belleville, Ill. The last engine, also a first-class Hunneman, was bought for the company by the city, and reverted to the latter upon the disbanding of the volunteer organization. It was known as the "St. Louis,"

and was also eventually sold to the town of Belleville. The company's first reel was called the "Tiger," and was followed by a four-wheel single-reel with no name, and the "Rover," a handsome four-wheel double-reel. The tender was called the "Tiger." These carriages were all manufactured by Bruce & Snyder, of Cincinnati. The apparatus of the St. Louis Company was always of a vermilion color, and the uniform consisted of red shirt, white pantaloons, black patent-leather belt, red silk necktie, and red low-crowned round-top hat. The motto of the organization was "On hand." The company disbanded in the fall of 1858, and disposed of its property in March, 1859. The proceeds of the sale were divided among the members, each share amounting to between four hundred and five hundred dollars.

During the existence of the company three of its members met with violent deaths. Jesse Baker and Jacob Weaver were murdered by negroes April 17, 1841, in the store of Collier & Pettus, corner of the Levee and Pine Street, the building being afterwards fired; and Matthew Burns lost his life by jumping from the steamer "Sultana" while on fire, June 15, 1851.

Several of the members of this company joined the new department, viz.: George N. Stevens, who was for two years its chief, John R. Barret, No. 13, Lawrence Shea, No. 17, James Fitzgerald, No. 14, and Henry Burgh, No. 4, hook-and-ladder.

MISSOURI FIRE COMPANY, No. 5, was organized in 1839, and incorporated Jan. 29, 1841, by Nathan Coleman, David Watson, Timothy B. Edgar, Thomas B. Targee, John B. Blount, Edward Walker, and David Baker. The presidents, in order, were Nathan Coleman, R. S. King, George Burnett, Thomas B. Targee, Isaac S. Smyth, Thomas B. Hudson, and William W. Branson. Its secretaries were Joseph Rowe, John W. Allen, R. S. King, George Burnett, William L. Kid, J. H. Alexander, John H. Simpson, Isaac S. Smyth, and William Bright; and its treasurers, William A. Lynch, B. W. Alexander, D. R. Risley, and S. H. Laflin. Among the leading members of the company were the following:

L. D. Baker, Joseph C. Edgar, Thomas Dresser, John Finney, George W. Rucker, E. H. and William M. Simpson, Jason Holbrook, John B. Gibson, J. R. Hammond, John Hancock, M. R. Cunniffe, Charles Legurriere, A. L. Carson, L. S. Bassett, Charles Keemle, Charles Pickering, Jesse and Flem. Calvert, W. W. Thompson, William Glenn, E. H. Farnsworth, Joseph Beakey, R. Beauvais, T. D. Connor, Benjamin Philibert, H. W. Winstanley, N. A. Watson, John T. and William H. Chappell, D. J. Dickey, A. J. Nicolet, William R. Singleton, Samuel Hager, E. S. Evans, William M. Harper, Frank Molair, S. Hibbard, V. J. Peers, D. Matlack, G. S. and T. A. Day, J. B. Coleman, F. S. Turnbull, William Coggswell, E. A. Manny, F. Mallett, C. R. Worrel, S. W. Boyce, A. L. Perret, M. N. Burchard, P. W. Freese, P. Dunn, J. M. Field, John and William Eyma, J. Gregory, A. Ryon, E. W. Blatchford, Enno Sander, Z. N. Roberts, J. R. Snyder, A. J. Noble, E. Adriance, John T. Martin, Wilkinson Bryan, O. W. Childs, Joel Utley, Joseph and Morgan Russell, Oliver Bennett, S. K. Wilson, F. A. Remis, Edward Colston, James A. Marsh, William Green, L. N. Nutz, James H. Remington, Vincent Yore, Samuel Speilman, R. Grinstead, John Knobbs, J. Sylvia, E. C. Blackburn, W. J. White, J. H. Volcker, George Wetzel, and Thomas Darnes.

In May, 1840, the company commenced active service, having located itself in the one-story frame building on the northwest corner of Fourth and Locust Streets, occupied by the St. Louis Fire Company, which shared its quarters with the Missouri. A year later the Missouri Company removed temporarily to a building on Third Street, below Olive. In 1842, under an ordinance of the mayor and City Council approved March 2d of that year, a lot of ground at the northwest corner of Third and Olive Streets was purchased by the city, and twenty-six feet of it fronting on Third Street was leased to the Missouri Fire Company at the nominal rent of one dollar per year, for the purpose of erecting an engine-house. At a cost of about two thousand five hundred dollars, a substantial brick engine-house was built two stories high, with dome, cupola, and bell. From this location the company removed in 1852 to a house on Seventh Street, below Olive, which had been erected for its use, where it remained until 1858, when it disbanded. The first engine owned by this company was built by Farnham & Co., of New York, and was known as the "Old Bull." It was considered the best in the city until 1847, when it was defeated by the "Emperor," and in 1850 was sold to the Belcher Sugar Refinery. Subsequently it was repurchased by the company. In the mean time another engine was purchased, but it did not prove satisfactory. The last engine was the "Little Missouri," built by Button & Co., Waterford, N. Y., which at the dissolution of the company was sold to the city. The motto of the company was "Press on." In 1858, W. W. Branson and William Bright were appointed trustees to dispose of the property to the city, which they did, the city paying fifteen hundred dollars and assuming a debt of four hundred and fifty dollars upon the apparatus. About seventeen hundred dollars was received from all sources, of which one thousand dollars was expended upon a picnic, and the balance applied to the payment of the debt of the company.

Capt. Thomas B. Targee, who was one of the incorporators of the company, and who had held the positions of engineer, secretary, director, and president, was the only member who lost his life while in

the performance of duty. He was killed, as heretofore stated, by the premature explosure of a keg of powder which he had thrown into a building, during the "great fire" of May, 1849.

LIBERTY FIRE COMPANY, No. 6, was instituted April 23, 1841, and incorporated Feb. 17, 1843, by James McDonough, Samuel Gaty, John M. Wimer, William Piggott, Thomas O. Duncan, and others. Its successive presidents were John M. Wimer, T. O. Duncan, Adolph Philibert, and James Wiseman, and its secretaries, T. O. Duncan, William Piggott, Adolph Philibert, John F. Jennings, John Wise, and William A. Thornburgh. Its only treasurer was John F. Darby, and its engineers were James McDonough, Davis Moore, John Evill, Daniel Crouse, Nicholas Kitchen, and James Wiseman.

The original members of the company were the employés of Gratz, McCune & Co.'s foundry, but during its existence its roll of membership contained the names of many prominent citizens of St. Louis, among whom were,—

Richard J. and John Howard, John C. Evans, John E. D. Cousins, George A. Hyde, George and Philip Kingsland, James H. Locke, A. R. McNair, Peter Brookes, A. H. Glasby, Charles Todd, D. K. Ferguson, William H. Lightner, John T. Dowdall, William Mulhall, John C. Vogel, J. J. Drake, William H. Brantner, Bernard Crickard, E. H. Kellogg, D. S. Condit, S. S. Lewis, Joseph and James Kennedy, Henry M. Snyder, Theo. Sunderland, William Corby, William Caw, W. A. Walt, John O'Brien, Hiram and James Ogden, D. Ford, Joseph Margo, Vance Ware, Robert Lawson, Michael Belden, John Kupferle, Ed. Dunn, Michael Fitzpatrick, Alexander Boyd, William Patchell, T. Rogers, James McBride, J. A. S. and George R. Rice, B. J. Dailey, Robert Lindsay, William and George Wolf, Nat. and Robert Warren, William McCann, Ed. Dietz, Alfred Smyth, James Garrenghty, J. P. Robinson, John E. Woods, Charles and James Deal, Patrick McCauley, Conrad Bonikum, J. Walker, Henry Williams, William Condran, George Pelsch, John Looney, George Biederman, J. V. Lichtenstein, A. L. Whitley, John Butts, Nicholas Coglan, Patrick Donnellan, W. S. Blackman, and Rufus Kayser.

A lot of ground on the southwest corner of Broadway and Franklin Avenue was presented to the company by the city authorities for the site of an engine-house, and on this lot was erected a two-story brick building with cupola. It had a handsomely furnished hall and other conveniences. The building was occupied until Feb. 11, 1858, when it was destroyed by fire, and the apparatus rendered unfit for service. At different times the company owned three engines, the first built by Gaty, McCune & Co., the second by Agnew, of Philadelphia, and the third also by Agnew, which was called "Adolph Philibert" after a former president.

The motto of the organization was "We Conquer to Save." The last act of the company was the presentation to Hon. John F. Darby of a gold-headed cane as a token of his service as its lifelong treasurer.

PHŒNIX FIRE COMPANY, No. 7, was organized in 1843, with James G. Soulard, John Withnell, Charles Huth, D. D. Davis, James C. Lynch, and John Dunn as incorporators. Its presidents from time to time were Daniel H. Donovan, Richard Collins, Henry Pitcher, George Mayhart, and Daniel H. Donovan, who, being re-elected, continued to serve until the dissolution of the company. The secretary and treasurer were James Lemen and Charles F. Blatteau, respectively. Among the leading members were,—

John H. Fisse, Henry and Samuel Pilkington, William Stoops, Stephen Stock, John C. Degenhart, Richard Mawdsley, John W. Bame, John and Joseph Hercules, Jacob Trice, Jacob Kruess, Alexander Trickler, Francis Brinckman, [illegible]ry Meyers, Jacob Decker, William O'Brien, Henry Clacker, [illegible]. Harvey, Thomas Wake, William Kerr, John and Richard Collins, G. W. Ayres, George W. Campbell, J. D. Taylor, John F. Mitchell, Charles F. Taussig, and Jacob Freivogel.

The company first occupied a frame building at the junction of Second and Fifth Streets and Carondelet Avenue, but in 1846 removed to a two-story brick engine-house which had been erected for it on Fifth Street, north of Park Avenue. At different periods the company owned two engines, the first a first-class forcing-engine, built by John Kern, of St. Louis, and the second a second-class suction engine, built by Rogers, of Baltimore. The Phœnix was located farther south than any of the other companies, in a large and sparsely-settled territory, and had to rely almost entirely upon wells, cisterns, and ponds for water, but it was usually successful in subduing the flames. The organization dissolved Sept. 11, 1858, and sold its property to the city. At the time it possessed a small but choice library, which was presented to the Mercantile Library Association, in return for which the Mercantile Library gave a ten years' membership to such of the members as desired it.

FRANKLIN FIRE COMPANY, No. 8, was organized in 1844, and incorporated during the same year, by William H. Roberts, S. S. Carlisle, Frederick Laumann, T. R. Moore, C. Harrold, F. W. Engle, Philip Plitt, and F. Kenning. Its presidents were elected in the following order: William H. Roberts, S. S. Carlisle, F. Laumann, William H. Brant, George Kyler, Richard Beggs, and Henry Ungermann, and its secretaries were G. H. Hazzard, F. Engel, Willis R. Pritchard, Louis Laumann, and Earl Matlack. The treasurers were John Moore, F. Laumann, John McNamee, and Alfred Humphreys.

Among the members at different times were the following:

John R. Seisle, Johnston Beggs, Daniel and William Hazard, R. W. Cleary, Conrad Long, Timothy Whelan, Aug. Haper, David Goodfellow, Matthew Buchanan, James Carton, Francis Grannan, Carstan Hoffmann, William Braumsch, Elliot and James McLean, Barney and Louis Spelbrinck, John Dinan, Henry Glitz, George Kilpatrick, George Chambers, C. Steinmeyer, Joseph Bruce, Michael Hunt, Christ. Hamilton, John Jones, John Doyle, Francis Rogers, Thomas Fitzpatrick, John McCarron, Michael Pickett, Patrick Begley, Benjamin Jones, James Carlisle, Jacob Brant, Aug. Bottles, Frank Hopper, Adam Newman, William Howard, John Logan, John Bollman, John Martin, John Walsh, John Reed, Michael Belsen, H. Wolfenstein, James McCausland, Al. Matlack, James Barnidge, James Keefe, William Warden, Philip and John Scott, William Dieckmann.

The company's first quarters were a shed on the northwest corner of Eleventh Street and Franklin Avenue, and in 1847 it removed to a frame building on the west side of Eleventh Street, between Wash and Carr Streets. Upon this site a three-story brick building was erected in 1848, the City Council having appropriated two thousand five hundred dollars for the purpose. A life-size figure of Franklin flying his kite surmounted the building.

Two engines were owned by the company at different times, one made by Agnew, of Philadelphia, and the other by Button, of Waterford, N. Y. The motto of the Franklin was, "We have met the enemy and they are ours." In 1857 the city of St. Louis paid the company five thousand five hundred dollars for its property, and assumed its liabilities, amounting to four thousand dollars. With the five thousand five hundred dollars thus secured the "Franklin Library," on the northwest corner of Eleventh and Wash Streets, was established. The library did not prosper, however, and in 1866 its books, numbering two thousand five hundred volumes, and its shelves and furniture, were presented to the Public School Library. The surviving members of the Franklin Company received, each, an honorary life-membership in the Public School Library.

Mound Fire Company, No. 9, was incorporated during the winter of 1847, with James Gordon, G. E. Labeaume, S. Robinson, Wm. G. Clark, M. Brotherton, and Charles Guarcie, incorporators. Its presidents, in the order of their succession, were Dominick Childs, Charles R. Annis, F. Meyer, B. Jennings, William Pallis, and H. Clay Sexton; and the secretaries, C. R. Annis, Joseph Hull, A. Lemon, and A. C. Durdy.

Among its members were,—

Thomas A. Dryden, Hugh and Jefferson Sexton, John R. Dobyns, Charles Case, Levi Ashbrook, Sr. and Jr., John Sexton, Henry and Francis Overstolz, Joseph Hull, John W. Thornburgh, Ellis N. Leeds, Peter Wiles, James McKee, James A. Rogers, Nath. and Charles Chiles, John Davis, Jacob Bixler, Richard James, William Cluxton, Edward E. Allen, James Sloan, William A. Thompson, Frederick Stewart, John McNabb, Michael Dressel, James Doyle, William McCaw, William Fulton, E. Z. C. Judson ("Ned Buntline"), Mannus Rawle, John M. Wimer, Jr., Newton Brazelton, John Stevens, B. Wetzels, Michael Carey, A. Predoc, and Henry D. Young.

The company began active operations on the 22d of February, 1848. The first fire which it attended was the burning of Scott's Hotel, on the southeast corner of Second and Green Streets (now Christy Avenue), on which occasion the Union Fire Company rendered it substantial assistance, loaning it hose, supplying it with water, etc. The incident was never forgotten by the Mound Company, and the warmest friendship sprang up between the two organizations.

The first engine-house of the Mound Company was a frame building on the south side of Howard Street, east of Broadway. In 1852 the company removed to a two-story brick engine-house, erected on a lot presented by the city for the purpose, on the west side of Broadway, south of Brooklyn Street. The building had all the (then) modern improvements, with a cupola and bell; the bell, together with an immense golden spread eagle which crowned the pediment, having been obtained from the wreck of the "James Robb," one of the most palatial steamboats that ever ran on Western waters. The company never owned more than one engine, which was built by Agnew, of Philadelphia. In 1851 a "four-wheeler" reel was purchased, and was known as the "St. Louis Belle." It was wrecked in 1856, and its place was supplied by another four-wheeler, the "Shakrag." The plug-catcher was known as the "Peytona."

In 1852, through some oversight or inadvertence upon the part of its officers, the Mound failed to comply with the city ordinance of 1850, "establishing and regulating the fire department," by neglecting to file a statement of its condition within the time specified by notice. Edward Brooks, the inspector, suspended the company, and refused to allow it the regular quarterly allowance of two hundred and fifty dollars until it should be reinstated by the mayor and City Council. This was afterwards done, and on the 10th of December of that year the company was reorganized and the following officers elected:

D. J. Childs, president; C. L. Annis, vice-president; M. R. Roll, secretary; William S. Stamps, treasurer; R. D. Goodfellow, superintendent of hose; William Clark, J. Shoub, P. Goodfellow, Sr., R. Stevens, directors; J. Chaytor, chief engineer; J. Sexton, F. Myers, assistant engineers; William G. Clark, W. D. Leavitt, B. F. Jennings, J. W. Thornburg, A. Lemmon, standing committee; S. Treadway, T. Grant, W. Cronk, J. Bixler, L. B. Grafton, J. Henkins, auditing committee; H. Overstolz, D. A. Rawlings, L. Perkins, firemen's association committee; James W. Sloan, steward.

The motto of the organization was: "We fly to succor and to save."

The company dissolved in February, 1858, and conveyed all its property to the city of St. Louis for the sum of one dollar, upon condition that its house and fixtures should remain intact; that there should always be a company stationed in its district, and that the old name "Mound" should be perpetuated in the new department. Mound Fire Company, No. 9, of the paid department now occupies the old location. Many of the members joined the new department, among them being H. Clay Sexton, the present chief of the fire department.

LACLEDE FIRE COMPANY, No. 10, was incorporated in 1848, by Thomas A. Buckland, John J. Boswell, William H. Carroll, Charles Robb, Joseph Caldwell, August Guelbreth, John Knapp, J. B. McKown, Joseph T. M. Jilton, Michael Powers, J. Schroer, Thomas B. Targee, and Peter Wonderly. Its successive presidents were William H. Carroll, Peter Thomas, and James Luthy; captains, John J. Boswell, Jacob Scheer, D. Peterman, John Dempsey, Henry Cross, and John McCullough; secretaries, Barton Bates, Thomas R. Allen, J. M. Downey, and R. Dunn; treasurers, August Guelbreth, T. A. Buckland, M. Powers, and D. D. Lynch. The membership averaged one hundred, and upon its roll, among others, were the following names:

John N. Legg, J. H. Boswell, John Z. Miller, Charles G. Greene, E. M. Powers, Henry Wagner, William Long, William Flanigan, John Peterson, Jacob Scheer, Theodore M. Hunt, James Caldwell, P. B. Mock, Frank Dugal, Joseph Vasques, D. J. Gordon, Eph. Shirley, A. Dickson, L. B. Chapman, Edward King, John S. Taylor, Richard Ivers, J. M. Saunders, Andrew Dietz, D. Powers, Thomas J. Barrett, George Matthews, M. Forster, Jackson White, Thomas Dale, Patrick Murphy, Con. Lynch, H. P. Farber, Conrad Ittner, William Dillon, George P. Curtis, F. P. Doneho, T. M. Barron, James F. Small, Michael Dillon, William Tobin, D. D. Hunt, and J. Loan.

The company's headquarters at first were a frame building on the west side of Sixteenth Street, north of Chestnut, but in 1850 they were removed to a two-story brick engine-house on the north side of Market Street, east of Fifteenth, which had been built on a lot of land presented for the purpose by James H. Lucas. The first engine was a second-class forcing-engine, called the "James Gulick," built by Rogers, of Baltimore. In 1855 the company purchased its second and last engine, which was known as the "Laclede," from the same manufacturer.

In 1858 a committee, composed of James Luthy, D. D. Lynch, John McCullough, and P. Murphy, was appointed to take into consideration the best means of disbanding the company. This committee recommended the sale of the property to the city of St Louis for one thousand five hundred dollars, exclusive of all claims of the city or others. In September the recommendation was adopted, and the cash proceeds were ordered to be divided equally between the Polytechnic Institute and the Protestant and Catholic Orphan Asylums. The O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute in consideration of this donation offered memberships to the members of the company, many of whom availed themselves of the privilege.

LAFAYETTE HOOK-AND-LADDER COMPANY, No. 1.—On the 23d of July, 1855, a meeting was held at the Central engine-house to take into consideration the propriety of forming a hook-and-ladder company. Mayor King presided, and L. Dorsheimer was appointed secretary. The sentiment of the meeting was found to be in favor of the formation of such a company, and a committee, consisting of L. Dorsheimer, Capt. Couzins, George N. Stevens, John Dunn, David J. Dickey, and A. C. Hull, was appointed to procure the apparatus. At the same meeting David J. Dickey was authorized to purchase a truck. Mr. Dickey executed the commission, and in November following a handsome truck, built by Pyne & Hartshorn of New York, at a cost of one thousand dollars, arrived in St. Louis and was placed in active service. In 1855 the company was incorporated, with Charles P. Chouteau, D. J. Dickey, E. M. Joel, and Edward E. Allen as incorporators. The president was Charles P. Chouteau; Vice-President, Edward E. Allen; Secretaries, Edward E. Allen and S. S. Robeson; Treasurer, James Sweeney; and Foremen, D. J. Dickey, E. M. Joel, Lewis Fuller, and Wm. Mackey.

Among the members were the following: L. Dorsheimer, John Shore, J. A. Price, C. Robeson, James O. Alter, S. Hendel, James Oates, William Oates, S. C. Moore, S. Lambert, William Mallett, T. Wetmore, T. J. Greenfield, C. E. Allen, Hugh McDermott, James Oaney, and C. Fredericks.

At first the truck was housed in a shed on the east side of Eighth Street, between Washington Avenue and St. Charles Street, but was afterwards removed to a two-story brick engine-house erected by the city authorities on the south side of Washington Avenue, west of Seventh Street, which the company shared in common with "Union Company, No. 2," until October, 1857, when it was compelled to remove because of its refusal to join the paid department. The Missouri Fire Company offered it quarters in their building, and the offer was accepted, but on May 20, 1858, the company disbanded, and its truck was sold to the city of Alton, Ill. After the debts of the company had been paid, there remained a

balance of thirty-five dollars and ten cents, which was presented to the "Benton Monument Fund."

The motto of the company was, "Public Servants, not Hirelings," and its uniform consisted of red shirts trimmed with silver, black pantaloons, belts with the word "Lafayette" in raised letters, and black regulation New York fire-hats.

The Fire Wardens.—By an ordinance of the City Council approved June 17, 1841, the mayor of St. Louis was authorized and required to select from the able-bodied citizens of the different wards in the city, not members of a fire company, any number not exceeding twenty-five from each ward, who should serve for one year and be known and designated as "fire wardens and property guards." Their duty was to attend all fires, and remove or cause to be removed, under the direction of the mayor, or, in his absence, of such officer or officers as they should elect, all goods, wares, and merchandise in the vicinity of a fire, whenever they should deem it necessary, and take charge of the same when so removed.

From this body the mayor was required to select five persons from each ward, to be designated as "fire wardens," who were authorized and empowered to place a chain across the street in the vicinity of a fire at such a distance as to allow sufficient space to the fire companies and property guards. They were also empowered to remove all spectators from within the said limits, and to prevent any person from entering the same unless entitled to do so. The fire wardens had also the power to compel obedience to their orders and to arrest any one refusing to obey, who, upon conviction, was liable to a fine of ten dollars and costs. Each member was to be furnished by the city with a badge and staff designating his station, the badge to be worn on the hat at all fires; each property guard was also furnished with a canvas bag, and each fire warden with a suitable chain fifteen feet in length, with a ring at one end and a hook at the other, to enable them to form a chain of sufficient length to inclose the street, all of which were to be carried to every fire by those having them in charge.

The mayor was authorized to accept the services of any number of citizens not exceeding one hundred, who should form themselves into a volunteer association for the object designated. If no such association should be formed, the mayor was required to appoint the wardens and guards. An effort was at once made to form a volunteer company, and on Jan. 22, 1842, at a meeting held in the town-hall, at which the mayor presided, with N. E. Janney, secretary, a committee of five was appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws and report to an adjourned meeting to be held January 27th. On that date the committee reported a constitution, which was adopted and the following were elected officers: N. E. Janney, captain; William Risley, lieutenant; James G. Soulard, first director; John Pitcher, second director; George Henderson, third director; Wayman Crow, fourth director; John Whitehill, fifth director; E. Klein, secretary and treasurer.

At a subsequent meeting of the directors (on January 31st), the following were appointed fire wardens:

First Ward.—D. S. Donovan, —— Townsend, James Ritchie, James Parker, David D. Carter.

Second Ward.—J. R. Stanford, W. Primm, David Shepherd, John H. Gay, L. Howard.

Third Ward.—Charles Mullikin, W. J. Leaman, D. H. Hill, Peter Powell, A. B. Chambers.

Fourth Ward.—E. Price, F. Jones, S. V. Farnsworth, J. C. Atkinson, W. W. Amos.

Fifth Ward.—George K. Budd, George Bushy, Dennis Marks, S. P. Ketchum, P. G. Camden.

At a meeting of the fire wardens and property guards, held Oct. 22, 1842, the following persons were elected officers for the ensuing year:

William Riley, captain; E. H. Robbins, lieutenant; Nathan D. Allen, secretary and treasurer; Samuel Townsend, first director; John Pitcher, second director; A. B. Chambers, third director; Charles R. Hall, fourth director; John Whitehill, fifth director.

At a meeting of the directors held Oct. 28, 1842, the following were appointed fire wardens for the ensuing year:

First Ward.—D. W. Donovan, David Cartan, James Ritchie, James Parker, Joseph Lurtz.

Second Ward.—J. R. Stanford, J. H. Gay, George W. Davis, Lewis Howard, Thomas J. King.

Third Ward.—Henry B. Belt, W. J. Leaman, George Henderson, Charles Fillman, Duke Ransom.

Fourth Ward.—Francis Jones, S. V. Farnsworth, N. E. Janney, Rudolph Bircher, Moses Stout.

Fifth Ward.—S. P. Ketchum, M. Simpson, J. L. Louderman, L. F. Rucker, R. P. Clarke.

The association was incorporated by an act of the Legislature, Feb. 20, 1845, with the name and style of the "Fire Wardens of the City of St. Louis;" and on March 13th an act was passed granting them the same immunity from militia and jury duty as the regular firemen enjoyed. The incorporators were,—

William Risley, H. Von Phul, E. Klein, N. Ranney, John D. Daggett, Edward Walsh, George Collier, Nathan D. Allen, H. Shurlds, Isaac B. Thomas, Louis T. Labeaume, John Whitehill, D. Hough, J. G. Lindell, L. A. Benoist, Thomas J. Meier, John Leach, A. H. Evans, P. Chouteau, Jr., Robert P. Clark, J. B. Brant, Daniel D. Page, John B. Sarpy, N. E. Janney, William Renshaw, A. Christy, Ferdinand Kennett, Lyman Farwell, John Simonds, J. R. Stanford, John Cavender, William M. Morrison, G. K. McGunnegle, William Bayliss, Augustus Kerr, Edward Tracy, Francis Jones, Martin Simpson, John Pitcher, A. M. Swart, William Vandeventer, C. M. Vallee, Peter L. Vandeventer, S. V. Farnsworth, and A. R. Everest.

On Dec. 5, 1845, the City Council passed an ordinance directing that all fines collected from persons arrested for resisting the wardens, etc., should be paid over to the captain of the said wardens for their use and benefit. The officers of the company were a captain, first and second lieutenants, and secretary and treasurer combined.

The captains were, successively, F. L. Ridgely, William Risley, John W. Luke, and D. N. Burgoyne; and the secretaries and treasurers, Robert Scott, F. R. Alexander, and D. J. Mange.

In September, 1868, the company supplied itself with a one-horse wagon, with the necessary tarpaulins, extinguishers, etc., and at the first fire attended subsequently property to the value of three thousand dollars was saved by it. This sum was several times the cost of the equipment. The wagon was first housed in the engine-house on Seventh Street, near Olive, and afterwards removed to the "Franklin," on Eleventh Street, near Wash. John Shea and Morgan Russell were its drivers, and G. Hoper and T. Whelan assistants.

In May, 1871, the board of underwriters sent to Chicago and obtained the services of Charles Evans, the present captain of the Salvage Corps, who organized and took charge of the Salvage Corps, and to whom is due its present great efficiency. The Salvage Corps supplanted the fire wardens, and they have done no active duty since that time. The organization is still, however, in existence, but no new members have been admitted since 1876. The present membership numbers one hundred and twenty persons, who pay an annual fee of five dollars. Four-fifths of the receipts are paid into the treasury of the "Firemen's Fund."

The Firemen's Fund Association.—On the 28th of January, 1841, a number of leading firemen belonging to the different companies founded the Firemen's Fund Association, the object of which was set forth in the preamble to the constitution, which declared that "whereas, the members of fire companies in the city of St. Louis are liable, in the discharge of their duties as such, to many casualties from which citizens generally are exempt; and whereas, they are frequently very injurious and sometimes ruinous to the health, comfort, and pecuniary circumstances of those on whom they fall," the association had been formed to afford the requisite relief, and any able-bodied member of the department might become a member on the payment of the initiation fee of five dollars, and a further sum of one dollar quarterly in advance; also, any citizen might become an honorary member by the payment of five dollars annually.

By a city ordinance approved Dec. 1, 1841, all fines that should accrue to the city of St. Louis for violations of the ordinance regulating the keeping and storage of gunpowder were appropriated and given to the Firemen's Fund Association. The association was incorporated by act of the Legislature in 1843. The dues first established were found to be very onerous, and were altered so that firemen were only required to pay one dollar per year. All the companies adopted a rule to admit no new member without the payment of the fee. The management originally consisted of a board of delegates, composed of one member from each company and two from the fire wardens; but this was changed to two delegates from each, and again to three from each company. The by-law which designated and provided for the relief of members was as follows:

"Relief shall be granted by this association under the following regulations, viz.: Any member who may receive an injury to life or limb or health, or who may become sick so as to incapacitate him from active duty, may receive aid not to exceed six dollars per week. In cases where application is made for funeral expenses, the amount allowed shall not exceed the sum of seventy-five dollars. The widow and children of a deceased member in good standing may receive such sums from the association as the board may determine." Such sum was generally twenty-five dollars a month.

The presidents of the association in successi[on] were Edward Brooks, Hiram Shaw, George A. Hyde, William A. Lynch, Thomas A. Buckland, Edward Brooks, George N. Stevens, and D. N. Burgoyne (since 1867); and the secretaries, George A. Hyde, E. M. Buckingham, V. Staley, John G. Priest, William F. Ferguson, M. Mooney, S. Stevens, D. R. Risley, C. F. Hendry, P. H. Branson, Robert Scott, J. C. Bury, D. N. Burgoyne, John W. Bame, W. H. Dangler, and John Lindsay (since 1871). The treasurers have been William A. Lynch, L. S. Bassett, William Risley, and John W. Luke (since 1861). The original life-members were William Chambers, J. V. Prather, C. H. Ruggles, Elizabeth Mullanphy, David Ranken, S. Labbadie, Joseph M. Field, A. Vinton, and James Clemens, Jr. Almost all who were ever members of either the volunteer or paid department belonged to this association. In 1869 the association purchased a circular lot in Bellefontaine cemetery, and dedicated it as a last resting-place for its members. William Buttons was the first member interred there, in April, 1870. The association was transferred to the paid department Aug. 13, 1864, and is now in a very flourishing condition.

The Fire Association, organized May 31, 1849, was composed of three delegates from each company, and its object was set forth in a clause of the constitution then adopted, which reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, various questions arise which concern the general interest of the fire department of St. Louis, the settlement of which under the present organization is liable to be attended with inconvenience and delay; therefore the several companies composing said department, in order to establish a body in which their views and interests in reference to all subjects of a general character connected with their duties may be suitably represented and promoted, have formed an association to be known as the Fire Association."

The first meeting was held on the above date, and the following were present as delegates:

C. C. Simmons, John Mullery, W. J. Austin, from No. 1; Samuel Hawken, Patrick Gorman, R. E. Bolton, No. 2; John Kern, Hiram Shaw, John Warren, No. 3; A. Sprague, S. Stevens, J. H. Bryan, No. 4; D. R. Risley, J. H. Alexander, George Burnett, No. 5; Joseph Margo, A. Philibert, J. P. Robinson, No. 6; J. D. Taylor, J. Lemon, John Dunn, No. 7; W. H. Brant, W. R. Pritchard, James McLean, No. 8; D. J. Childs, W. S. Stamps, James McKee, No. 9; W. H. Carroll, T. R. Allen, John Knapp, No. 10; Robert Scott, William Risley, E. A. Johnson, fire wardens. Hiram Shaw, of No. 3, was elected president; Patrick Gorman, of No. 2, vice-president; and S. Stevens, of No. 4, secretary.

The subsequent officers were: Presidents, Edward Brooks, A. Philibert, George Kyler, T. A. Buckland, G. N. Stevens, P. H. Branson.

Vice-presidents, W. R. Pritchard, D. H. Donovan, F. Laumann, George Kyler, A. Sprague, John E. Dunn, P. H. Branson, and James Luthy.

Secretary and Treasurer, S. Stevens, J. H. Alexander, D. R. Risley, William Bright.

The delegates were elected in March of each year, and were always representative firemen. Among their first acts was the adoption of a set of rules for the government of the companies while on duty. These rules bear upon their face evidence of the difficulties that lay in the way of a successful administration of the volunteer department. They were as follows:

"*First.* Any company or part thereof, going to or coming from a fire, shall not in any way obstruct or put themselves or apparatus in the way of another overtaking them, but shall in all cases give a chance for them to pass by, inclining to either side of the street as circumstances permit.

"*Second.* No company is to run their apparatus or any part of it thereof on the sidewalk, except when absolutely necessary.

"*Third.* No person having control of a pipe is to knowingly direct it so as to throw the water upon a member of another company; should he accidentally do so, he must change its direction immediately upon notification of the fact.

"*Fourth.* Members of companies who may be at a fire without their badge and wish to pass the lines, are to give the name of the company to which they belong, otherwise the guards may be justified in detaining him.

"*Fifth.* Members violating the constitution and by-laws of this association are to be reported to the officers of their respective companies, and upon complaint being made, it shall be the duty of said company to investigate the charges and award such punishment as may be necessary; and if not corrected by them, complaint may then be made to this association, which shall have power to make inquiry, and subject the offender to such censure as it may see fit."

An address was also circulated by the association censuring the city authorities for not more liberally sustaining the companies, and at the annual meeting in March, 1850, the following resolution, offered by D. R. Risley, was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to memorialize the Council for the relief of the fire department; that the indebtedness of each company be embodied therein and required to be paid; that the sum of one thousand five hundred dollars be required annually to sustain each company; that two thousand feet of hose be made up to each one; and that every engine-house be furnished as far as practicable with gas. That in the event of the foregoing being granted, we pledge ourselves not to call upon the city for money or hose, unless from destruction of apparatus by fire or other unavoidable accident, and that we recommend to all companies never to go before the public with a subscription-paper."

The City Council refused to do this, but passed a modified ordinance reducing the amount to one thousand dollars per year and the hose to one thousand feet, and insisted upon the appointment of an inspector. It also refused to pay the companies' debts, but subsequently consented to do so.

In May, 1851, Edward Brooks was appointed inspector, and served for three years; he was succeeded by George N. Stevens, who served until the dissolution of the department.

The association, while ostensibly having the government of the companies in its own hands, was powerless to carry out its decrees. It suspended and fined company after company, and reported its action to the City Council, but with no results, as that body always reinstated the offending company. The association finally resolved to investigate no further charges brought before it. In 1855 the Union Fire Company withdrew from the association, and was followed by the Franklin, Mound, Liberty, Washington, Missouri, Phœnix, Laclede, St. Louis, and Central. In 1857 the fire companies then remaining rejected the provisions of the ordinance establishing the paid department, and the association elected a chief engineer and three assistants of its own, who were respectively J. E. D. Cousins, A. C. Hull, A. Sprague, and Joseph Gregory. Before the term of these officers expired, however, the companies had nearly all disbanded, and they were practically officers without a department.

The last meeting of the association was held March 15, 1859, at which William Bright, secretary and treasurer, reported a balance in the treasury of twenty-eight dollars and ninety-five cents, which was ordered to be turned over to the Central Fire Company, the only volunteer organization then in existence.

LARGE FIRES.—1829. November 3.—The extensive brewery of John Mullanphy, situated in the upper part of the city, was wholly destroyed by fire, together with all the buildings attached to it. This was the first serious loss from fire in the city.

1832. April 23.—The steamboat "Talisman" was burned while in port. None of her furniture or cargo was saved.

1833. April 18.—The frame buildings occupied by A. L. Smith & Co. as a confectionery-store, and owned by L. Dever, together with their contents, were entirely consumed.

July 15.—The building containing the engine of the city water-works was burnt down, and the machinery of the engine destroyed.

1837. February 3.—The old theatre was destroyed by fire, and a tenement adjoining, occupied by Mr. Godfrey as a blacksmith-shop, was also burnt down. The theatre was unoccupied.

1838. December 10.—A new brick tenement, owned by E. Bredell, on the south side of Market Street, between Main and Second Streets, with the contents, was entirely consumed. The first floor was occupied by Henry Wieman & Co. as a family grocery-store, and the upper rooms by C. D. Osterloh & Co. as a dry-goods store.

1839. September 2.—The warehouse of Messrs. Blaine, Tompkins & Barrett, on Water Street, between Laurel and Vine Streets, was destroyed. The flames spread to the adjoining buildings. On the south a number of wooden buildings (a grocery- and drug-store, among them,—Alleyne & Co.'s and O. Cobb's) were also destroyed; on the north the adjoining store of Messrs. Stettinius & January shared the same fate. The first frame building adjoining Blaine, Tompkins & Barrett was occupied by G. M. Willing & Co. In this house several persons were employed removing the goods, when the gable end of Blaine, Tompkins & Barrett's building, which had previously been injured by an explosion of gunpowder in the store, fell upon it and crushed to death B. L. Turnbull, book merchant, James Hayden, son of Elijah Hayden, Matthew Medley, and a young man named Brewer, son of Charles Brewer. The losses of G. M. Willing & Co., Blaine, Tompkins & Barrett, Stettinius & January, Alleyne & Co., O. Cobb, J. Rice, and Z. N. Roberts, and the other occupants of the frame buildings amounted to about thirty thousand dollars. The whole loss did not fall short of one hundred and thirty thousand dollars.

1841. May 3.—The sub-treasury building and the stores of D. Levison, S. W. Meech, Thomas G. Settle, W. H. McKinstry, Messrs. Kimm & Tewes, and Wolff & Hoppe, on Main and Market Streets, and a number of small wooden stables, coal-houses, etc., in the rear were entirely destroyed. The stock of all was more or less injured. The loss on buildings amounted to between sixty and seventy thousand dollars.

December 4.—A row of six tenements, belonging to the estate of Mr. Mullanphy, was entirely destroyed.

1844. June 25.—The upper story of the United States Hotel, corner of Vine and Second Streets, was almost entirely destroyed.

October 30.—The Hope Mills, corner Fifth and Hazel Streets, owned by James G. Sutton, Mr. Black, and Dr. Culver, together with two hundred and fifty barrels of flour, were destroyed. The mills had been recently purchased for ten thousand dollars.

1846. September 26.—The hemp warehouse of G. W. Jenks, on Main Street, with its contents, was destroyed; loss, seventy thousand dollars; insurance, fifty thousand dollars. The William Tell tavern adjoining on the north was considerably damaged by fire and water.

1848. March 11.—The steamers "Avalanche," "Hibernian," "John J. Hardin," and "Laclede," lying at the Levee, near the foot of Washington Avenue, with nearly everything on board, were entirely consumed. Two barges lying above the "Hardin" were also destroyed.

1849. May 17.—About ten o'clock at night an alarm from the steamboat bells was sounded, which was the precursor of the most disastrous calamity that had yet befallen St. Louis. A fleet of boats was lying at the Levee, and the alarm was caused by the discovery of fire on board the "White Cloud," lying between Wash and Cherry Streets. The "Eudora" was lying above, and the "Edward Bates" below the "White Cloud," and the "Belle Isle" and "Julia" below the "Bates." At the time of the commencement of the fire the wind was blowing stiffly from the northeast, forcing the boats directly in shore, and contributing greatly to the extension of the conflagration. The "Eudora" was soon on fire from the "White Cloud," and the "Edward Bates" caught almost at the same time. The hawsers of this vessel were either cut or parted while on fire, and she drifted into the current, carrying destruction to almost all the boats south of her. Although the cables of all the boats were hauled in and the vessels drifted out into the current, the flaming vessel outstripped them all in the speed with which she traveled down-stream. She seemed intent upon getting in among and destroying the fleet now loosened from their fastenings and driven about, the sport of the wind and the waves, with no one on board to control them.

In a very short time, perhaps in thirty minutes after the conflagration commenced, the whole length of the wharf, from Cherry Street to the head of Duncan's Island, a distance of at least a mile, presented one almost unbroken line of either lurid light or brilliant blaze, and thus was sealed the destiny of twenty-three boats, nearly four hundred and forty thousand dollars' worth of property being destroyed. Following are the names of the steamers, together with the estimated marine loss and insurance:

Boats.	Valuation.	Insurance.	Where Insured.	Cargo.
American Eagle.	$14,000	$3,500	Pittsburgh.....	.....
Alice.....	18,000	12,000	St. Louis and East..	$1,000
Alex. Hamilton.	15,000	10,500	Eastern offices.....	.....
Acadia	4,000	4,000	Eastern offices.....	1,000
Boreas, No. 3.....	14,500	11,500	St. Louis.....	.....
Belle Isle.....	10,000	8,000	New Orleans.....	.....
Eliza Stewart.....	9,000	9,000	St. Louis and Nash.	.....
Eudora.....	16,000	10,500	St. Louis.....	.....
Ed. Bates.....	23,500	15,000	St. Louis.....	.....
Frolic	1,500	.....	.....	.....
Gen. Brooke.....	1,500	.....	.....	.....
Kit Carson.....	15,000	8,000	St. Louis.....	3,000
Mameluke.....	30,000	20,000	St. Louis and East.	.....
Mandan	14,000	10,500	St. Louis.....	.....
Montauk.....	16,000	10,000	St. Louis and East.	8,000
Martha.....	10,000	10,000	St. Louis.....	30,000
Prairie State.....	26,000	13,000	Eastern offices.....	3,000
Red Wing.....	6,000	.....	.....	3,000
St. Peters.....	12,000	9,000	Nash. and Louis....	.....
Sarah.....	35,000	20,000	Cincinnati.....	30,000
Taglioni	20,000	15,000	Pittsburgh.....	12,000
Timour.....	25,000	18,000	St. Louis and East.	6,000
White Cloud.....	3,000	3,000	.....	.....
	$339,000	$225,500		$97,000

Total number of steamers destroyed, 23.

Estimated value.....	$339,000
Estimated value of cargoes burnt.....	97,000
	$436,000
Estimated value of three barges burnt.....	2,500
Estimated value of one canal boat.....	1,000
Total value of boats and cargoes.....	$439,500

Many of the steamers were among the best and largest engaged in the St. Louis trade. Some had just arrived with full cargoes on board, some were in like condition ready to depart, and others partially loaded, either in the act of receiving or discharging cargo.

The destruction of property, though very great, was only the

forerunner of a much more serious calamity. On the Levee there were considerable quantities of freight of a combustible nature, which had been discharged from boats during the day. This freight soon ignited and burned for a long time. The fire began in a row of frame shanties on the river between Vine and Locust Streets, and spread very rapidly. Labeaume's building, about midway of the block, on the north side of Locust Street, was saved, but the whole of the block south of Locust, with the exception of Mr. Collier's house on Olive Street, and the whole of the next block south to Pine Street, and thence through to Chestnut Street, and south on Market Street until the flames reached the building belonging to the representatives of Pratte, on the corner of Market and Front Streets, were entirely destroyed. The buildings on Water Street, between Chestnut and Market, were saved. The intervention of the Market Square, although the market-house was in imminent danger, put a stop to the fire in this direction. Going back to Locust Street, in tracing the course of the fire, the corner house, owned by George Collier, was burned. The Pratte buildings were fire-proof, and offered successful resistance to the flames. Passing from this row of buildings, the fire swept down to Olive Street, taking nearly one-half of the block in its course; crossed that street, consuming nearly three-fourths of the block, including the *Reveille* office; passed over the whole of the blocks from Vine Street to Market, and terminated with the destruction of the row of buildings belonging to Mrs. S. Perry and E. Bredell, on the south side of Market Street, between Main and Second.

The *New Era*, the *Organ*, and the *Republican* offices, on Chestnut Street, were burned. The further progress of the fire was stayed on Market Street by the blowing up of several buildings in its path. During the explosion, by the premature bursting of a keg of gunpowder, T. B. Targee, a well-known citizen and leading volunteer fireman, was instantly killed and his body blown in every direction, and Wells Colton and Russell Prentiss were seriously injured.

Almost at the same time as the beginning of the fire in this section of the city, the flames from one of the burning boats communicated to the house at the corner of Elm and Front Streets, and swept away almost the whole block. The entire block between Main and Second and Elm and Myrtle Streets was destroyed, and fractional portions of the block north of the one just described and those south of Myrtle running to Third were also destroyed. The flames raged from 10 o'clock P.M. to 7 o'clock the next morning, aided during the whole time by a strong wind, which sometimes veered a little, threatening the whole city with destruction. The whole or parts of fifteen blocks were destroyed. At an early hour the water gave out, and the fire companies were unable to offer any effective resistance to the progress of the fire. Fifty-seven persons were arrested by the police in the act of feloniously carrying off the property of sufferers.

The aggregate loss of property, in buildings, steamboats, and merchandise, was estimated as follows by the city assessor:

Stock and merchandise in store and on wharf	$5,000,000
Steamboats, and merchandise on board	600,000
Buildings burned	2,290
Total	$6,102,290

The burning of the "White Cloud" was believed to be the act of an incendiary. On the 22d of May a meeting of property-holders and others interested was held at the Planters' House, to take into consideration the expediency of widening the streets, extending the wharf, etc. I. C. Meier was called to the chair, and Thomas Allen was appointed secretary. It was resolved that, provided in rebuilding the burnt district it was practicable and expedient to improve its appearance and guard against a like calamity by widening the streets, etc., the carriage-way on Main Street from Locust to Market should be widened to thirty-two feet, the sidewalks to fourteen feet; that the carriage-way and sidewalks of the cross streets from Locust to Plum should be widened; that Commercial Street should be opened to forty feet in width and declared a public highway; that the alley between Main and Second streets, from Locust to Elm, should be opened to twenty-five feet; that the wharf should be extended by depositing the rubbish from the fire, etc., upon the wrecks of steamboats lying in the river, and erecting a wall at a proper distance out to meet the grade to Second Street; that Main Street should be lowered two feet at the crossings, in order to effect a proper drainage; that fire-proof buildings only should be erected in certain districts; that no lumber-yards should be permitted east of Seventh street; and that the above propositions should be submitted to the City Council for its serious consideration, etc.

This disaster, in addition to the direct pecuniary loss inflicted upon owners of property, threw thousands out of employment, and the damage indirectly caused by it could not be calculated. Among the principal sufferers were Brown & King, Charles Allinger, James Bissell, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Michael Robidoux, J. H. Gay, R. H. Miller, R. Rankin, A. Newberry, J. W. King, Abraham Jacobs, H. Von Phul, Isaacs & Brooks, B. Berthold's estate, Isaac Isaacs, A. Wickersham, Sublette & Campbell, Lewis M. Levy, L. V. Bogy, Julien Nicolet & Co., Theo. Gautrie, P. C. Havaker, Aimé Blaine, Patterson & Dorsheimer, Samuel Gensler, B. Pratte, Wm. H. Jennings, Harvey Beard, Simon Lewis, Samuel McNeilly & Co., Raborg & Shaffner, S. H. Herrick, Wm. L. Chatterwood, E. M. Sell, Greeley & Gale, Runyan, Hillman & Co., George Collier, Charles Semple, Peake & Baker, S. G. Blanchard, Smith Brothers, J. Wood, R. P. Hall, Bullock & Lawrence, Heiskell, Dudley & Thompson, John W. Eyre, L. M. Kennett, J. C. Barlow, Wm. Anderson, A. R. Jones & Co., G. W. Gosnell, Reid & Morgan, W. T. Reynolds, Bryan & Miltenberger, Matteson & Preston, Cabanné, Rasin & Co., John G. Priest, J. C. Grierson, Edward Brooks, Adolphus Meier, F. B. Chamberlain, Helfenstein & Co., Maginis estate, Charles Fredericks, John Mulliken, Robert Rankin, Peter Wilson & Co., Fred. Dings, P. A. Sarpy, Joseph Charless, T. Grimsley, Burd, Rucker & Co., Thos. Andrews, G. C. Robbins, N. H. Ridgeley, Brownlee & Homer, R. B. Mason, Wiel & Bros., Chamber of Commerce, Edwards & Nolte, E. C. Sloan, W. C. & R. Taylor, George Presbury, C. B. Fitch, R. M. Funkhouser, M. Jerome, L. Newman, James Clemens, Charles Roderman, Murdock & Dixon, Joseph Eck, Tewes & Haves, Chiles Brothers & Co., M. B. Mann, T. W. Ustick, S. V. Farnsworth & Co., J. F. Darby, Scott, Otis & Co., L. W. & L. E. Dupuy, L. A. Benoist & Co., S. Nidelet, J. E. Woodruff, B. H. Randolph, Keith, Ray & Co., E. Matthews & Brother, James Wood, J. C. Reynolds, John Simonds, Ferd. Kennett, H. Chouteau, Helfenstein, Gore & Co., Alf. Rogers, A. P. Johnson, J. B. S. Lemoine, H. S. & J. H. Lester, G. R. Clark, Riggs & Levering, Humphreys & Thatcher, Chas. Dana, Henry Shaw, Berthold & Ewing, John S. Thomson, Thos. G. Reyburn, Wade, Still & Co., Col. O'Fallon, A. Paul, Goodwin & Murray, F. Andrews, John Moss, Wood & Shaw, B. Weitkamp, David Dill, Geo. R. Taylor, A. A. & E. N. Parker, Woods, Christy & Co., Tevis, Scott & Tevis, Wilson & Brothers, Mary Harney, Crow, McCreery & Barksdale, Wm. S. Homas, Chas. Chambers, Mrs. Boyce, Page & Bacon, Charles & Hammond, C. Remington, R. P. Perry & Co., Hugh O'Neil, Wm. Robb & Co., John Bunding & Co., John & M. Michael, Levy & Brothers, Amadee Valle, Larkin Deaver, H. J. Reed, H. Cohen, J. B. Carson, S. B. Nourse & Co., Wm. Lightcap, George Baume, S. Blood, Felix Vallé, M. Rausch, Bowen & Hurlburt, Edward Mead, John Shaw, Wood & Violett, H. Papin, Rutherford & Day, George Baum, Samuel Turner, Knapp & Shea, C. Connery, S. Papin,

D. D. Page, I. A. Hedges & Co., Settle & Sherwood, *Missouri Republican* printing-office, W. T. Knapp, Geo. A. Miller, Breed & Cowles, American Tract Society, K. McKenzie, E. A. Johnson, Morgan, Reid & Co., S. W. Meech & Co., Elliott & Cauchois, D'Oench & Pelloux, C. & F. Jacobi, Warren & Joy, N. Philips, Wm. Russell, E. J. Gay, Hamill, McMech & Co., Thomas Andrews, Simon Abells, C. Dolman, D. V. Papin, F. P. Burke, and many others.

July 29.—The steamboats "Algoma," "San Francisco," "Mary," "Phœnix," and "Dubuque" were consumed by fire at the Levee. The following is a statement of the value of the boats, the amount for which they were respectively insured, and the value of their cargoes:

"Algoma,"	value, $10,000,	insured at	$7,500,	value of cargo,		$22,000
"San Francisco,"	18,000,	"	14,000,	"	"	20,000
"Mary,"	19,000,	"	13,000,	"	"	30,000
"Dubuque,"	10,000,	"	8,000,	"	"	3,000
"Phœnix,"	8,000,	"	6,000,	"	"	4,000
	$65,000		$48,500			$79,000

September 28.—The Old Scott Hotel, occupied by Messrs. Lewis as a tobacco-store, and a lot of lumber of the Union Lumber Company were destroyed, and the Virginia Hotel was slightly damaged.

November 15.—The extensive white lead, castor and linseed oil and vinegar manufactory of Henry T. Blow, on the corner of Tenth Street and Clark Avenue, was almost entirely consumed. The loss was one hundred thousand dollars; insured for forty-eight thousand dollars.

December 16.—A disastrous fire occurred in Lewis A. Labeaume's building on Locust Street, between Water and Main Streets.

1850. October 23.—The Missouri Mills, on the corner of St. Charles and Eighth Streets, owned by Joseph Powell, were totally destroyed; loss, fifteen thousand dollars.

October 26.—A fire occurred in the block of buildings occupied as the town hall, and the building occupied by S. H. Bailey and Joseph Neidner was destroyed. The books and papers in the offices of the city register and engineer were slightly injured.

1851. May 1.—Z. F. Wetzell & Co.'s drug-store on Main Street, between Pine and Chestnut Streets, and the adjoining building were destroyed. They belonged to Messrs. Bridges & Brothers and Thos. Andrews; loss, seventy thousand dollars.

June 12.—The steamer "Sultana" was totally destroyed at the foot of Mullanphy Street, and several lives were lost. Sparks from the "Sultana" set fire to the Missouri Sugar Refinery of F. Angelbeck, and inflicted a loss of twenty-five thousand dollars. The loss on the "Sultana" and cargo amounted to seventy-five thousand dollars.

1853. February 23.—The Broadway House, on Broadway, between Wash and Carr Streets, east side, kept by Mrs. Clemens Nomte, was consumed; loss, eighteen thousand dollars.

November 10.—Two buildings at the corner of Spruce Street and the Levee, occupied by Lafourette & Co. as an oil manufactory, were totally destroyed.

1856. October 31.—The cabinet manufactory of Mr. Prange, situated upon the block between Tenth and Broadway and Angelrodt and Mallinkrodt Streets, was destroyed. Seven of the employés of the establishment—John Mueller, Wm. Giesecker, Herman Obenhaus, Herman Allert, Henry Remment, and two brothers named Heneiman—perished in the flames.

November 20.—The block known as the City Buildings, situated on the Levee, between Market and Walnut Streets, was consumed. Morris Punch was killed by the falling of a wall. The owners of the property were S. B. Wiggins, Robert Campbell, John Kern's estate, James H. Lucas, Dr. Joseph Clark, Dr. George Johnson, Edward Haren, F. Coste, R. Barth, and Mrs. Dr. J. B. Johnson. The loss was estimated at three hundred thousand dollars.

December 13.—Johnson & Gillum's scale-factory, on the east side of Second Street, between Morgan and Cherry Streets, was destroyed; loss, twenty-eight thousand dollars.

December 23.—The large soap and candle factory of N. Schaeffer & Co., near the corner of St. Charles and Twenty-first Streets, was burned; loss, one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

1857. March 24.—The large cotton manufactory of Adolphus Meier & Co., on the corner of Lafayette and Eleventh Streets, was destroyed.

June 29.—Barnard, Adams & Co.'s drug-store, on the northeast corner of Second Street and Washington Avenue, was destroyed; loss, one hundred and ninety thousand dollars; insurance, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

September 16.—Fire broke out in the carpenter-shop of Mr. Robb, on Eleventh Street, south of Market, swept the entire block, crossed Market Street, and destroyed the greater part of the lumber in D. F. Wright & Co.'s lumber-yard, amounting to between two and three million feet.

1858. February 20.—The Pacific Hotel, corner of Poplar and Seventh Streets, was discovered to be on fire in the lower part of the structure between two and three o'clock A.M. About one hundred persons were sleeping in the building, and before they were aroused all the stairways were on fire. The outside means of escape were insufficient, and the inmates were driven to the alternative of leaping to the ground from the windows or of being burned to death in their rooms. Many escaped by jumping, with more or less injury, but between twenty and thirty were either killed by the fall or met a horrible death in the flames. The exact loss of life was never known to a certainty, the books of the hotel having been destroyed, but twenty bodies were recovered, and others were supposed to have been lost. Contributions for the sufferers by the fire were raised, and a public funeral service, attended by military and civic societies and an immense throng of people, was held for a number of the victims who were buried together.

1859. April 16.—The store of L. & C. Speck & Co., dealers in hosiery, fancy goods, etc., No. 60 Main Street, was burned. The contents of the adjoining stores, belonging to William F. Enders & Co. and McDowell & Co., were seriously damaged by water; total loss, about one hundred thousand dollars.

June 30.—The planing-mill of Ladd, Patrick & Co., on the corner of Smith and Main Streets, and the grocery-store and dwelling of Henry Damer were consumed; loss, twenty five thousand dollars.

September 7.—The "Pilot Knob Flouring-Mill," situated at the corner of Main and Ashley Streets, was destroyed. The building was owned by Thomas A. West, and occupied by Goodwin, Miller & Co.; loss, eighteen thousand dollars.

September 10.—No. 101 North Fourth Street, occupied by James Spore, Wallace & Co., and Boggs & Leathe, was destroyed; loss, nearly eighty thousand dollars.

November 3.—A row of about twenty-five tenements on Green Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, was destroyed. The fire-engine "John M. Wimer," in making a sudden turn, ran upon the curbstone, and upsetting, fell upon and killed a son of S. S. Brainerd.

1860. July 31.—The manufactory and agricultural foundry of McMurray, Winkelmeier & Co., on the corner of Chestnut and Ninth Streets, was destroyed; loss, forty-five thousand dollars.

September 22.—More than twenty frame tenements on

Twenty-third Street, between Wash and Carr Streets, were destroyed. A little child was burned to death.

October 10.—Thomas Allen's rolling-mill, between Allen and Russell Avenues and Carondelet Avenue and Second Street, was partially consumed; loss, twenty-five thousand dollars.

1861. November 8.—The hemp-factory on the Levee at the foot of Mullanphy Street, formerly known as Blaine's hemp-factory, was destroyed; loss, one hundred thousand dollars.

1862. July 13.—The East St. Louis Hotel, the Belleville House, and six small houses were consumed.

August 27.—The drug-store of Z. T. Wetzell & Co., No. 30 Main Street, was destroyed; loss, fifty thousand dollars.

October 27.—The steamers "L. L. McGill," "H. D. Bacon," "Estella," "A. McDowell," and "W. H. Russell," with a large quantity of hemp and cotton, were destroyed; loss, about two hundred thousand dollars.

1865. January 22.—Trinity Church, corner of Eleventh Street and Washington Avenue, was burned; loss, thirty-five thousand dollars.

February 14.—The House of Refuge was partially destroyed, the damage being estimated at one hundred thousand dollars. It was supposed to be the act of an incendiary.

February 17.—Woodburn & Scott's spoke-factory, on the southeast corner of Broadway and Ashley Street, together with a large quantity of stock and machinery, was totally destroyed; loss, about two hundred thousand dollars.

1866. February 27.—The steam-flouring mill of C. W. Meier & Co., on the northwest corner of Franklin Avenue and Twenty-third Street, was destroyed. The flames spread to a Baptist Church on the opposite corner, which was also consumed. The loss on the mill was seventy thousand dollars.

May 4.—The car-house and stables of the Southern Division of the St. Louis or Fifth Street Railroad Company, on Carondelet Avenue, opposite the United States arsenal, together with one hundred and fifty horses and mules, sixteen street railway cars and other stock, was burned; total loss, about fifty-seven thousand dollars.

May 26.—Peter E. Blow's drug-store, Nos. 66 and 68 Main Street, was destroyed, and several adjoining buildings were badly injured; loss, two hundred thousand dollars.

May 30.—D. C. Freeman & Co.'s warehouse, corner of Elm and Third Streets, was burned; loss, one hundred thousand dollars.

May 31.—The Metropolitan Theatre, or Wyman's Hall, on the south side of Market Street near Fourth, with several of the adjoining buildings, was destroyed. The theatre was the property of Gen. T. L. Price, and was insured. The loss in buildings and property was about one hundred and forty thousand dollars.

August 23.—The Union Stables of Collins & Gillespie and the lumber-yard of Chapman & Thompson, on Broadway, between Bates Street and Cass Avenue, were destroyed. Serious damage was also done to the lumber-yard of Chapman & Thorp. The total value of the property destroyed amounted to about fifty thousand dollars.

1867. October 28.—The St. Vincent German Orphan Asylum, on Twentieth Street, between O'Fallon and Cass Avenues, was badly damaged by fire. The furniture was saved, the damage to the building amounting to about ten thousand dollars.

1868. March 2.—The steamers "M. S. Mepham" and "Fanny Scott," belonging to M. S. Mepham & Brother, were destroyed while lying at the wharf immediately below the Carr Street ferry landing, the loss being about eighty-five thousand dollars. The steamer "Kate Kinney" was also slightly damaged.

April 23.—The large wholesale stores of Blow, Curd & Co., Grimsley & Co., and De Greek & Co., on the west side of Main Street near Olive, were completely destroyed, together with their contents. The adjoining stores of L. & C. Speck and Clark & Brothers were badly damaged, and several others slightly. The office of the *St. Louis Price-Current* was also burned. The total loss in property and stock amounted to not less than one million dollars.

November 30.—The warehouse of Bloomfield & Co., commission merchants, with its contents was destroyed; loss, about one hundred thousand dollars.

1869. May 8.—Fire broke out in H. B. Milk's stables, corner of Sixth and Myrtle Streets, and extended to the O'Fallon Dispensary, which contained the Museum of the Academy of Sciences. The stables were destroyed, and the contents of the Museum damaged to the extent of fifteen thousand dollars.

1873. June 26.—Fagin & McQueen's pork-packing establishment, Second and O'Fallon Streets, was destroyed. There were two hundred and fifty live hogs in the building, besides large quantities of ham and many barrels of pork, which were also consumed. The loss amounted to four hundred thousand dollars.

1874. May 9.—An extensive fire occurred at Ellcardsville, on the north side of the St. Charles Rock road, between Belle Glade and Glendale Avenues. Several stores and dwellings with their contents were destroyed, entailing a loss of ten thousand dollars.

May 10.—McKittrick & Co.'s printing and book-binding establishment, No. 522 North Main Street, was burned, together with the stock and machinery, which were valued at sixty thousand dollars. The adjoining store of Westerman & Meier, dealers in crockery, glass and queensware, was slightly injured, and the stock damaged to the extent of forty-five thousand dollars, mostly insured. The stock of Henry Bell & Son, wholesale dry-goods, adjoining on the north, was also injured, their loss being about ten thousand dollars.

1875. September 28.—Several manufacturing establishments and a lumber-yard, situated on the block bounded by Poplar and Spruce Streets and Sixteenth Street and Tayon Avenue, were burned, the estimated loss amounting to fifty thousand dollars.

1877. March 4.—Gerard B. Allen's new building, on the corner of Washington Avenue and Seventh Street, occupied by H. T. Simon & Gregory as a wholesale dry-goods and notion-store and Claflin, Allen & Co. as a wholesale shoe-store, was destroyed. The building cost sixty thousand dollars, and the stock of Simon & Gregory was valued at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The tobacco-factory of Leggat, Hudson & Butler, in the southern portion of St. Louis, together with all the machinery and stock, was destroyed on the same day, the loss amounting to about sixty thousand dollars, partly covered by insurance.

1879. April 4.—The block bounded by Washington Avenue and St. Charles Street and Fourth and Fifth Streets was almost entirely destroyed. William Ruetz and Fred. Niesson, belonging to the pompier corps of Hook-and-Ladder Company No. 3, and George W. Farant, agent of the National Guard Association, were killed by falling walls. The loss was estimated at three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Among the principal losers by the fire were the Mercantile and Real Estate Association, Appleton, Noyes & Maude, Hamilton & Co., Mack & Co., Jacobs Brothers & Hoffman, Dodd, Brown & Co., J. M. Randall, Morgan estate, Miss S. H. Lackey, W. H. Klein, J. H. Myer & Brother, B. Monti, White, Altheimer & Co., Miller, Grant & Co., Skinner & Co., Armory Hall building. The loss was partly covered by insurance.

May 10.—The warehouses of Gauss, Hunicke & Co., R. & W. Goldstein, and A. Frankenthal, Chase & Calbot, 401 to 409 North Fifth Street, together with the stock in them, were partially destroyed. The loss amounted to three hundred thousand dollars, mostly covered by insurance. On the same day,

in East St. Louis, the Union Warehouse, Yokum & Co.'s warehouse, and the freight depot of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, with their contents, together with thirty-six cars filled with freight, entailing a loss of about sixty thousand dollars.

August 15.—Elevator B, located on the west side of the Levee, between Lombard Street and Chouteau Avenue, together with a large quantity of grain, was destroyed. The building belonged to the Central Elevator Company, and was valued at about sixty thousand dollars.

1880. August 17.—The Yaeger Mills, on the east side of Mercer Street, near Clark Avenue, were totally destroyed. A large piece of burning timber from the mills fell upon the roof of the St. Louis Riding School, or the Old Rink, at Nineteenth and Pine Streets, and ignited it, causing the destruction of the building. The St. Louis Light Guard and Battery A, St. Louis Light Artillery, lost many of their carbines, sabres, uniforms, etc., which were in the building, the loss to the companies and the adjutant-general's department aggregating about five thousand dollars. The total loss upon the Yaeger Mills and the Rink was not far short of half a million dollars.

August 25.—J. G. Cameron & Co.'s planing-mill and the lumber offices and yards of Knapp, Stout & Co., on the corner of Bremen Avenue and Main Street, together with about three million feet of lumber belonging to John Myers, were destroyed. The loss was estimated at one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars.

September 13.—Scarritt's furniture-store, Moeller's notion-store, and the establishments of T. J. Merritt and Hamilton & Co. were burned. The stock of J. & T. Swallow and Leonard Roos was badly damaged by water, the total loss being estimated at one hundred and thirty-one thousand dollars.

December 23.—Kehlor's Pacific Flouring-Mills were destroyed. One fireman was killed and others injured by the falling walls. The loss amounted to one hundred thousand dollars; covered by insurance to the extent of forty-six thousand dollars.

The destruction by fire this year was larger than during any previous year subsequent to the organization of the paid department.

1881. January 9.—The Broadway Foundry and Machine-Shops and a number of small stores were burned to the ground; loss, about seventy-five thousand dollars.

July 13.—The foundry of the Excelsior Manufactory, corner of Smith and Lewis Streets, was burned; loss, about ninety thousand dollars.

February 5.—The building and stock of the Greeley-Burnham Grocer Company, the establishment of Peckham & Co., confectioners, and S. B. Sale & Co.'s grocery-house were destroyed. Three firemen were injured by the falling walls.

May 28.—The Collier White-Lead Works, on Tenth Street and Clark Avenue, were destroyed by fire for the third time.

August 12.—The Atlantic Mills, on the corner of Plum and Main Streets, were struck by lightning and completely destroyed. Almost in an instant the entire building was in flames, and its destruction was inevitable from the start. Many of the adjoining tenements were also consumed. There were many narrow escapes from death. The loss amounted to about two hundred thousand dollars. During the storm, Anheuser's brewery, corner of Eighth and Pestalozzi Streets, was also struck by lightning, and sustained a damage of about ten thousand dollars.

September 21.—The Collier White-Lead Works, in the block between Ninth and Tenth Streets and Clark Avenue and Walnut Street, together with many surrounding buildings, were burned. The corroding sheds of the works were totally destroyed. The loss was estimated at one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars.

CHAPTER XXI.

EDUCATION.

In almost every community the public school is of comparatively recent origin and was preceded by the private school. The humble pedagogue was the forerunner of the modern educator, and upon the foundations of the log school-house were erected those splendid institutions now the pride and ornaments of our cities. The early settlers of St. Louis were too busily occupied with the necessities of their physical welfare to devote the time and attention to mental culture which were even then bestowed in the older communities of the New World. The fur-trading post of Laclede, from its selection in 1764, was without any school, as far as appears from the records, until the arrival from New Orleans of John Baptiste Trudeau, in 1774. "He is the only instructor whose name is mentioned in the French records. His education entitled him to the patronage which he received. The sons of the principal men of the town were confided to his tuition, and the children of his cousin, Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau, were educated by him. According to Paxton's Directory, Mr. Trudeau was in 1821 still pursuing his vocation, his school being then located on the south side of Pine Street, between Main and Second Streets. He taught school in St. Louis about half a century[1] and died in poverty, the profession to which he had devoted his life having barely afforded him the means of subsistence.[2]

"The second school of which there is any record was kept by Madame Marie Payant Rigauche. This school was opened in the beginning of 1797, in Joseph Mainville's old log house, on the east side of Main Street, just south of Locust. Madame Rigauche taught for about two years. It is probable that she retired in 1799, for after that year no record mentions the existence of her school.

"Under French and Spanish rule, the language used in the schools of St. Louis was French. It may

[1] In 1825, J. B. Trudeau, Sr., stated that "he has resided in St. Louis fifty-one years."—*Hunt's Minutes*, vol. iii. p. 62.

[2] John B. Trudeau was born in 1748 in Canada, son of Joseph Trudeau and Caroline Menard, and married in 1781 Madelaine Le Roy, widow of Francis Hebert (Belhomme), daughter of Julien Roy and Barbara Saucier. Their children were: 1. John Baptiste, born in 1782, died 1783. A child in 1785. 2. Euphrosine, in 1787, married to Louis Bissette in 1803, secondly to Joseph Leblond in 1812, and thirdly to John B. Bercier in 1829. 3. Louis, in 1794, married Archange Du Mouchet in 1814. 4. John B., in 1800. 5. Aspasie, in 1803, died 1804. 6. Adrienne, married Antoine Citoleur, 1813. Trudeau died in 1827, aged seventy-nine years.

naturally be presumed that the instruction was very superficial. The school-books were of the most elementary character. Even in the case of the richer families the teaching was confined to a few of the principal branches, while the poorer children, from the inability of their parents to do better, either received no instruction or were taught only the simplest rudiments. The course of study then comprised only reading, writing, spelling, and possibly the elements of arithmetic. It is quite doubtful if grammar and geography were ever included in the instruction of that period.

"The schools kept by Trudeau and Madame Rigauche are probably the only ones that existed under the French and Spanish *régime*.

"The first English school in St. Louis was established in 1804, by a man named Rotchford. His successor was George Tompkins, of Virginia, who became chief justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri. The debating society instituted in connection with Mr. Tompkins' school became famous for the ability of its members and the brilliancy of its discussions. It was in this training-school that Joshua Barton and Edward Bates developed and disciplined forensic powers which at a later day achieved distinction in the councils of the nation.

"After the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, in 1804, intercourse between the different sections of the country became more general, and the young men of St. Louis began to be sent away from home to be educated. The seminaries established in Lexington, Bardstown, and Springfield, Ky., had already attained a reputation for their excellence. To these institutions many St. Louis youth were sent. Gabriel S. Chouteau spent a part of his school days in the academy at Lexington.

"In 1804–5 several young men went from St. Louis to West Point and graduated with distinction. Of this number was Charles Gratiot, Jr., who in 1836 became chief of the United States Engineer Corps. Robert Lucas, the eldest son of Judge John B. C. Lucas, Baronet Vasquez, and, later, Pharamond Chouteau, son of Pierre Chouteau, Sr., were members of West Point."[1]

As St. Louis grew in population, the subject of education at home naturally received attention; and in the files of the *Missouri Gazette*, beginning with the simple announcement on the 17th of October, 1808, of "a number of school-books for sale at the printing-office of this paper," the advertisements of schools show the gradual development of public interest in this important subject. On the 11th of January, 1809, Christopher Friederich Schewe, formerly professor in the Lycée Academy of Paris, lately minister of the gospel at Pittsburgh, informed "the respectable inhabitants of St. Louis that he intends to establish a school in town, in which will be taught the French and English languages grammatically, both the French to the English and the English to the French. On request, the subscriber will likewise teach arithmetic, geography, geometry, and any other branch of the mathematics; likewise drawing, as well from free hand as architecture, civil, and military. He will immediately open an evening school, from seven to nine o'clock, for grown persons whose occupations may prevent their attendance at the day school. He would be willing to employ his leisure hours in giving particular lessons. He lodges at present at John Coons', Esq., coppersmith." Professsor Waterhouse locates Mr. Schewe's school "at the house of Mr. Alvarez, Market Street," and adds that he "subsequently became a painter and glazier." In 1810 we find C. F. Schewe advertising that he "will continue to give lessons in the French language, as well at his lodgings as at the dwellings of those who may favor him with their employment. He gives notice to the public at large that he has a quantity of candles, moulded from the best deer's tallow, on hand, which he will sell cheap for cash."

While Mr. Schewe was thus eking out an humble livelihood by teaching French and moulding deer-tallow candles, Pierre St. Martin (Sept. 20, 1809) offered the accomplishments of "dancing, fencing, and the use of the broadsword to the citizens of St. Louis at Mr. Yosti's, where he hopes to receive the patronage of the public, and where all the new European dances (particularly the waltz) are taught in the handsomest style; lessons in fencing and the use of the broadsword will be given at the same place; every exertion will be made to perfect his scholars in each science. Private lessons in either branch will be given to those who wish it. For terms (which shall be moderate) apply to the subscriber at Mr. Yosti's." On Nov. 16, 1809, Isaac Septlivres proposed to teach drawing, geography, mathematics, and French grammar at Vincent Bouis'; and on May 1, 1810, George Tompkins advertised that he "will open a school in St. Louis, in the house of Mr. Alverez, on Monday, May 7, 1810.' The following unique advertisement in the *Missouri Gazette* of May 9, 1812, shows the mixed nature of education in the early days of the city. "Young Ladies' Academy. Encouraged by the friendly advice of several ladies of this place, I will open an academy for the instruc-

[1] From Professor Sylvester Waterhouse.

tion of young ladies. I will teach young ladies reading, writing, the French grammar, arithmetic, and geography. Should any parents wish their children to learn the English grammar grammatically, I will have an assistant capable to teach it. Select reading, either ancient or modern history or morality, will enlighten their minds as well as form their hearts. Sewing, embroidery, etc., will fill up the intervals of their lessons. Those who will come in the morning after breakfast will dine and pass the day, and return in the evening. Seventy-two dollars per annum for the class expenses, as above, accepted. Those who will board entirely at home, and will only come to take their lessons, thirty-five dollars per annum for the class expenses, same conditions. Finally, for those who are younger, and not susceptible of the same instructions, twenty-four dollars per annum, the same expenses as above excepted. Teachers of the different branches of the fine arts, such as drawing, dancing, etc., shall be paid separately; for drawing, nine dollars a quarter for one lesson every day, pencils, paper, etc., excepted; for dancing, the same price, three lessons every week. I shall begin on the 20th of this month, at Mr. Sanguinet's house, Second Street. Ve. Pescay." On Aug. 7, 1812, I. Septlivres and G. Tompkins associated their schools, and on May 8, 1813, Mrs. Jane Richards advertised to "commence school at the house of Manuel Lisa, Second Street, formerly occupied by Doctor Simpson." George Tompkins gave up his school June 11, 1814, and studied law. On the 5th of July, 1814, N. B. Nichols respectfully informed the public that "he proposes opening a school for the art of writing on a new elementary and systematic plan, which, by the use of the thirteen lessons of two hours each, persons at a proper age and common capacity may acquire with a little practice a fair, regular, and elegant handwriting with ease and dispatch, as capitals, figures, large and small Roman hands, running and mercantile hands, and the art of making an elegant pen in the best and most approved manner. The room lately occupied as a sheriff's office, on the street leading to the court-house, opposite Col. Chouteau's lot, will be ready on Monday next to receive pupils."

On Jan. 1, 1815, C. Stewart began a night school at the house of E. Beebe; Aug. 5, 1815, James Sawyer opened a school on the Lancastrian system at Mr. Beebe's; Jan. 23, 1816, "A. C. Vanhurtune has the honor to inform the ladies and gentlemen of St. Louis that he has an excellent piano for teaching upon that instrument at the corner house adjoining the office of the *Gazette*, where the clarionet will also be taught. The room is intended for a musical academy only, and where a large collection of music and musical instruments are expected shortly." June 1, 1816, Timothy Flint and James Sawyer associated "for the purpose of continuing to teach the first principles of education upon the Lancastrian system, and the higher branches, as grammar, geography, with the use of maps and globes, composition, rhetoric, the Latin and Greek languages, mathematics, and philosophy. They propose to pay particular attention to letter-writing, a branch of education the most indispensable, and at the same time most neglected. They will strive to teach their pupils a correct elocution and to deliver with propriety, while no principles of religion will be taught that militate with any form of Christian worship. They pledge themselves to parents that they will watch over the manners, the morals, the improvement and happiness of their pupils with undeviating strictness and fidelity." On the 14th of September, 1816, Michael Cusahe established a day and night school, adding to the ordinary branches those of surveying, including trigonometry, heights and distances; Oct. 12, 1816, the Rev. Mr. Giddings opened school; May 27, 1817, Robert S. Letts commenced a school on Main Street, next below Wilt's store; Oct. 25, 1817, Mr. Durocher opened a dancing-school; Dec. 27, 1817, the Revs. Messrs. Peck and Welch, Baptist missionaries, announced that on Jan. 1, 1818, they would open an academy for teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, etc.; Jan. 23, 1818, it was announced that "almost every denomination of Christian—Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist—have now their teachers, and it requires only a benign sentiment and a zealous regard for the welfare of the rising generation to contribute generously to the erection of temples dedicated to worship and halls of learning." Jan. 3, 1818, the Rev. Salmon Giddings established his school for young ladies, on the southwest side of Market Street, above Fourth; Oct. 23, 1818, the Rev. Mr. Neil, assisted by three other Catholic priests, under the auspices and superintendence of the Right Rev. Bishop Dubourg, opened an academy for young gentlemen in the house of Mrs. Alvarez, Church Street; terms, twelve dollars per quarter, payable in advance; books and stationery at the expense of the parents, each pupil must have a bag to bring and carry out his books, for the eventual loss of which the masters do not hold themselves answerable."

On Sept. 8, 1818, Mrs. Perdreauville opened her young ladies' school, and on June 2, 1819, Mr. and Mrs. Hinckley began their young ladies' academy, "at the house lately occupied by Mr. Guest, one door north of William C. Carr's, Esq." P. Sullivan

established a school at Mrs. Bennet's, on Main Street, commencing on Jan. 19, 1820, and on Jan. 26, 1820, Miss P. Lefevre opened her young ladies' academy at Michel Tesson's house on Main Street; April 12, 1820, Edward McManus commenced his juvenile school at Papin's stone house, up-stairs, on Main Street. "In the fall of 1820 the college established by Bishop Dubourg was opened. The edifice was built of brick, and situated on the site of the first old log church, on Second Street below Market. The following are the names of the faculty at the opening of the institution: the Rev. Francis Neil, curate of the cathedral, President; Rev. Leon Deys, Professor of Languages; Rev. Andreas Ferrari, Professor of Ancient Languages; Rev. Aristides Anduze, Professor of Mathemathics; Rev. Michael Saulnier, Professor of Languages; Mr. Samuel Smith, Professor of Languages; Mr. Patrick Sullivan, Professor of Ancient Languages; Mr. Francis M. Guyot, Professor of Writing and Drawing; Mr. John Martin, Prefect of the Studies. The St. Louis University sprang from this parentage."[1]

The private schools in 1821 were those of Mrs. Agnes Gay, ladies' seminary, Third Street above Market Street; Mrs. Lucinda Snow, ladies' seminary, southwest corner Main and Pine Streets; Miss Lefevre, French seminary, northwest corner Main and Elm Streets; Rev. Salmon Giddings, school for boys, south side of Market west of Fourth; Zebulon Pendleton, school for boys, southwest corner Third and Spruce; Francis Rochford, school for boys, north side of St. Charles Street above Fifth Street; William Machlin, school for boys, southwest corner of Second and Prune Streets; Moses E. Wilson, school for boys, North Third Street above the Bastion; Maurice Laurent, writing-school, 46 South Main; Francis Regnier, French school, northwest corner of Second and Poplar Streets; John B. Trudeau, south side of Pine Street above Main. On April 2, 1823, Mrs. Mary Lewis Elliott, "lately from Ste. Genevieve, formerly of Connecticut," succeeded Mrs. Gay at the Female Academy of St. Louis, at the house formerly occupied as the Episcopal Church, and on April 19, 1824, Mrs. Francis Carr opened her seminary for young ladies, with the following prices of tuition: Higher branches, per quarter, five dollars; lower, four dollars; music, ten dollars.

The advertisements of private schools after 1823 grow less in number each year, and though many of the old-established schools and seminaries withstood the gradual growth of the public schools and continued to prosper, but few new schools are announced. On Jan. 11, 1827, was opened the St. Louis Philanthropic School for one hundred and twenty scholars, conducted by Edward Baker, with terms at six dollars per annum.

At a meeting of the citizens of St. Louis, held at the Episcopal Church on Tuesday, 16th, and Thursday, 18th of February, 1830, a society was formed for the purpose of establishing an infant school in the city. Joseph C. Brown was chairman and William S. Olmstead secretary of the meeting. A constitution was adopted, which included the following articles:

"ART. 1. This society shall be denominated the Infant School Society of St. Louis.

"ART. 2. The object shall be the gratuitous education of children under six years of age, but they shall also admit to the school pay-children, provided the number of pay-scholars shall at no time exceed one hundred in any one school."

The following persons were elected officers of the society:

President, Col. John O'Fallon; Vice-Presidents, Dr. William Carr Lane, George Collier; Secretary, Dr. George W. Call; Treasurer, J. V. Garnier; Executive Committee, Thomas Cohen, Dr. H. L. Hoffman, Matthew Kerr.

Managers, Mrs. John Smith, Mrs. Glasgow, Mrs. Gay, Mrs. Spalding, Mrs. Hough, Mrs. Hoffman, Mrs. William Carr Lane, Mrs. Collier, Mrs. McNair, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. P. Chouteau, Mrs. Matthew Kerr, Mrs. Call, Mrs. Shackford, Mrs. Wahrendorff.

The first report of the board of managers of the Infant School Society of St. Louis was made on June 1, 1831. The Infant School Society was the first effort which the community made towards securing that most desirable object,—equal advantages of education to all. By the liberality of the subscribers it was enabled to open the doors of its school to the whole community.

Directly after the organization of the society, correspondence was opened with a lady in Philadelphia relative to a teacher and the requisite apparatus for a school, which resulted in obtaining the services of Mrs. Mary Eastburn, who was brought to St. Louis from Philadelphia by David B. Ayers, of Jacksonville. The school went into operation on the 14th of June, 1830, with twenty-one pupils. The managers admitted pay-scholars to the institution at fifty cents per month. The school continued gradually to increase from that time up to the making of the first annual report. The whole number of pupils that were received during the year was one hundred and sixty-seven. The number at the time of making the first annual report was ninety-six, which was the highest number that had been in the school at one time.

[1] Professor Waterhouse.

"The whole number of pupils that were presented to the school for gratuitous instruction during the year," says the report, "has been but twenty-two, and the number now in the school upon this foundation is only eight. Still it is proper, to avoid misconception on this subject, to state that the actual number of pay-scholars in the school is not more than sixty. In many cases of delinquency the money will probably be paid, but in others the board feels satisfied that delicacy is the only reason that prevents the families from availing themselves profitably of the benevolent views of the constitution in extending aid to them, and that their circumstances are such as to preclude the expectation of the payment, at least with any regularity. During the last year two hundred and fifty dollars were raised by subscription, as will be seen by the report of the treasurer, which has all been paid out, together with the whole sum from tuition from the pay-scholars. The expenses would, of course, be heavier than in those succeeding, on account of the furniture and other expenses for materials not perishable which remain on hand. But the income from pay-scholars will fall considerably short of supporting the establishment."

The above report was rendered at an anniversary celebration of the society, held at the Presbyterian Church on the 1st of June. In the absence of the president and vice-president, Alexander Douglass was called to the chair, and W. S. Olmstead was appointed secretary *pro tem.* The meeting having been opened with prayer, the report was read by Rev. W. S. Potts, in the absence of the secretary, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Joseph C. Brown, president; Silas Drake, treasurer; George Collier, John Shackford, vice-presidents; Matthew Kerr, Hezekiah King, executive committee; Dr. George W. Call, secretary; Board of Managers, Mrs. Matthew Kerr, Mrs. Shackford, Mrs. Drake, Mrs. C. Skinner, Mrs. Blood, Mrs. E. Charless, Mrs. Peck, Mrs. King, Mrs. Sibonds, Mrs. Ranney, Miss Mary Hopkins, Mrs. William Wiggins, Mrs. Giddings, Miss Eliza Collins, Mrs. Beverly Allen.

Subscription-cards were circulated, and the sum of twenty-seven dollars and twenty-five cents was subscribed by individuals present at the meeting. The receipts during the year amounted to four hundred and seventy-nine dollars and seventy-two cents, all of which sum was expended.

On Sept. 16, 1833, J. B. Tucker, a graduate of Yale University, opened his classical school for boys, and on Aug. 29, 1844, the Missouri Literary, Scientific and Military Institute, under Maj. A. J. Dorn and Prof. James V. A. Shields, A.B., commenced operation at the corner of Seventh and Elm Streets.

"We learn with much pleasure," says the *Republican* of March 12, 1846, "that an institution of learning of very high order is about to be established in this city. The college building, we understood, to be located on property donated by Mr. John O'Fallon, who is also a liberal contributor in money. Other subscriptions have also been made, and the whole undertaking has a most cheering aspect. The officers of this institution have been already selected, and consist of the following gentlemen: Col. John O'Fallon, president of the board; Rev. T. Horrell, Gen. W. Milburn, H. S. Geyer, Esq., James Russell, Esq., James E. Yeatman, Esq., Dr. J. W. Hall.

"The *Era* says that at a meeting of the board the Rev. E. Carter Hutchinson, A.M., was appointed president of the institution and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Science. Mr. J. W. Sunderland, A.M., was elected to the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy, and Mr. Edward Barry to the chair of modern languages. The acting faculty will fill the department of ancient languages until a professor be appointed. Temporary accommodations have been procured at the corner of Fourth and Olive Streets, and the exercises of the institution will commence on Monday next, the 16th instant."

On May 2, 1851, the same paper announced that an effort was being made to organize the Missouri Reform School, and said,—

"It is proposed to organize a 'house of refuge' for juvenile offenders, and by the act, when a certain amount is raised for the purpose by private subscription, the State is to give an equal sum towards the erection and support of the institution. Several generous citizens have already proffered liberal subscriptions to the object, and others stand ready to do the same.

"Our purpose now is to remind the corporators named in the act that a meeting will be held this evening at four o'clock, in the mayor's office, to take measures for an organization. It is important that all should be present, that incipient steps may be taken with such caution and zeal as will secure successful results.

"The following are the names of the corporators mentioned in the act, viz.: Col. John O'Fallon, L. M. Kennett, John Cavender, Asa Wilgus, John G. Shelton, David Prince, Charles H. Haven, John B. Camden, George K. Budd, Edward F. Pittman, Wayman Crow, J. B. Crockett, A. B. Chambers."

On Oct. 22, 1852, it added,—

"The Legislature at its last session passed an act incorporating an institution with the title Missouri Juvenile Reform School, with the following-named persons as a board of directors:

"John O'Fallon, Luther M. Kennett, John Cavander, Asa Wilgus, John G. Shelton, David Prince, Charles H. Haven, John B. Camden, George K. Budd, George Trask, Edward F. Pittman, Wayman Crow, Joseph B. Crockett, and A. B. Chambers.

"The act authorizes the city of St. Louis to subscribe thirty thousand dollars to the institution, and authorizes the board to organize when ten thousand dollars is subscribed by individuals."

The *Republican* on the 27th of February, 1853, again referring to this subject, says that,—

"It was mentioned a few days since that the county court had authorized a subscription of ten thousand dollars to the Juvenile Reform School. A proposition for additional subscriptions and donations is now pending in the City Council. The bill introduced in the Board of Aldermen on Friday provides as follows, to wit: That block No. 80, in the city common, containing thirty-eight acres, being the block known as the poor-house or old county farm, and now occupied in part as a smallpox hospital, be donated with all its buildings and appurtenances to the board of managers of the Juvenile Reformed School and their successors, and the mayor be directed to execute a deed for the same to the said board, reserving, however, such claim as the St. Louis Board of Public Schools may have therein.

"Also that possession of these grounds and buildings shall be given to the board of managers as soon as a suitable place can be prepared for the reception of smallpox patients, on Arsenal Island or elsewhere, and that the Board of Health be empowered and instructed to erect immediately the buildings necessary for a hospital.

"Also that the mayor be directed to issue ten bonds for one thousand dollars each, having no more than twenty-five years to run, and bearing six per cent. per annum interest, payable semi-annually, for the benefit of the said Reform School; provided, however, that this issue of city bonds shall be submitted to and authorized by the people at an election to be held for this purpose."

The Public Schools of St. Louis are among the most efficient educational institutions in this country. Munificently endowed by the Federal government, they have also been most liberally sustained by public taxation, and as the city has grown in population and wealth, the scheme of instruction has been widened until the system equals, if it does not surpass, that of any city in the Union. The principal source of this prosperity is to be found in the early liberality with which Congress provided for carrying into effect the treaty of cession of Louisiana. The third article of this treaty reads as follows:

"The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess."

In pursuance of this article Congress passed the following acts for ascertaining and adjusting titles and claims to land in Louisiana: Act of March 26, 1804; act of March 2, 1805; act of Feb. 26, 1806; act of April 21, 1806; act of March 3, 1807, and act of June 13, 1812.[1]

In these acts of Congress will be found the origin of that rich grant of land to the public schools which has been growing in value and increasing in annual revenue, year by year, as the city has extended its area of wealth and business. The act of Congress of the 13th of June, 1812, provides,—

"That the rights, titles, and claims to town or village lots, common field lots, and commons in, adjoining, and belonging to the several towns or villages of Portage des Sioux, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Ferdinand, Ville à Robert, Carondelet, Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid, New Bourbon, Little Prairie, and Arkansas, in the Territory of Missouri, which lots have been inhabited, cultivated, or possessed prior to the twentieth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and three, shall be, and the same are hereby, confirmed to the inhabitants of the respective towns or villages aforesaid, according to their several right or rights in common thereto; *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to affect the rights of any person claiming the said lands, or any part thereof, whose claims have been confirmed by the board of commissioners for adjusting and settling claims to lands in the said Territory. And it shall be the duty of the principal deputy surveyor of the said Territory, as soon as may be, to survey, or cause to be surveyed, and marked (where the same has not been already done according to law) the out-boundary lines of the said several towns or villages, so as to include the out-lots, common field lots, and commons thereto respectively belonging. And he shall make out plots of the surveys, which he shall transmit to the surveyor-general, who shall forward copies of the same plats to the commissioner of the general land office, and to the recorder of land titles. The expense of surveying the said out-boundary lines shall be paid by the United States out of any moneys appropriated for surveying the public lands: *Provided*, That the whole expense shall not exceed three dollars for every mile that shall be actually surveyed and marked.

"SEC. 2. That all town or village lots, out-lots, or common field lots included in such surveys, which are not rightfully owned or claimed by any private individuals, or held as commons belonging to such towns or villages, or that the President of the United States may not think proper to reserve for military purposes, shall be, and the same are hereby, reserved for the support of schools in the respective towns or villages aforesaid; *Provided*, That the whole quantity of land contained in the lots reserved for the support of schools in any one town or village shall not exceed one-twentieth part of the whole land included in the general survey of such town or village."

On the 12th of July, 1813, C. B. Penrose, chairman of the town trustees, called the subject of the school property, as reserved in the act of Congress, to the attention of the trustees; upon which the board took action, instructing the chairman, Mr. Penrose, to ascertain, so far as in his power lay, what lots had been vacant prior to the act of Congress of the year 1812, and which lots were then by said act the property of the town of St. Louis; and he was further empowered to lease said lots to individuals for a term not exceeding three years, particularly such lots as had been intruded on. On the 20th of August, Chairman Penrose reported to the board a correspondence with the Governor on the subject of the lots which the President of the United States had the power of reserving for military purposes, and also recited in detail that there were vacant lots amounting to one hundred and forty-seven and a half arpens, and that the number of lots in and adjoining the town could not be ascertained except without a survey, but that there would not in all the quantity granted by the act of Congress, viz., the twentieth part of the whole.

At a meeting of the trustees of the town,[2] at which

[1] Committee Report of the Board of President and Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools relative to the Real Estate of the Board, 1858.

[2] Among those who held seats in the board of town trustees we find the names of the following: Elijah Beebe, Thomas Brady, Pierre Didier, Manuel Lisa, Alexander McNair, John Norvell, Clement B. Penrose, Réné Paul, Risdon H. Price, Thomas F. Riddick, Charles Sanguinette, Robert Simpson, Moses Scott, and Henry Von Phul.

C. B. Penrose, chairman, and Messrs. Price, McNair, M. Lisa, and P. Didier were present, the chairman presented his correspondence with the Governor, as well as his action under the resolution as to leasing the lots, and recommended a survey as necessary, which recommendation was on the 25th of December adopted, and authority given to the chairman to employ a surveyor for "the purpose of regulating the streets, and to lay out such lots as may be vacant and now, by act of Congress, the property of the town of St. Louis." At a meeting of the board of trustees, May 13, 1814, the chairman, Mr. Penrose, stated that he had been unable to carry into effect the resolution respecting the town surveys. It does not appear that in the year 1815 any material progress was made towards procuring the survey of the vacant lots, although in March of that year the board of trustees "*Resolved*, That the chairman of the board of trustees cause a survey of the town of St. Louis, under his superintendence." And on December 16th it was further "*Resolved*, By the board of trustees for the incorporation of St. Louis, that Mr. William Rector be and he is hereby requested forthwith to complete the survey of the town of St. Louis, and to make out three fair plots of the same, and lay them before the trustees of said town." Again, Saturday, Jan. 3, 1818, the board of trustees "*Resolved*, *unanimously*, That the chairman of the board of trustees be authorized to have made a survey of the town of St. Louis, such as it stood in the year 1803, and that he cause a plat of the said survey to be taken by the surveyor of the county of St. Louis, to be made out for the use of the board." The difficulty of ascertaining what lands were "rightfully owned or claimed by individuals" prior to the 20th day of December, 1803 (the day the French commander gave possession to the United States), was one not easy to overcome. To determine what were the lands actually "inhabited, cultivated, or possessed" on that day, and which were confirmed to the owners, was the work entrusted to the board of commissioners under the act of 1812. The decision of this board as to who were entitled to lands did not give satisfaction either to the claimants or to the board of trustees of the town of St. Louis. The claimants' "representatives," not heirs, kept the matter of lands belonging to the town unsettled, and by the use of "influence" shaped the legislation of Congress in their interest rather than in that of the schools of St. Louis. The act of Congress of March 3, 1813, and of the 12th of April, 1814, were wholly in the interests of the "claimants," and the act of April 29, 1816, confirmed the decisions of the commissioners, which were "in favor of the claimants."

Consequent upon these acts settling the village claims, and upon the petition of the town trustees of Jan. 8, 1815, the Legislature of the Territory of Missouri established a board of school trustees for the town of St. Louis, as follows:

"AN ACT *to incorporate a board of trustees for superintending schools in the town of St. Louis:*

"SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Territory of Missouri, that William Clark, William C. Carr, Thos. H. Benton, Bernard Pratte, Auguste Chouteau, Alex. McNair, and John P. Cabanné, and such other persons as shall be appointed in manner and to the number hereinafter directed, shall form and constitute a board of trustees for the regulation of schools in the town of St. Louis, and the said corporation, and their successors, are constituted and declared a body corporate and politic, and shall have full power to take and hold, by gift, grant, or otherwise, any estate, real or personal, which may be given for the use of schools; and to lease, rent, and dispose of to the best advantage all lands and other property which hath been or may be given by Congress to said town for the support of schools, and appropriate the same, with the avails of what is rented or leased, as by law directed; and by themselves or by attorneys to institute, maintain, or defend any suit or suits which shall be sued or prosecuted, either in law or equity, for the recovery or defense of said property, as they shall find necessary; to employ teachers to direct the studies of the youth; to make and establish all necessary rules, regulations, and by-laws for the government of said schools; *Provided, however*, that the rules, regulations, and by-laws shall not be repugnant to the laws of this Territory; *and Provided, also*, that the said by-laws shall not tend to give a preference to any religious denomination whatever.

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the said trustees shall have power to fill all vacancies which may happen by death, removal, or otherwise; and where and as often as they may deem it necessary to promote the interest of said schools, to appoint other persons in addition to their number.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the person first named in the board of trustees be empowered to call the first meeting of the board of trustees, at such time and place as he may think proper; and when convened the said trustees shall appoint a chairman, and adopt regulations for their own proceedings; shall take into consideration the grants and donations for the use of schools, and devise means for securing the same and of putting them in a state of profit; and as soon as the state of the funds which may be appropriated will justify, shall erect or procure suitable buildings, and provide the necessary apparatus for instruction, and transact such other business as they shall find necessary and proper to be done towards establishing schools in the town of St. Louis.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the trustees shall keep records of their proceedings, and when required, shall lay them, with the state of the funds and the appropriations by them made, before the Legislature of the Territory.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after the passage thereof.

"EDWARD HEMPSTEAD,
"*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*
"JOHN WARD,
"*President of the Legislative Council.*

"Approved January 30, 1817.

"WILLIAM CLARK,
"*Governor of Missouri Territory.*"

Agreeably to the provisions of this act, Governor

Clark called a meeting of the board of trustees at his office in St. Louis on the 4th day of April, 1817, at which were present Governor Clark, Auguste Chouteau, Alexander McNair, William C. Carr, and Thomas H. Benton. Governor Clark was chosen chairman, and Thomas H. Benton secretary *pro tem.*[1]

The resolutions adopted at this meeting by the trustees for the regulation of their own proceedings are as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the chairman for the time being shall have power to call, at such time and place as he shall think proper, in the town of St. Louis, all future meetings of this board, by notice in a public paper or by writing under his hand, or by an order through the secretary of the board.

"*Resolved*, That all questions submitted for the determination of the board shall be decided by a majority of voices, the votes to be called for and delivered *viva voce*; but the *yeas* and *nays* shall be taken and entered of record upon the decision of any question, when the same shall be called for by any one member and seconded by another, and any person voting in the minority shall have the right to enter the reasons of his dissent upon the records of the board.

"*Resolved*, That the chairman of this board instruct the secretary *pro tempore* to obtain from the surveyor-general's office, kept by Gen. William Rector, a plat of the survey of the town of St. Louis, showing the town lots, the out-lots, if any, included in the said survey, and such or so many thereof as may be vacant, or not rightfully owned or claimed by any individuals, or held as commons by the said town of St. Louis, and lay the same before a meeting of this board as soon as possible.

"*Resolved*, That the secretary procure a blank-book in which to record the proceedings of this board, and that he enter therein the act of the General Assembly of the Territory of Missouri incorporating this board, and so much of the act of Congress of the United States as may have made any donation of lots or lands for the benefit of schools in the town of St. Louis.

"*Resolved*, That the proceedings of the present meeting of the board of trustees be authenticated by the signature of the chairman and each member present, and that all future proceedings of the board be authenticated by the signature of the chairman and the attestation of the secretary.

"And the board adjourned, to meet again at the office of Governor Clark on Thursday, the 19th instant, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

(Signed by) "WILLIAM CLARK.
"THOMAS H. BENTON.
"WILLIAM C. CARR.
"AUG. CHOUTEAU.
"A. MCNAIR."

The loss of the records of this board renders it impossible to present a connected narrative of its efforts in behalf of the early public schools, but letters found in the school archives from Josiah Meigs, of the general land office, of dates 26th August, 1817, and 3d of November, 1817, addressed to "His Excellency William Clark, Chairman Board of Trustees of Schools, St. Louis," show that the board succeeded in performing a most valuable service in protecting the school lands from the entry of New Madrid certificates.[2]

The survey of Gen. Rector, though mentioned in a note by Bishop Dubourg, Sept. 4, 1822, as "promised to them" (Bishop Dubourg and Col. Benton) with the statement that in the space of three or four weeks, at most, the committee should be furnished with a plat of all the vacant lands in and about St. Louis, was not received from the surveyor until 184[illegible].

While waiting for the surveys of the out-boundaries, the board of trustees proceeded to lease the lots inside the town, and in the *Missouri Gazette* of April 17, 1817, is to be found the following advertisement:

"PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given that the undersigned, chairman of the board of trustees for supporting schools in the town of St. Louis, will on the 3d day of May next rent to the highest bidder, until Christmas next, the houses and other tenements on the vacant lots and vacant grounds within the survey of the town of St. Louis, and which belong, by a law of Congress, to the schools which may be established in said town. All persons who may be in possession of any part of said property will immediately make known to Joseph V. Garnier, secretary of the board, the nature and extent of their possessions, and from whom derived. Those persons actually in possession of any part of the aforesaid property may, prior to the said 3d day of May next, obtain preference in leasing by application to the undersigned. Bond and approved security for the payment of the rent, and the performance of such covenant as may be agreed on, will be expected from those who lease.

"Portions of land intended to offer for lease:

"1st. Jail, and ten feet around; and 2d. Court-house, so as to parallel with street, to the ditch and north to the old ditch at intersection of Fourth and Walnut Streets, in blocks 103 and 104.

"3d. The land between the gully and town lots, bounded by Cross Street, and passes by Cerre's (blocks 160, 158, etc.).

"4th. The log house and all the land between Chouteau's line and the town line east (same blocks as No. 4).

"5th. The lands back of Mrs. Alvarez's (block 85).

"6th. Back of Capt. Brady's (block 85).

"7th. Round-tower or jail, and lands back of Capt. Pratte (presumed block 87).

"8th. Land back of next square (presumed block 88).

"9th. Back of next square (presumed block 89).

"10th. Back of Gen. Rector's and round-tower (presumed block 90).

[1] The original manuscript of the proceedings of this first meeting, in the handwriting of Thomas H. Benton, is on file in the office of the public schools.

[2] These were certificates issued by special act of Congress of February, 1813, for the relief of sufferers by the earthquake of 1811, for lands destroyed by said earthquake, or submerged on what is known as the Big Earthquake Swamp, in Southern Missouri. Under these certificates any public lands subject to entry could be entered and patents obtained therefor. But this law of Congress was subsequent to the law donating lands to schools, of course these certificates could not be located upon school lands, which were not subject to private entry. Yet nearly all the school lands in St. Louis were covered by them, and Superintendent John H. Tice, in his first annual report, adds, "And a large portion is still held adversely to the schools under them."

"11th. Lands back of same, below Col. Easton's.
"12th. Back of theatre (presumed block 80).
"13th. Back of Jeffrey's (presumed block 79).
"14th. Back of Corré's (block 77).
"15th. Capt. Wherry's slaughter-house, and between Chouteau's line and Riddick's claim, and west of house.
"16th. Old block-house, and lands from Chouteau's line and Riddick's claim to Bagley's shop.
"17th. Bagley's shop, and the public lands between Chouteau, Riddick, and town lands.
"18th. Lands between Chouteau, the river road, and Cailloux (block 43, also another lot in block 45).
"19th. Market-house lot."[1]

Governor Clark addressed letters to President Monroe, under date of June 20, 1817, and April 19, 1818, asking that the selections for military reservations be made of the lands donated by Congress for the purpose of establishing schools in the town of St. Louis; to which C. Vandeventer, in the absence of the Secretary of War, to whom the letter of the 20th of June was referred, replied "that the chief engineer had been ordered to cause the lands required for military purposes in St. Louis to be set apart as early as practicable." Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, wrote to Governor Clark, Aug. 17, 1818, that "Maj. Long, of the topographical engineers, will be charged with this duty upon his return to Missouri." Maj. Long, under date of St. Louis, May 1, 1820, reported to Col. Walker D. Armistead, United States chief engineer, Washington, D. C., that on his

arrival in the summer of 1819," he "could not procure the instruments requisite for the survey, and accordingly apprised the chief engineer by report. On further inquiry this spring, I have been informed by the surveyor-general that no regular survey of the town and the out-lots belonging to it has ever been made in any manner calculated to show the extent or exact situation of the lots or tracts to which the United States government have a claim, and that no such survey can be effected till the proprietors of grants or concessions situated within or about the town are compelled to give publicity to their titles by having them recorded."

Maj. Long added that the lots were of "inconsiderable dimensions," with the exception of "a commodious landing" on the river, and also a tract sufficient for a street between the Bastion and the semicircular tower, which tracts he recommended be reserved for military purposes; notwithstanding, he felt "some uncertainty whether the government have a rightful claim to the entire tracts here specified, but it is highly probable that they have." On that supposition he recommended the reservation of those tracts, and stated that the residue of the out-lots, etc., belonging to the government, immediately in this vicinity, might, without detriment to the military service, be applied to the support of schools, as contemplated by an act of the general government. On Jan. 25, 1821, Brig.-Gen. H. Atkinson, commanding the Ninth Military Department, informed Governor Clark that, "agreeably to instructions from the Secretary of War," he had selected for military purposes "the lot on which the stone Bastion stands, and another lying on the river below, and near McKnight & Brady's stone warehouse, together with the narrow strip of vacant public land running down the river-bank before the town," and that "the other vacant lots in town are subject to the operation of the act of Congress of the 13th June, 1812." Governor Clark, on the 6th of January, 1824, called the attention of Gen. Atkinson to the impracticability of adapting the stone Bastion to military purposes, and Gen. Atkinson, upon review agreeing with Governor Clark, the lot and Bastion were relinquished to the board of school trustees. The last paper among the old archives of the board of trustees is the application of Eliakim Redfield, dated Oct. 14, 1828, for the lease of a lot and agreement thereto, signed by John O'Fallon and Gabriel Paul.

The military reservations having been determined, the board of trustees had now to deal with the "inhabitants, possessors, and cultivators," or such representatives as came within the laws and claimed adversely to the board of trustees. Up to the 26th of May, 1824, none of the "representatives" had proved their claims under the *Livres Terriens*, which on the 28th of November, 1812, were made records by a note to Frederick Bates, signed by Thomas F. Riddick, Pierre Chouteau, Alexander McNair, William C. Carr, Charles Gratiot, Auguste Chouteau, M. P. Leduc, Gregoire Sarpy, Julius de Mun, Bernard Pratte, B. G. Farrar, John McKnight, and Cabanné. From this date to that of the act of Congress approved May 26, 1824, these "representatives," though failing to establish their claims, had nevertheless kept them alive. This act of Congress extended to those claiming "on the ground of inhabitation, cultivation, or possession," eighteen months from the passage of the act, "to designate their said lots by proving before the recorder of land titles for said State and Territory the fact of such inhabitation, cultivation, or possession, and the boundaries and extent of such claim, so as to enable

[1] There are also among the archives of the board applications from William and C. L. Jones for the lease of a "lot of ground situated in the western part of the lower end of the town of St. Louis, adjoining the line of Col. Auguste Chouteau, and to include a kiln by them made some years since for the purpose of affording the necessary supply of water to a brick-yard." An application was also received from Mackey Wherry for "one acre" at the south end of St. Louis" for a "butcher-shop;" and also an application from Paul Primeau for the house occupied by himself and family.

the surveyor-general to distinguish the private from the vacant lots appertaining to said town and village." The act also made it the duty of the surveyor-general, immediately after the expiration of the eighteen months, to proceed "to survey, designate, and set apart to the said towns and villages respectively . . . said vacant town lots or village lots, out-lots, and common field lots for the support of schools in said towns and villages respectively."

The report of Recorder Hunt of testimony taken under this act has never been published, but the confirmations of title made by him are to be found in "Hunt's Minutes," at the land office in Jefferson City. Congress again came to the relief of the "claimants" of the school lands, and by another act on the 26th of May, 1824, and again by an act of the 24th of May, 1828, relieved the claimants from the necessity of bringing forward the distant representatives of any of the names of those on the *Livres Terriens*. But little that is now discernible was done under these acts. The few claims that were allowed under them by the District Court involved those acts in connection with which the impeachment of Judge Peck took place, and the discussing of them threw much light upon the prosecution of Spanish claims in Missouri.

The efforts of the board of school trustees to lease the lands within the city had been defeated, owing to the want of a proper title in them, and their attention therefore was chiefly directed to the settlement of the military reservations, and to their protection from intruders. The act of Congress of 1824 kept the town lands unsettled, and the board closed their records on the 5th of April, 1828, and awaited the result. By the act of Congress of Jan. 27, 1831, the United States relinquished to the inhabitants of the several towns or villages of Portage des Sioux, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Ferdinand, Ville à Robert, Carondelet, Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid, New Bourbon, and Little Prairie, in the State of Missouri, all right, title, and interest in and to all the lots, out-lots, . . . and directed that the same "be sold or disposed of, or regulated for the same purpose, in such a manner as may be directed by the Legislature of said State."

The amount of land which the board, as at present constituted, took possession of through their bailiff was as follows:

150 front feet at corner Market and Fourth Streets.

220 front feet on Chestnut Street, south side.

32 front feet on Chestnut Street, north side.

Portions of blocks 106, 107, and 108, fronting on Fourth Street, from Myrtle to Poplar. Portions of block 109, and all of 158 and 160, from Poplar to Lombard, between Fourth and Fifth Streets.

123½ feet on east side of Fourth north of Mulberry Street (block 76).[1]

Portions of block 68, on Broadway. Assignment by the surveyor of these lands did not follow until 1840.

In that year, William Milburn, then surveyor-general, established an out-boundary for St. Louis, by which it was found that the city contained an area of $7701\frac{66}{100}$ acres, one-twentieth of which is $385\frac{8}{10}$ acres.

The area actually designated and set apart to the schools was two hundred and ninety and five-hundredths acres; and notwithstanding this area fell ninety-five and three-hundredths acres short of what the one-twentieth would have given, it is nevertheless a magnificent endowment. In the first annual report (1854) of the St. Louis public schools, Superintendent John H. Tice says, "The value of the whole amount of property acquired through congressional bounty in the possession of the board is probably about $400,000, and yields an annual rent of about $14,500." In 1876 the landed property donated by the general government was estimated in the school reports at $1,252,895.72, yielding an income of $52,855.75.

To whom is due the honor and credit of having secured this magnificent gift? John F. Darby, under date of Nov. 15, 1876, thus answers this question:

"The value of these lands now owned by the schools, in round numbers, may be stated to be to-day a million and a half of dollars. The second section of this law, giving the lands to the public schools, was inserted in the act by Mr. Hempstead, at the special and earnest request of Thomas H. Riddick (Col. Riddick had lived here in St. Louis before that who knew all about the town, and knew that there were certain lots of ground in the town for which no rightful owner or claimants could be found, and with him originated the idea of giving these lots not rightfully claimed to the public schools. And for this purpose Col. Riddick started on horseback and rode all the way to Washington City, and at his own individual expense, to have this desirable object consummated and carried out, which was done. Of these things I have heard from Col. Riddick himself; and afterwards Archibald Gamble, Esq., long the efficient and active agent of the public schools in looking after their interest in these lands, informed me that to Riddick was due the credit of having this grant of lands made and which Mr. Hempstead carried through Congress.

"For this great and valuable inheritance now enjoyed by the schools, Col. Riddick deserves to have a monument erected to his memory. It was my good fortune to know Col. Riddick intimately and well. I had visited his house, and have shared the generous hospitality of his domicile, and have received

[1] These parcels, constituting the most valuable portions of the real estate for revenue belonging to the schools, the board proceeded to lease for *fifty* years, at rates which were calculated at six *per cent.* on valuation. The fact that the board leased these lands for fifty years would seem to indicate that that body did not anticipate any very rapid increase in the value of St. Louis real estate.

warm, friendly greetings of his friendship and that of the whole family. Col. Riddick was among the very first trustees of the public schools. He was a member of the convention that formed the first Constitution of the State of Missouri, being elected on the same ticket from the County of St. Louis with such men as Edward Bates, Governor McNair, Gen. Bernard Pratte, and Pierre Chouteau, Jr. When he embarked in any measure, he was one of the most enthusiastic men that have ever lived in this town. He died at the Sulphur Springs, in Jefferson County, Mo., about the year 1830 or 1831, beloved, honored, and respected by all who knew him. It is with the most becoming deference and respect toward the members of the board of the St. Louis public schools, and certainly in no spirit of officious or offensive obtrusiveness, that I may be permitted to express the hope that the very intelligent and worthy gentlemen who compose the board will, before long, take some suitable action to erect a proper monument to the memory of one who has conferred upon them the means of doing so much good, and from which there under their charge have been blessed with and have derived such lasting benefits. In fact, so far as the St. Louis public schools are concerned, Col. Thomas F. Riddick was the creator and originator of that noble system of instruction in St. Louis.

"Of Edward Hempstead, the delegate in Congress who introduced and had passed this act, a word should be said. I did not know him personally. But I did know his father, Stephen Hempstead, who rode in the carriage with Lafayette when he came; and I knew all his brothers, William, Lewis, and Charles; in fact, I knew the whole family, who were amongst my earliest and best friends. Charles S. Hempstead died about a year ago, at the advanced age of more than eighty years. For more than forty years he had been a practicing lawyer of Galena, Ill., where he died. He was for many years the law partner at Galena of Mr. Washburne, the present minister of the United States in Paris.

"Edward Bates informed me that when Edward Hempstead first came to St. Louis, he came all the way from Vincennes, Ind. on foot with a little bundle on his back. He was a man of ability, pure and without reproach, and his loss was deeply lamented by all who knew him. He died in St. Louis, 10th August, 1817, a little over thirty-seven years of age.

"This short notice is due to one who did so much for his country, and especially who had rendered such lasting and valuable services to the St. Louis public schools."

The act of Congress of Jan. 27, 1831, having granted over to the State all the vacant lots, and authorized them under the control of the Legislature, the board as now constituted was organized under an act of the Legislature approved Feb. 13, 1833. This act provided that all free white persons residing within the limits of the city of St. Louis should be constituted a body politic and corporate by the name and style of the "Board of President and Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools," whose powers should be vested in a president and board of directors, consisting of two persons to be elected in each ward of the city, no mayor or alderman at the same time to be a member of the board. The board of directors was empowered to elect its president, to make rules for the government of its own proceedings, to have charge and control of the public schools and all the property appropriated to the use of public schools within the city of St. Louis, and to "make all rules, ordinances, and statutes proper for the government and management of such schools and property, so that the same shall not be inconsistent with the laws of the land, and generally to do all lawful acts which may be proper or convenient to carry into effect the objects of this corporation." The members were to be elected for three years, and until their successors were duly elected and qualified; one-third to go out of office at the end of every year, for which purpose the board was directed to cause its members to be divided by lot into three classes, the first class to go out of office at the end of one year, the second at the end of two, and the third at the end of three years, so that one-third of the board should be elected every year. When the establishment of new wards in the city required the election of new members of the board, such newly-elected members were to be classed accordingly. It was further provided that there should be four stated meetings of the board in every year, and the president, or any three members of the board, was authorized to call special meetings by giving one week's notice in writing to the other members. In all meetings a majority of the whole number elected was to constitute a quorum to transact business, but any smaller number might adjourn from day to day and compel the attendance of absent members. All vacancies were to be filled by an election in the proper ward as prescribed by the board. The latter was also empowered to appoint a treasurer and secretary, "and such other servants and agents as to them shall seem necessary to accomplish the great objects of the corporation, and prescribe their powers, duties, obligations, and compensation." The board was further directed to cause a true and faithful record to be kept of all its proceedings, and lay them before the General Assembly or either house thereof when required, or before a general meeting of the inhabitants of the city whenever one hundred qualified electors of the board should by written application require the same to be done; also at least once in every year to cause to be printed and published a true statement of the condition of the public schools and of all the money concerns of the corporation. "As soon as conveniently may be," the board was "to take possession, charge, and control of all the lands or lots in or near the city of St. Louis which have been either received for or granted to the inhabitants of St. Louis for school purposes by an act of the Congress of the United States, and to dispose of and apply the same to the purposes of education under the provisions of

this act; and to that end the title to all such lands and lots (as far as this General Assembly can control the same) is hereby vested in the corporation hereby created." It was further enacted that it should be lawful for the board "to cause the depositions of witnesses to be taken touching the title, locality, boundaries, or extension of any of the lands, lots, or real estate aforesaid. And the manner of taking such depositions shall be conformable to the provisions of the act entitled 'An Act directing the mode of perpetuating testimony in this State,' passed Jan. 22, 1825, except that the application for the commission or dedimus need not be supported by any oath or affidavit; *Provided*, that any person or persons claiming property in any of the said lands, lots, or real estate may, upon complying with requirements of the last-mentioned act, proceed to take depositions in relation thereto. And all such depositions taken on either side, as aforesaid, shall be filed in the office of the clerk of the Circuit Court of St. Louis County, and the same or authentic copies thereof shall be legal evidence and may be read in testimony in any suit in which they shall be relevant in any court in this State." The act "to incorporate a board of trustees for superintending schools in the town of St. Louis," approved Jan. 30, 1817, was repealed by the act of 1833.

At an election held on the first Monday in April, 1833, the following persons were elected directors: Hon. Edward Bates and John P. Reilly, for the South Ward; Josiah Spalding and Judge Marie P. Leduc, of the Middle Ward; and Dr. Cornelius Campbell and Hugh O'Neil, Sr., of the North Ward. On the 18th of the same month these gentlemen met and organized by the election of Judge Marie P. Leduc as president. Immediately upon organization, the board initiated action for obtaining "knowledge of school lands" by inviting all persons having information relative thereto to communicate the same to the board, and on May 11, 1833, Dr. Cornelius Campbell reported "that, in compliance with the resolution directing him as a committee to call upon such persons as may be proper, to request a delivery to the board of all books, papers, and evidences relating to school lands in or near this city, he had called upon Joseph V. Garnier, secretary[1] of the late board of trustees for superintending schools in the town of St. Louis, who had delivered to him a book entitled 'Record of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees for Superintending Schools in St. Louis, beginning April 4, 1817, and ending April 5, 1828.'" This record was delivered to Wilson Primm, then secretary, but has been lost. The investigation into the school lands thus immediately undertaken by the new board was continued by a committee appointed to call upon Col. René Paul, city engineer, for a plat of all lands in his office known to be school lands, and upon E. T. Langham, surveyor-general, to ascertain if the out-boundary line had been run so as to include the Grand Prairie field, the Cul de Sac field, and the common field of Prairie des Noyers, as contemplated by the act of Congress of June 13, 1812. The committee reported April 27, 1833, that Gen. Langham had informed the committee that the line had *not* been run as they indicated, but he assured them that it should be speedily corrected. However much Gen. Langham may have desired and intended to correct this important error, the speculators in lands exercised too much influence at Washington, and the Secretary of the Interior and commissioner of the general land office, before whom the matter was brought upon appeal, decided adversely to the interest of the schools, and New Madrid locations and old French and Spanish concessions were allowed to more than equally divide the land intended by the act of Congress for school purposes. Had the out-boundary line been run as indicated by the committee, the area of St. Louis would have been over fifteen thousand acres, or twentieth of which would have been over seven hundred and fifty acres. Thus the schools of St. Louis lost $385\frac{6}{100}$ acres of the land which they rightfully owned by the clear title of the act of Congress.

In consequence of public complaint as to the proper management of the school lands during the first twelve years of the new board, the Legislature of Missouri, by the act of March 17, 1845, provided that "no member of the board of aldermen, or of the board of delegates, or person holding office under the city of St. Louis, whether elected or appointed, shall be a member of the board of school directors of the city of St. Louis"; that "no person shall be eligible as a director in said board who has not been

[1] Col. Thomas H. Benton acted as secretary until Feb. 15, 1827, as appears by his resignation, now on file in the office, as follows:

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 15, 1827.

"GENTLEMEN,—The probability that I shall be absent from St. Louis for two-thirds of every year for six years to come, renders it proper that I should resign the place at your board, the duties of which I shall not be able to fulfil. In doing this I beg to add the assurance of my best wishes for the success of the object committed to you, and to offer my services in any other way in which I can be available to you.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"THOMAS H. BENTON.

"TRUSTEES OF THE SCHOOL LANDS IN ST. LOUIS."

resident of the ward in which he is elected at least twelve months prior to his election; and if any person who shall have been elected from one ward shall move from said ward, he shall vacate his seat in said board, and an election shall be ordered and held as soon as may be to fill said vacancy, and the said director shall, moreover, possess all the qualifications required in the act to which this is amendatory and supplementary"; that "no director shall, directly or indirectly, borrow any money belonging to said corporation, either as principal or indorser"; that "it shall be the duty of the president and directors of this corporation to carry out and enforce all the provisions of the eighth section of the act referred to in the second section of this act"; that "if any director or officer of this corporation shall violate any of the provisions of this act, and of the act to which this is amendatory and supplementary, approved Feb. 13, 1833, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor in office, and shall be punished for such misdemeanor, as provided for by law, and shall, moreover, be disqualified from holding any seat in said board or acting as one of its officers"; and that "no director shall receive compensation for any services as director."

On the 26th of March, 1845, the Legislature further enacted that "no person shall be eligible as a director in the corporation established by said act who may be interested in any property held by lease from said corporation, or who is interested, directly or indirectly, in any title adverse to the title of said corporation to any property which is claimed by said corporation; that no person who is or hereafter may become a director, or who shall hold any office in or under said corporation, shall purchase or lease from said corporation any property claimed by said corporation, nor shall any such person be interested, directly or indirectly, in any purchase or lease of any such property, and any such purchase or lease in which any such director or other person is so interested, shall be utterly null and void." These acts closed the doors of the board to the speculators and claimants who, prior to the passage of these laws, had taken an active interest in the election of directors, and by moving into wards where vacancies would soon occur, secured the election of themselves or their representatives, and thus obtained an influence if not a control of, the board for the accomplishment of purposes by no means in the interest of the schools, and too often most injurious and detrimental to them. The effect of these laws was most salutary, for great and irreparable mischief had already been done under the manipulation of the board by the "squatters" and "claimants."

Notwithstanding the new board was organized in 1833, there does not seem to have been any material progress made in the establishment of schools even as late as 1837, for in the *Republican* of April 10th of that year it was stated that,—

"There is not at this time a single common-school under public patronage. After all the legislation upon the subject no system has been formed, nor one step taken that is likely to result in securing anything to the cause of education. The practice is to employ a teacher for three or six months at the lowest possible rate at which his services can be procured, and this is at such a price that he feels bound to seek other employment as soon as anything else can be had. The school is continued about three months, and then closed till another man, driven by want, or because not qualified for any other situation, is called to resume it; hence a large part of our population are growing up without even knowing how to read."

This complaint does not appear to be without foundation, for the board, in its memorial to the Legislature of Dec. 30, 1834, stated that, "owing to several causes not necessary to be enumerated, this board cannot at present employ the money raised or to be raised in support of schools, or the erection of school-houses;" and as no mention is made in the records of that date of any appropriation for the support of schools, it is very evident that the *Republican* voiced the sentiment of disappointment which the community entertained. On Nov. 29, 1834, Messrs. Campbell, O'Neil, and Dumaine were appointed a committee of the board to prepare a plan for a public school-house, and reported on the 8th of December; but the report was laid on the table and never acted upon. At a meeting of the board in February, 1835, a committee was appointed to take the census of educable children, but the number ascertained is not now to be found in the record. Messrs. Campbell, Hoffman, and Finney were appointed May 7, 1836, a committee to confer with the board of aldermen on the subject of erecting school-houses in the city. The results of this conference cannot now be ascertained, as the records furnish no information, nor is there on file any report from the committee.

On the 3d of December, 1836, Mr. McLaughlin, from the "committee on the erection of school-houses," reported that the committee "had selected a lot on the corner of Spruce and Fourth Streets as the site for a school-house for the First and Second Wards, and a lot on Federal Avenue and Hickory Street[1] as a site for a school-house for the Third and Fourth Wards." The report was adopted, and two thousand dollars appropriated for the erection of each house. Messrs. Campbell and Hoffman were appointed a committee to report upon a plan, but failing to agree were discharged

[1] The present northeast corner of Cherry and Broadway.

on the 25th of February, 1837, and Messrs. Campbell and Gamble were appointed, who reported on the 4th of March, recommending "that a committee of three be appointed, with power to contract for the erection of two school-houses on the sites heretofore selected, and that the plan of the building submitted by Elihu H. Shepard be adopted, as far as practicable; the cost of each, including fencing, furniture, and outhouses, &c., not to exceed three thousand five hundred dollars." The committee subsequently, on the 18th of July, 1837, reported that the lots were too small, and recommended that two-story buildings be erected instead of one-story, which having been adopted by the board, Messrs. Whitehill and Weston were contracted with for building the North school-house, and John H. Ferguson for building the South school-house, each at a cost of three thousand one hundred and seventy dollars. The North school-house, being near the Centre Market, was early abandoned, and after being known as "Liberty Hall," was destroyed by fire about 1850–51. The Hon. Edward H. Armstrong, afterward United States Senator, was the first public school teacher in St. Louis, and opened the school at the corner of Fourth and Spruce Streets in April, 1838.

In its issue of Nov. 2, 1837, a local journal remarked,—

"Our readers in the city are probably not aware of the fact that there are now two school-houses erecting in the city, which will shortly be ready for scholars. These houses are built by the school commissioners from the city school fund, and we regret to observe that but little interest seems to be taken in the progress of the building, save by the builders."

On the 14th of December the same paper called attention to

"An advertisement in the city papers of a recent date, that the president and directors of the St. Louis public schools have advertised that they will receive proposals for teachers in the two school-houses lately erected."

At the meeting held on the 3d of December, 1837, at which the board decided to advertise for teachers, the purchase of "four unlettered maps of the world" was ordered for the schools about to be opened, and at an adjourned meeting two weeks later the applications from teachers were opened. There were ten male and two female applicants, who were referred to a board of school inspectors composed of William Carr Lane, mayor; Bryan Mullanphy, Beverly Allen, Wilson Primm, George K. Budd, Dr. John M. Green, Elihu H. Shepard, and William Garvey. At a meeting of the inspectors on December 22d, William Carr Lane was chosen president, and Wilson Primm, secretary. This board was authorized to examine and appoint teachers, and fix their compensation, which was, for male teachers, nine hundred dollars per annum, and for female teachers, five hundred dollars per annum.[1]

The board was also authorized to fix the tuition fee, to admit free all that were unable to pay the tuition fee, and to provide "that teachers should enter into a written contract with the board faithfully to discharge the duties assigned them for the space of one year," conditioned, however, upon the provision

[1] The following regulations for the government of the St. Louis public schools were adopted by the Board of Directors:

"First. The lower rooms in each of the school-houses shall be appropriated to the boys, and the upper ones to the girls. As each room can conveniently accommodate —— scholars, that number and no more will be received.

Second. There shall be a competent teacher, and an assistant teacher, if necessary, assigned for each school, male and female. The female schools shall be taught by female teachers. No teacher shall be employed who cannot produce satisfactory evidence of good moral character and correct habits. And in order to prevent any sectarian jealousy from arising between the Protestant and Catholic population, by putting the schools under the influence of the clergy of either denomination, we do ordain that no priest, clergyman, preacher, or other religious teacher shall be received as a teacher in either the male or female schools. The best qualified teachers shall be chosen without reference to which denomination they belong. And as we are anxious, in putting our school system into operation, to guard against collision or jealousy among our fellow-citizens upon the subject of sectarian influence, we ordain that no religious instruction be given, other than to enforce moral obligation under the sanction of accountability to God.

"Third. The board shall appoint yearly four school inspectors for the schools in each house, who shall be persons qualified by education to examine teachers, and judge correctly of the proficiency of the scholars. They shall not be clergymen, but two of each board of school inspectors, and no more, shall be chosen from the body of Catholics. The inspectors of each school shall form themselves into separate boards, to be called the board of inspectors for school No. 1 North and school No. 2 South. The inspectors shall have the management and direction of the schools under the regulations of the board. It shall be their duty to examine such teachers as shall be referred to them by the board, and communicate to the president their opinion of their qualifications. No teacher shall be received without such examination, to be by him submitted to the board. They shall once a month, and oftener, if they see fit, visit the schools and make such examinations as to them may seem necessary. They shall make quarterly reports to the board of the state of the schools. Children shall be received into the schools only through the inspectors; and as it is the desire of the board of directors that these schools should afford the means of education to all as would otherwise go uninstructed, they ordain that no application from parents, unable to pay for the tuition of their children, be rejected whilst there is a vacancy in the school. No scholar under the age of six years shall be received.

"Fourth. Education in these schools shall commence with the rudiments, and shall embrace all that properly comes under the denomination of an English education. The choice of teachers and the fixing their salary, also the rates of tuition, shall rest with the board of directors."

that the board had the right to dismiss at any time teachers found negligent, unfaithful, or incompetent. Edward Leavy and Miss Mary H. Salisbury were elected, Feb. 24, 1828, teachers for "School No. 2, South," corner Spruce and Fourth Streets, but Mr. Leavy withdrawing his application, David H. Armstrong was on March 3, 1838, elected, and the school opened on the 1st of April.[1] An effort made by the board to elect teachers for school No. 1 failed on March 17th by the disagreement of the board, but on April 17th, Edward Leavy was unanimously elected male principal and Miss Mary Hardy female principal, and the numbers of the schools changed, the South School being known as No. 1, and the North School as No. 2. Thus were the first two schools organized in 1838, twenty-one years after the appointment of the board of trustees for superintending schools in the town of St. Louis by the Territorial Legislature, twenty-six years after Congress had donated the public lands, and five years after the organization of the new board under State legislation. These schools were public, but not wholly free schools, a tuition fee of two dollars and fifty cents per quarter being charged, and this notwithstanding the fact that a revenue from rentals of public lots was received by the board. The *Republican* of Oct. 16, 1839, noticed the fact that on

"the 12th inst. the president and board of directors of the St. Louis public schools leased out at public auction the whole of block No. 160, having sub-divided the same into thirty-two lots, sixteen of which front twenty-five feet on Fifth Street, and sixteen twenty-five feet five inches on Fourth Street. It will be recollected that this is the same block which the city had proposed to lease and set apart as a public square. The board of public schools offered it to the city at the annual rent of two thousand five hundred dollars, but this sum was considered entirely too high, and the city declined any further negotiations respecting it. The following are the prices at which the lots respectively were leased per front foot:

"Lot No. 1, corner of Gratiot and Fifth, $4.50; lot 2, $3.94; 3, $3.62½; 4, $3.62½; 5, $2.87½; 6, $2.87½; 7, $3.25; 8, $3.75; 9, $4.00; 10, $4.00; 11, $4.12½; 12, $4.25; 13, $4.25; 14, $4.12½; 15, $4.25; 16, $6.25.

"Lot No. 17, corner of Cerré and Fourth Streets, $6.06½; 18, $4.12½; 19, $3.62½; 20, $3.25; 21, $3.25; 22, $3.68¾; 23, $3.50; 24, $3.87½; 25, $3.62½; 26, $3.50; 27, $3.43¾; 28, $3.37½; 29, $3.31¼; 30, $3.44; 31, $3.37½; 32, $3.75. Making an aggregate annual rent to the schools of about three thousand dollars, being five hundred more per annum than the sum for which the same ground was offered to the city, and making a difference of about twenty-five thousand dollars for fifty years, the term for which the ground is leased."

Benton School, school-house No. 3, was built in 1841, at, one authority says, a cost of "about ten thousand six hundred and twenty-five dollars," and another, eight thousand dollars, the contractors being Messrs. Dresser & Gibson. The school was opened in January, 1842. "Admission fee, $2.50 per quarter, and salary of male principal nine hundred dollars; female, five hundred dollars."

On Dec. 11, 1841, the committee appointed by the board of public school directors to report a suitable address to the citizens of St. Louis submitted the following:

"To the Public.

"The great object of public schools is that elementary education be so free as not to exclude the indigent from its benefits; and it is with this view, as is well known, that the Federal government has, in the disposition of public lands, made provision for common schools.

"Heretofore the public schools in our city have been conducted entirely upon the free system, and it is the wish of the present directory so to continue them; but at this time the school fund is so low as to compel them to charge a small tuition fee, to enable them to meet the current expenses of all the schools, and pay what they now owe.

"There has lately been a spacious school-house built on Sixth Street, at a very considerable expense, which must remain closed if the public will pay nothing towards the education of the children admitted as scholars. The board, then, believing that this small sum will be paid, and conceiving it more judicious to open the new school, charging for tuition, than to let it remain as it now is, for want of means to pay teachers, etc., have, at a late meeting, adopted sundry resolutions, by which it will be seen that this house will be opened on the 1st of January, 1842, for the reception of children, and that the public schools in this city will hereafter be conducted on different principles, at least for some time.

"At the meeting referred to it was resolved that all the schools be opened for the reception of scholars on the 1st of January, 1842, upon the following conditions: That children be admitted, and taught reading, writing, etc., at two and a half dollars per quarter, stationery furnished by the school, and two dollars per quarter only for those who do not write, payable in advance, as it is distinctly understood that no name will be entered until the money is paid.

"At said meeting the city was divided into three school districts, viz.: All that part of the city south of Myrtle Street for school No. 1, situated on Fourth Street; all north of Morgan

[1] A newspaper of Feb. 26, 1860, said, "On Friday, the 24th inst. at 4 o'clock P.M., the Laclede Primary School, situated on the corner of Fourth and Spruce Streets, adjourned *sine die*. This was the first school established by the board of directors of the city of St. Louis, the house having been erected in 1837–8. The school went into operation on the 2d day of April, 1838. The building of this house, which, including furniture, cost about three thousand five hundred dollars, was regarded at the time as a great triumph in the cause of public education. It was designed to accommodate about one hundred and seventy-five pupils, and supposing it to have been full all the time, and that the average attendance of the scholars was two years each, it follows that about two thousand children have received instruction in the school. From first to last about thirty different teachers have been employed in this building.

"The scholars who have been in this building are now transferred to the Laclede School, on the corner of Fifth and Poplar Streets, the first story of which has been thoroughly repaired and seated with new furniture adapted to the use of primary scholars."

street for school No. 2, situated on Broadway; and the balance of the city for school No. 3, on Sixth Street.

"A committee of three have been appointed, whose duty it shall be to devote two hours each day, next week, from 3 to 5 o'clock P.M., commencing on Monday, the 13th inst., to receive applications for the admission of scholars and issue certificates to all who shall be admitted. One of said committee will be found at school-house No. 1, one at No. 2, and one at No. 3.

"The board, wishing to give all the advantages of a plain English education to as many as their limited means will allow, have resolved that twenty-five scholars be admitted to school No. 1 free of charge, and twenty-five to school No. 2, and 50 to school No. 3, making in all one hundred free scholars, who are not to be known as such by those who pay.

"All papers friendly to the cause of education will confer a favor by giving this an insertion for one week.

"JOHN FINNEY,
"JOSEPH TABOR,
"JOHN MCEVOY,
"*Committee.*"

This address created the fear that there was something wrong in the management of the school funds, and drew forth criticisms in the newspapers which throw considerable light upon the condition of affairs at that time. A writer, over the signature "W. P.," thus arraigns the address:

"By a vote of the citizens of St. Louis, in 1835, in pursuance of an act of the General Assembly of our State, ten per cent. of the net proceeds of the sale of the St. Louis common is set apart for the support of public schools in St. Louis. Such are the resources of our schools, which, we are now informed by the board of directors, have been exhausted, while only two schools have been kept in operation, and these only since 1838, instructing two hundred and sixty children out of two thousand eight hundred who want instruction, as appears from the report of the committee of the board adopted in December, 1839, and published by order of the board. The same report states the means of the board as follows:

Due to the board by the city	$2481.24
Due to the board by individuals	2412.10
Together	$4893.34
From which deduct debts due by the board	890.00
Which leaves surplus means	$4003.34

besides a balance of $513.75 in the treasury. The annual revenue, from lots leased out and ten per cent. on sale of Common, is stated at $9299.27; the annual expenses for conducting two schools, and expenses of the board, at $3600.27, showing an annual surplus of income of $5699. The number of schools and teachers has not increased since then, nor have the salaries of the teachers been raised, consequently the expenses cannot vary much from what they were then. The resources also remain the same. There ought to be, then, at present a surplus of $15,915.09, to wit:

Balance in favor of board, December, 1839.	$4,003.34
Balance in treasury	513.75
Surplus revenue for two years	11,398.00
Total	$15,915.09

omitting the interest. There has been, however, a new school-house built last summer, at the enormous sum of $8000, as I have been informed. Still, according to their own statements, the board ought to have a balance of nearly $8000 in cash or its equivalent, and the revenue ought to be more than sufficient to conduct three schools, or even more. By comparing these results, drawn from the published statements of the board, with their present announcement, that *for want of means* they must raise money by charging tuition fees, '*to meet current expenses and pay what they now owe,*' we are inevitably led to the conclusion that either the statements and estimates published by the board in December, 1839, were grossly incorrect, or else culpable mismanagement must have taken place, by which our noble school fund, that sacred trust, for which we are responsible to our posterity, is, perhaps, threatened with a similar fate to that which has destroyed the Girard fund, for the education of orphans in Philadelphia. It is not my desire to injure innocent men with groundless suspicions. But, as an humble member of this community, interested in its present and future welfare, I demand the attention of all citizens to the subject. If no reason for alarm exists, there can be no harm done by inquiring into it. On the other hand, the sacred duty we owe to our posterity sternly rebukes tame indifference in regard to a subject which, of all others, ought to be nearest and dearest to a patriot's heart."

At a meeting of the board in June, 1842, a committee was appointed to report a plan for the re-organization of the schools, in order to increase their number and usefulness, and with instructions that "in the opinion of the board, no system of arrangement that does not embrace at least two grades of school can be to a high degree efficient." This committee reported June 27, 1843, that "they deem it expedient for the board to establish and locate in each ward of the city four public schools, to wit: one male and one female primary school, one male and one female elementary school; and that a high school should also be established in some central part of the city," with a recommendation that "if the views of this committee be adopted, the plan pointed out by them be strictly adhered to, and carried out from time to time as the finances of the board will justify." This report was signed by A. Renard, Edward Jones, B. Brown, and Elijah Hayden. In accordance with the recommendations of this report, the board decided "that, as a beginning of the system resolved upon at their meeting, to establish new schools, a primary male and female school be established in the First and Sixth Wards, provided the citizens donate to the board means sufficient to defray rent and fuel." And yet a newspaper of the 15th of February, 184 said,—

"It appears from the annual statement of the board of directors of the St. Louis public schools that the total amount of rents received for the years 1843–44 was $11,500.33, on which they paid taxes and various other claims amounting to $710.76. There was received on account of this fund from sales of school lands, city commons, claims compromised, and other sources other than for rents of 1843–44 the sum of $16,70[illegible] from which they paid liabilities of former board, agents, percentage for claims compromised, and for legal services $411[illegible] making the aggregate gross receipts, after deducting the

ments aforesaid, $23,388.30. The total expenditures for the same period amounted to $10,471.43. On the 1st of January, 1845, the total resources of the fund, including city bonds for $10,000 deposited in the bank, amounted to $12,916.87. The school property now in possession of the board is valued at $18,321.17. The rents accruing to the board for the year 1845 will amount to $6268.88. The amount of rent due on lots forfeited to the board during the last two years is $702.38."

From 1840 to 1844 the question of the salaries of teachers had agitated both the board and the teachers. In the fall of the latter year these salaries were fixed as follows: "All males, except principal of school No. 3, five hundred dollars; all females, except principal of school No. 3, four hundred dollars; assistants, both male and female, two hundred and fifty dollars per annum." The teaching of vocal music was first authorized during this year.

A primary school was opened in the Fifth Ward in April, 1845, under the charge of Miss Sophia Green.

Clark and Mound schools were built in 1845, the former on the lot, having a front of seventy-four feet, purchased from G. S. Chouteau for fifteen hundred dollars. The schools were opened in July, 1846.

Messrs. J. H. Tice, William S. Stamps, and Jeremiah Langton were appointed, Sept. 15, 1847, a committee to ascertain upon what terms a suitable lot for a school in the Fifth Ward could be obtained. The committee selected a lot on the corner of Ninth and Wash Streets, measuring eighty-two and one-half feet front on Wash by one hundred and nine feet on Ninth, and reported that for the fifty feet next the corner the price was fifty dollars per front foot, and for the remaining thirty-two and one-half feet forty dollars per front foot. Their recommendation that the property be purchased was adopted by the board. Messrs. Tice, Hall, and Stamps were on Nov. 2, 1847, appointed a building committee, and reported a plan for a building and a contract for erecting the same. The contract was made with Messrs. Greer & Stearns, and the building was completed in the summer of 1848, and the school opened in October of the same year. "A few weeks since," says a local journal of Aug. 19, 1848,—

"The directors of the St. Louis public schools very wisely authorized Mr. E. Wyman, of this city, to proceed to Massachusetts, and select a sufficient number of competent teachers for the public schools of St. Louis. He has performed this duty, and, we have no doubt, in a manner acceptable to the board, and, as we hope the result will prove, to the citizens who are most interested in the improvement and elevation of the character of these schools. The teachers thus selected were passengers in the 'Atlantis,' on Thursday evening, from the east, and will, we presume, soon enter upon their duties. We learn their names: Mr. C. Edwards, C. A. Putnam, N. D. Cornell, Mr. C. Kimball and lady, Miss N. Foster, Miss L. B. Cushing, Miss M. Butrick, Miss S. Wing, Miss E. Frothingham, J. Smith, Miss E. Brooks, Miss L. Stone, Miss E. H. Palmer, Miss C. Little, and Miss E. Hadley.

"Mr. Wyman was also a passenger in the 'Atlantis,' prepared to enter upon his duties as the principal of his excellent and successful institution for the education of youth in this city."

The following extracts from a St. Louis newspaper under date of Jan. 8, 1847, give a very clear idea of the condition of education in the State in that year:

"The system of common schools in this State may be said to be in its infancy. Although the law providing for the organization of schools was passed at the session of 1838–39, yet there is reason to believe that the failure for several years of the bank to declare dividends has materially retarded the extension of the system. But other causes have tended to produce the same result. Many of the counties are new and sparsely populated, and the organization of schools in some portions of them is impracticable. We believe that a large portion of the people possess but little information on the subject; they do not know the system by which the townships may be organized, or the benefits which would result to them from such an organization."

"In connection with the above report," said the same journal, "it may be well to apprise the reader that the 'State school fund' consists of all the money deposited with the State by the United States, under the act of Congress to regulate the deposit of public moneys, approved 23d of June, 1836, generally known as the *Distribution Act*, and the proceeds of sales in the saline lands in this State, and all lands which have passed to the State by escheat, purchase, or forfeiture. This fund is invested in the stock of the Bank of Missouri, and is dependent on the dividends of that institution for the amount of distribution. Fines and forfeitures for criminal offenses constitute a county school fund for the county where the offense was committed. The school system is founded on congressional townships and fractional townships, that is, every six miles square, as marked in the United States surveys, constitutes a school township. These are again sub-divided into as many districts as a majority of the inhabitants deem proper. The United States government has granted to each congressional township the sixteenth section—a mile square—for common school purposes. In many instances these sixteenth sections have been so prudently managed that they have become a source of large revenue to the township, but in others they have been badly managed. The proceeds from this source, added to the State's fund, in some instances are sufficient to pay the salaries of the teachers for all the children within the township."

From 1833 to 1849 the following gentlemen at different times held seats in the St. Louis board of school directors: John Altemus, Edward Bates, Edward Bredell, John Byrne, John H. Baldwin, Dr. B. B. Brown, Wait Barton, J. C. Beidman, Cornelius Campbell, Joseph Charless, J. C. Carpenter, J. C. Degenhart, T. B. Dutcher, Lucien Dumaine, Antoine Dubreuil, John Dunn, Patrick Deegan, William G. Eliot, T. B. Edgar, Joseph Eck, Du Bouffay Fremon, William P. Fisher, S. V. Farnsworth, John Finney, Dennis Galvin, Archibald Gamble, V. M. Garesché, Patrick Gorman, H. L. Hoffman, Charles Huth, Edward Haren, Elijah Hayden, Alexander Hamilton,

William Hare, Elijah Hall, E. A. Humphreys, Brannock Jones, Edward Jones, David Keith, Mathew Kerr, Marie P. Leduc, Peter Latour, Jeremiah Langton, —— McLaughlin, Isaac McHose, Stewart Matthews, James Maguire, John McEvoy, Samuel McCullough, Hugh O'Neil, J. W. Ormsbee, Wilson Primm, Daniel D. Page, Trusten Polk, Joseph Powell, T. P. Reilly, James Ritchie, A. Renard, Bartholomew Rice, Nathan Ranney, Josiah Spalding, John Shannon, Spencer Smith, William S. Stamps, John F. Thornton, John H. Tice, Henry Von Phul, Samuel Willi, Peter A. Walsh, Asa Wilgus, David Weston, and Thomas H. West.

In June, 1849, a mill tax was voted to build up and sustain the schools, and from that time the development of the system has been rapid and complete.[1]

The first tax under this law was collected in 1850, and amounted to about eighteen thousand dollars.

On the 19th of February, 1850, Messrs. Thornton & Eliott were appointed a committee of the board for the selection of a lot for a school in the Third Ward, and on the 15th of March reported that they had purchased a lot on the corner of Fifth and Poplar Streets from Isaac Walker, containing seventy feet front by one hundred and twenty-seven feet deep, at eighty-seven dollars and fifty cents per front foot. The plan submitted by Mr. Eliott for a building was adopted, and contracts were ordered to be entered into

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[1] AN ACT *to authorize the levying and collecting of a tax in the city of St. Louis, for the purpose of education.*

"*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri as follows:* SEC. 1. There shall be levied and collected annually, upon all real and personal property within the corporate limits of the city of St. Louis made taxable by law for State purposes, a tax not exceeding one-tenth of one per cent., which tax, when collected, shall be paid to the president and directors of the St. Louis public schools, and by them [to] be used and applied in the same manner and for the same purposes as other money belonging to the corporation of the president and directors of the St. Louis public schools, and in strict accordance with the provisions of the act or acts of the Legislature of the Territory and State of Missouri in relation to said corporation.

"SEC. 2. The collector of St. Louis County shall have authority, and it is hereby made his duty, to collect the tax in the first section of this act specified, and in the same manner, and under the same restrictions, penalties, and responsibilities, and with the same power as is provided in the third article of an act entitled 'An Act to provide for levying, assessing, and collecting the revenue,' approved March 27, 1845, and faithfully and punctually to pay over the same to the president and directors of the St. Louis public schools.

"SEC. 3. The collector of St. Louis County shall, before he enters upon the duties imposed upon him by this act, enter into bond to the president and directors of the St. Louis public schools, in such sum as they may require, with good and sufficient securities, to be approved by said president and directors, conditioned for the faithful performance of his duties as such collector of the tax in this act specified.

"SEC. 4. The said collector shall take the assessment made by the assessor of St. Louis County within the limits of the city of St. Louis, and from the said assessment is hereby authorized to make a tax-list in pursuance of and for the purpose in this act mentioned; and for his compensation for such collection shall receive the same per centum as is allowed him by law for the collection of the State and county revenue.

"SEC. 5. On the first Monday of June, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-nine, this act shall be submitted to the qualified voters of the city of St. Louis for their approval or rejection, and if the majority of such qualified voters, voting upon the day aforesaid, shall vote in favor of this act, the same shall become and be a valid and binding law from and after said day. But if a majority of such qualified voters, voting on the day aforesaid, shall not approve of this act, the same shall be null and void.

"SEC. 6. No person shall be qualified to vote for or against this act but such persons as are twenty-one years of age and residents of the city of St. Louis, and who at the time of such voting shall be owners of real or personal property, subject to taxation by the laws of the State for county and State purposes.

"SEC. 7. The justices of the peace within the city of St. Louis, or a majority of them, shall have power to appoint two or more persons to open polls and superintend the voting on this act as aforesaid in the several wards of the city of St. Louis, which voting shall be *viva voce*, and the said persons so appointed by the justices as aforesaid shall be the judges of the qualifications of voters, and shall make returns of the result of said voting to the clerk of the county court of the county of St. Louis, who shall certify said return, under the seal of said court, to the president and directors of said St. Louis public schools, who shall transmit the same to the Secretary of State, who shall file the same in his office, which shall be evidence whether this law is in force or not.

"SEC. 8. The polls for voting upon this act shall be opened in the respective wards of the city of St. Louis, at the places where the city elections are usually held; and it shall be the duty of the president and directors of the St. Louis public schools to publish this act in all the newspapers printed and published in the city of St. Louis three weeks successively before the day of said voting; they shall also put up printed notices of the said voting in five prominent places in each ward of the said city ten days before the said first Monday in June, 1849.

"APPROVED, Feb. 13, 1849.

"OFFICE OF
SECRETARY OF STATE OF MISSOURI.

"I, EPHRAIM B. EWING, Secretary of State of the State of Missouri, certify that, in compliance with the seventh section of an act authorizing the levying and collecting of tax in the city of St. Louis for purposes of education, approved Feb. 13, 1849, William G. Eliot, Jr., president of the board of directors of the St. Louis public schools, has transmitted to this office an abstract of the returns of an election held in the several wards of the city of St. Louis on the first Monday of June, A.D. 1849, in pursuance of the act aforesaid, and that said abstract is on file in this office.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said office. Done at the city of Jefferson, this twenty-fifth day of June, A.D. 1849.

[L. S.]

"EPHRAIM B. EWING, *Secretary of State.*

This act was amended by the act of 1859, approved March [illegible], and by the act of 1863, approved December 17th.

for building two new school-houses, one on the corner of Fifteenth and Pine, and the other on the corner of Fifth and Poplar Streets. The contracts for both were awarded to Messrs. Sage & Warner. The former was completed so that school was opened in it early in December, and the latter about the middle of January, 1851.

The fine lot upon which Webster School stands was donated in the year 1817 by Col. William Chambers, Maj. Thomas Wright, and William T. Christy, who in sub-dividing their property, and laying out the same, presented a circular lot of three hundred feet in diameter to the inhabitants of North St. Louis forever for a seminary of learning. Charles W. Schaumburg, on the 9th of January, 1844, submitted a petition to the board praying them to take possession of the land and erect thereon a public school-house. The difficulty of title, which was involved in the fact that a legal conveyance from an unincorporated community could not be made, caused a petition to be presented to the Legislature praying for a law to appoint trustees to administer the trust and convey the property to the board. The act was passed by the Legislature in January, 1851, and the board became invested with a good title to the property. The Webster school-house was completed on the first Monday in February, 1853. The building was eighty feet by fifty-two, and three stories high. The first story was intended for the primary department, and contained two large class-rooms. The second story was devoted to the male grammar school. It was divided into three apartments, and accommodated one hundred and sixty-eight pupils. The female grammar school was assigned to the third story. This contained four rooms, and would comfortably seat one hundred and sixty-eight pupils.

The dedicatory services of the Webster school-house took place on the 2d of February, 1843. The exercises were opened with singing by the pupils from the several grammar schools in the city under Professor Hale, teacher of vocal music in the public schools, after which Mr. Tucker, the president of the school board, delivered the following historical address:

"In commemorating the opening of this building, the board of public schools feel gratified that their call has been so fully responded to, and recognize in your presence that sympathy with their cause and their labors which is their chief object and their sole reward.

"This being the first occasion of a public celebration of this kind, a short history of the beginning and progress of the public schools may not be unacceptable.

"You all know whence the system was derived and on what broad basis established, and we would not avoid remembering and acknowledging the wisdom of our forefathers in engrafting in our very being as a State ample and liberal provisions for public education to the children of all, poor and rich, and to them together, uniting them in sympathies on the threshold of life.

"These noble men knew well how essential are intelligence, law, and order to the permanency of government; their forefathers had been developing the rights of the individual and of the people from the days of Cromwell to our Revolution, and in guarding these they placed foremost the principle of universal public education, and provided liberally for it.

"Under these provisions, as early as 1812 reservations of vacant lands in this then town of St. Louis were made for the public schools by Congress; but not until 1833 was a charter from the State obtained enabling this present board to avail of these provisions, and in this interim much of the expected property had been claimed and taken by old slumbering titles, and none assigned to the schools, and no assignments of lands were obtained till May, 1843.

"The first possessions of the board were therefore such as were known as vacant lands, and were small, so small that the first rents—the rents of the year 1835—were only six hundred and forty-five dollars, and had not increased two hundred dollars up to the year 1840; and the sales of real estate amounted in 1838 to only four thousand two hundred and thirty-six dollars, and were not increased thereafter. With these limited funds two school-houses were started in 1836, but were not opened till the 1st of April, 1838. These were the present old Laclede School, on Fourth and Spruce Streets, and a school long disused, corner Cherry and Broadway, since destroyed by fire.

"These schools exhausted the available funds of the board, and languished for want of income to keep up free and full instruction, and the board was much embarrassed in legal expenses and exertions to obtain assignments of lands intended to be granted by the United States, which expenses and exertions have continued with indifferent and partial success only, up to the present time, and still continue.

"In 1842 the market on Broadway caused the renting of the building there, and the transposing of the school to the present Benton School on Sixth Street; but the school languished for want of means, and the crisis of 1843 caused a reduction of the school's rents of twenty-five per cent. for five years, to retain tenants and secure an income. With the assignments at last made in 1843, and compromise made on same in December, 1844, we find the funds and activity of the board improved, and in 1845 the present Clark School, in the First Ward, and Mound School, in the Sixth Ward, were commenced, and opened in 1846 early, the annual rents at this time amounting to $5571.52.

"In 1847 the Jefferson School, in the Fifth Ward, on Wash Street, was commenced, and opened in 1848, and from this time a new life in the public schools may be dated, they filling rapidly with pupils, and becoming of public interest. The cholera of 1849 clouded the schools temporarily, and in some cases the houses were devoted to public service for the sick.

"In 1850 the Eliot School, in the Third Ward, and the new Laclede School, in the Second Ward, were commenced, and opened in 1851, as also the primary school on Seventh Street, in the Fifth Ward; and in 1852 were commenced the Lafayette School, in the First Ward, and Webster School, in the Sixth Ward, the latter of which we have now the pleasure of opening to you, and with these two schools in operation, the board are able to accommodate four thousand pupils, and still see increase wanted, and are preparing for it.

"The income of the board is now... $14,500 from rents.
And this year..... 26,263 from taxes.

"Their expenses for instruction, repairs, fuel, legal and office services have been twenty-five thousand dollars in round num-

bers for the past year, and the remainder devoted to building. With the new high school now in progress, and instruction in these two new schools, their expenses will be increased, but we trust these explanations will show that our trust has not been slackly used and appropriated. Among the friends and supporters of our cause we can number many of our most valued citizens.

"The chairman of the town trustees in 1813, C. B. Penrose, Esq., with Governor William Clark, Bishop DuBourg, Hon. Thomas Benton, Col. John O'Fallon, and many others, was zealous in preserving cognizance of the lands for the object, and among the first members of the present board under the charter of 1833 were the Hon. Edward Bates and the late Josiah Spalding, Esq., to whom the origin of the valuable rules and provisions may be traced.

"The interest in the cause has not ceased, but has gone on, combining to it others, year after year, both in the board and out, and to this interest we should ascribe the noble donation of this noble site of land.

"We therefore present the public school cause to you, both as emanating from the fathers of the Constitution and since supported by well-known names, both past and present, statesmen and legislators, with private citizens innumerable.

"But your presence here, and the progress the schools have made under every difficulty, also proclaim the interest the people have in the public schools, and to these schools we welcome their children, who are to become the men and women of our land, and who will, we trust, appreciate and protect to their children the high heritage we now foster for them, not as a charity, but as a public right and duty."

After the address, the pupils sang a few stanzas appropriate to the occasion, which were followed by an eloquent address from John A. Kasson, the orator of the day.[1]

The Lafayette school-house was opened on the 28th of March, on which occasion an address in English was delivered by Hon. B. Gratz Brown, and one in German by Mr. Jaeger. The schools in St. George Market Hall were transferred to this building, and the schools in Mound School and Chambers Street primary were transferred to the Webster building. In April, 1850, a primary school was opened in the St. George Market Hall.

The schools in 1854, when Superintendent John H. Tice's report, the first annual report of the St. Louis public schools, was published, numbered twenty-seven, employing seventy-two teachers, and when full accommodating upwards of four thousand pupils. The daily average attendance at that time was three thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, the salaries of teachers varying from three hundred and twenty-five dollars to one thousand three hundred dollars per annum, the average expense of each pupil being nine dollars and seventy-five cents per annum.

The success and popularity of the public schools in St. Louis contributed to a very great degree toward establishing a system throughout the State, and the Legislature in 1856 passed a law appropriating *twenty-five per cent.* of the State revenue for the support of free schools, the same to be distributed to the different counties in proportion to the number of children between five and twenty-one years of age. From this source St. Louis received a revenue of twenty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty-six dollars and fifty-one cents, making the total income of the school over eighty-seven thousand dollars.

The board met with financial embarrassments from the time of its establishment until public taxation came to the assistance of its revenues derived from the leasing or sale of its lands. The law of Feb. 13, 1849, providing for "a tax not exceeding one-tenth of one per cent." upon all real and personal property within the corporate limits of St. Louis, was accepted by the qualified voters on the first Monday in June, 1849. This act was amended by the act of March 2, 1859, without altering the amount of tax.

The Legislature, by the act of the 17th of December, 1863, increased the tax provided for in both the preceding laws to "a tax of not more than one-half of one per cent." Under the Constitution of the State, the board is prohibited from creating any debt or expending in any year more than the *income* provided for that year; but for the purpose of paying the principal and interest of the indebtedness existing at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, Nov. 30, 1875, a special tax (not exceeding one mill annually) is permitted to be levied.

From 1849 to 1857 the board consisted of two members. The following is a list of the directors who served at different times:

Samuel H. Bailey, Joseph Baker, Benjamin Brix, J. C. Degenhart, T. B. Dutcher, W. G. Eliot, A. Erford, Louis Espenchied, Waldemar Fisher, Isa Forbes, Andrew Finley, George M. Fichtenkam Alexander Finley, Carlos S. Greeley, Ferdinand Gr chalk, Isaac T. Greene, Archibald Gamble, Will W. Greene, William Garwood, Patrick Gorman, ward Hale, John R. Hammond, Edward Jones, drew Krug, William C. Kennett, George W. Ly Adolph Levy, F. H. Milligan, William S. Mc Frederick Mosberger, P. T. McSherry, Arthur

[1] "At this time," says the *Republican*, "there were in the whole city ten public school-houses, scattered in the various wards, as follows: In the First Ward, 1; in the Second Ward, 3; in the Third, 1; in the Fourth, 1; in the Fifth, 2; in the Sixth, 2. These give facilities for the schooling of about 4000 pupils. The number of children now being educated in these schools, we learn, is 3400. The complement of teachers musters strong. There are now sixty, of whom about forty-five are females, and the remainder males. The most competent persons are employed, as all are required to undergo a thorough examination before a committee of the board of directors before they are admitted in the public schools."

hausen, Joseph O'Neil, William Patrick, George Partridge, Joseph S. Patton, Henry Pilkington, R. M. Parks, Charles A. Pope, Seth A. Ranlett, S. B. Shewey, William S. Stamps, Frederick Schulenberg, Solon Stark, Charles W. Stevens, Thomas Salisbury, John F. Thornton, Thomas M. Taylor, Charles L. Tucker, J. W. Thornburg, Edward Wyman, Louis Winkelmier.

The year 1861–62 is noted in the school reports "as *the year of calamity* to our public schools. The Rebellion has deprived us of all State aid and reduced our other revenues about one-half." At a meeting of the board of directors held on the 14th of May, 1861, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

"*Whereas*, The Legislature of the State of Missouri has by its recent action prohibited the distribution of the school money, and diverted it to defray the expenses of arming the State, therefore depriving this board of a large amount of its customary revenues which are set apart by law to be exclusively used for the purpose of paying the teachers' salaries; and, *Whereas*, this board has no available means of supplying this deficiency and meeting the current expenses of the schools for the usual term-time; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That all the public schools be closed for the remainder of the present scholastic year on Friday, the 17th inst., at four o'clock P.M., and that a *pro rata* deduction of the teachers' salaries be made for the term-time hereby cut off."

Thus circumstanced, the board experienced great anxiety and embarrassment as to the reopening of the schools; but being determined to do everything in its power to meet the wants and expectations of the community, it appointed a special committee to examine the financial condition of the board and to report a feasible plan for the management of the schools during the year. This committee reported that "we find the total amount of revenue due the board last year, as shown by the books, was $173,-[illegible]8.01. Of this the board was able to collect less than fifty-seven per cent., say $98,344.26, leaving a deficit of over forty-three per cent.;" and "that it will be imperatively necessary to levy a tuition fee, which shall be sufficient to pay the teachers' salaries, but in such small amount *per capita* as will be easily borne by the parents of the scholars. In the high and normal schools, in particular, it is recommended that the annual tax be sufficient to meet the entire expenses of these schools." The board in adopting this plan felt compelled to cut down expenses, and, consequently, to reduce largely the salaries of teachers. Immediately after opening the schools, it was ascertained that a considerable portion of the children would be deprived of the benefit of the schools in consequence of the tuition fee. To obviate this difficulty the board

"*Resolved*, That orphans who are unable to pay, the children of indigent widows, and the children of indigent invalid parents be admitted to the public schools free of tuition charge, and that they be allowed free tuition throughout the present scholastic year, unless they forfeit their seats by misconduct or irregular attendance."

Under these circumstances and conditions the public schools were conducted in 1861–62, with 76 teachers and 5787 scholars. The total tuition fees amounted to $24,133.10. The same plan was continued for the year 1862–63, but with more satisfactory results, the average number of teachers employed being 111, the number of pupils 8105, and the amount of tuition fees $23,518.35, about 15 per cent. of the whole number of pupils being admitted free. In July, 1863, the board resolved unanimously to open all the schools free for the ensuing year of 1863–64, and from that year to the present no step backwards has been taken in the conduct of the public schools of St. Louis.

The reports of Ira Divoll, late superintendent of public schools, have mainly furnished the facts from which this sketch of the public school system of St. Louis has been prepared.

Mr. Divoll died after a long illness in June, 1871, at the residence of his brother-in-law, at Baraboo, Sauk Co., Wis. He was a native of Vermont, and was educated at Burlington University in that State. After his graduation he removed to New Orleans, where he held the position of principal of a public school for some time. His health failing, he removed to St. Louis and commenced the practice of law. In 1857 he was elected superintendent of public schools, which office he held for eleven years. The disease, consumption, which had attacked him in New Orleans, continued to make inroads upon his health, and became more severe from year to year, but his great strength of will seemed to keep it in check, and buoyed him up in the greatest trials. He was elected State superintendent of public schools in the fall of 1870, and continued to merit the high esteem in which he was held by members of all parties, and in every part of the State. During the last three years of his administration as superintendent of the St. Louis public schools, a large portion of his time was given to the founding of the public school library, in which he took a deep interest. The subject of making a good school law occupied much of his attention, and was a matter of earnest investigation with him. Mr. Divoll gave active attention to the duties of his office up to within a short time of his death, and his unwearied energy and industry won the golden opinions of a large circle of admirers, particularly among the friends of educational progress.

The following is a list of the directors who served at various times from 1857 to 1867:

John H. Andrews, Stephen D. Barlow, Benjamin Brison, James H. Britton, Joseph Baker, Samuel H. Bailey, Charles Bayha, Charles Blank, John H. Buenemann, Algernon S. Barnes, Henry Block, A. C. Cordes, Archibald Carr, John Clark, James M. Corbett, Felix Coste, John Conzelman, Julius Conrad, Samuel Copp, Jules Detchmendy, William D'Oench, Joseph Davis, James Duross, Timothy B. Edgar, Louis Espenschied, Conrad Fath, George M. Fichtenkamp, Isaiah Forbes, Josiah Fogg, Isaac L. Garrison, William Garwood, William W. Green, Isaac T. Greene, Adam Hammer, M. W. Hogan, Joseph Hodgmar, Robert Holmes, Samuel Hagar, John Hartman, Thomas Hayward, Theo. Hildebrandt, Charles W. Irwin, Mark C. Jennings, C. P. E. Johnson, Washington King, James R. Lake, John A. Leavy, James D. Leonard, Charles L. Lips, Morris I. Lippman, John F. Long, James D. Maguire, Andrew Miller, Daniel McAuliffe, Andrew Murrey, Francis Mols, Thos. McVicker, William P. Mullen, Fred. Mosberger, Charles F. Meyer, John Nicolay, Joseph O'Neil, Charles A. Pope, August Pasquier, Moses L. Pottle, Eben Peacock, Henry S. Parker, William Patrick, Fred. Partenheimer, James Richardson, Edward P. Rice, J. P. Davold, Julius Rapp, Samuel Robbins, I. P. Robison, Francis Sigel, James B. Sickles, F. A. H. Schneider, Charles Stevens, Caspar Stolle, Philip Stremmel, John A. Strait, Richard H. Spencer, Louis Spies, H. Schweickhardt, H. M. Thompson, John F. Thornton, Herman Tiefbrunn, Emil Ulrici, C. D. Wolf, D. T. Wright, and Edward Wyman.

The total bonded and floating debt of the board at the time of the adoption of the State Constitution, Nov. 30, 1875, was $754,000. This indebtedness had been reduced in 1881 to $175,000, payable as follows, in six per cent. bonds:

Jan. 1, 1882	$50,000
Jan. 1, 1883	50,000
Jan. 1, 1884	50,000
Jan. 1, 1885	25,000
Total	$175,000

The condition of the fund Aug. 1, 1875, was as follows:

Cash on hand, proceeds of bonded debt tax	$30,830.43
Nineteen Missouri State bonds	20,140.00
Total	$50,970.43

Leaving to be collected to pay off debt in full, $124,029.57.

Article XI., Section 8, of the State Constitution requires that "all moneys, stocks, bonds, and other property belonging to a county school fund, also the net proceeds from the sale of estrays, also the clear proceeds of all penalties and forfeitures, and of all fines collected in the several counties for any breach of the naval or military laws of the State, and all moneys which shall be paid by persons as an equivalent for exemption from military duty, shall belong to, and be securely invested and sacredly preserved in the several counties as a county public school fund, the income of which fund shall be faithfully appropriated for establishing and maintaining free public schools in the several counties of this State." And to further "preserve" this fund the Legislature enacted the law of May 16, 1879, which provides "that all school lands heretofore granted by the General Assembly to any city or town, or to any incorporated board for the benefit of any city or town, or the inhabitants thereof, for the purposes of public education, including all lands set apart or granted by the general government of the United States to this State, and lying within the limits of such city or town, for the support of schools, and granted to or placed in charge of such city or town or incorporated board as aforesaid, shall constitute the *per* *school fund* of such city or town, only the in[come] of which shall be used for the support of the public schools in such city or town." The second section, while permitting the sale of such property, required that "the proceeds be duly invested, and only the income thereof used for the support of schools." The funds arising from these provisions of law and the "county school capital fund," received by the board from the county of St. Louis under the scheme of separation, constitute the permanent school fund of St. Louis.

[1] From the "scheme for the government of the county and city of St. Louis, and charter for the city of St. Louis," as proposed by the board of freeholders, acting under and in pursuance of Section 20, Article IX., of the Constitution of the State of Missouri, and ratified by the qualified voters Aug. 22, 18[7]

"SEC. 36. In all cases where the [limits] of the city of St. Louis, as herein extended, includ[e] only of any school district, the following shall be [the] of adjustment as to property held by or for the use or benefit of such district:

First. Where the part of such district included within such extended limits contains any school-house or other real estate belonging to the district, the board of president and directors of the St. Louis public schools shall pay into the county treasury of St. Louis County, for the use of that part of the district not so included, such proportion of the valuation of said school property as the taxable value of property in the part of such district not so included bears to the taxable value of all property in such district as constituted before such extension. *Second.* Where the part of such district not included within such extended limits contains any school-house or other real estate belonging to the district, the inhabitants of the district not included shall pay to the board of president and directors of the St. Louis public schools such proportion of the valuation of said school property as the taxable value of property in that part of such district included within the city limits bears to the taxable value of all property in such district as constituted before such extension. The valuation of school property mentioned in this section shall be made by arbitrators, one of whom shall be selected by the board of president and directors of the St. Louis public schools, and one by the directors of the school district affected, who, if disagreeing, may select a third; or if unable to agree on the selection of such third arbitrator, any school director or member of the board of president and directors of the St. Louis public schools may apply to the Circuit Court of the Eighth Judicial Circuit to appoint one. A report of the valuation made by such arbitrators, or a majority of them, shall be filed, as soon as practicable, in the clerk's office

The great bulk of the permanent fund is invested in the real estate which was derived from the congressional grants under the law of 1813, in the outlots, common field lots, etc., and such of the original sixteenth section[1] lands as may be recovered from

the Circuit Court of the Eighth Judicial Circuit. Any money to be paid to the board of president and directors of the St. Louis public schools shall be provided for by the assessment, levy, and collection of a special tax on all taxable property within such districts not so included.

"SEC. 37. All property, real, personal, or mixed, of every kind and description, and the evidence of title thereto, now held by the county of St. Louis, or by the county court of St. Louis County, in trust or for the use of the inhabitants of township forty-five north of range seven east, for school purposes, and all such property, and the evidences of title thereto, held by any public officer for the use of any school district in said township, or held by or for the benefit of any such district, shall, as soon as this scheme goes into effect, pass and be delivered to the board of president and directors of the St. Louis public schools; and the title to any and all such property shall, upon operation hereof, vest in said board."

[1] AN ACT *in relation to the title to the sixteenth section in certain townships.*

"*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows:* SEC. 1. Whenever any township in which the sixteenth section granted by the United States to the State of Missouri for the use of schools, or any part thereof, remains undisposed of lies wholly within the limits of any incorporated city, and the title to the sixteenth section of such township, or such portion thereof as now remains undisposed of, shall be, and the same is hereby, vested in the corporation having by law the management of the public schools in such city, by whatever name or title such corporation may be known or designated; *Provided*, That if, by any laws of the State now in force, commissioners have been appointed to take charge and dispose of any such sixteenth section, no action or proceeding commenced by such commissioners for the recovery of the same, or any part thereof, and no contract made with attorneys for the prosecution of such actions or proceedings, shall be in anywise affected by the change of title herein provided for, but all such actions and proceedings shall continue in the name of, and be carried to a final determination by such commissioners; and all the rights, claims, benefits, and interest acquired by said commissioners of the State of Missouri, by virtue of any such action or proceeding, shall, upon the determination thereof, vest in such corporation, and such corporation shall thereafter have full charge and control of the property and funds so acquired.

"SEC. 2. Said commissioners shall make report of their actions, proceedings, and expenditures to such corporation, and shall be entitled to a reasonable compensation for their services, to be fixed by three arbitrators, one of whom shall be chosen by said corporation, one by such commissioners, and the third by the two chosen by the parties. Said arbitrators, so selected, shall hear the evidence, and award such compensation as they may think such commissioners are justly and equitably entitled to, to be paid by such corporation; and such award shall be final and binding on all parties. All compromises agreed upon with such commissioners with any adverse claimant to the lands hereinbefore mentioned, or any portion thereof, shall be submitted to said corporation for approval, and if approved by said corporation, a deed shall be executed by such corporation to such adverse claimant.

"Approved May 16, 1879."

holders under adverse claims. This permanent fund at the close of the school year for 1881 consisted of the following:

Cash		$27,434.78
Missouri State bonds	$21,000.00	
Premium on same	1,260.00	
		22,260.00
Amount due from Rechtien fund		6,584.96
Bills receivable, face value		27,100.00
Estimated value of real estate		1,268,478.57
Total		$1,351,858.31

The permanent fund was not created by the act of May 16, 1879, but existed by virtue of the Constitution, and the only effect of the act of the General Assembly was to remove doubts as to the status of the government land grants, which constitute the greater part of this fund. During the school year of 1881 the board received over seventy thousand dollars from the rentals and interest of this fund.

The general revenue fund is the available source of all revenue for the current expenses of the schools, and is derived from the four mills tax and the income from the permanent fund. The account for 1881 was: Total receipts, $881,964.14; total expenditures, $770,789.06. Of the receipts, the sum of $48,919.10 was received from the tax for 1881 in advance, and therefore does not properly belong to the receipts for the year ending July 1, 1881; and the further sum of $11,584.40, received from sureties of a former treasurer of the board, properly belongs to the receipts of former years. Making these corrections, the ordinary income exceeded the current expenses in the sum of $50,670.58, and during that year the board appropriated from its surplus revenue the sum of $22,000 (excluding $202.50, proceeds of land sale, omitted from receipts) to the building fund for the purchase of school sites and erection of school build-

PUBLIC SCHOOLS—PERMANENT FUND.

"AN ACT *to preserve the public school funds of cities and towns of this State.*

"*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri as follows:* SEC. 1. All school lands heretofore granted by the General Assembly to any city or town, or to any incorporated board for the benefit of any city or town, or the inhabitants thereof, for the purposes of public education, including all lands set apart or granted by the general government of the United States to this State, and lying within the limits of such city or town, for support of schools, and granted to or placed in charge of such city, town, or incorporated board as aforesaid, shall constitute the permanent school fund of such city or town, only the income of which shall be used for the support of the public schools in such city or town.

"SEC. 2. Nothing herein contained shall affect the existing right of any city or town or incorporated board to dispose of such lands; *Provided*, That the proceeds be duly invested, and only the income thereof used for the support of schools.

"Approved May 16, 1879."

ings, and also paid into the permanent fund the sum of $18,368.81, being the amount of the county school capital, erroneously paid into the revenue fund before.

The correct account of the fund for the year 1881 is therefore,—

Receipts	$905,198.36
Expenditures	811,157.87
Balance on hand Aug. 1, 1881	$94,040.49

A tabulated comparative statement is herewith submitted, giving the items of receipts and expenditures since 1877:

RECEIPTS.

	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.
Four-mill tax	$655,995.73	$714,990.59	$676,074.50	$667,707.64	$720,043.59
Rents of real estate	47,006.28	47,427.10	50,285.65	51,819.54	52,086.13
State school fund	131,946.05[1]	85,117.07	71,268.85	74,725.80	76,063.29
Bills receivable[2]	42,003.59	46,907.65	42,427.04	18,217.87	7,987.85
Interest on bills receivable	5,227.80	10,300.12	10,165.70	7,475.56	4,224.03
Interest on current deposits	.....	.....	.....	2,778.63	5,863.37
Kindergarten sup. fees	3,228.00	5,097.80	.....	.....	5,374.10
Tuition non-residents	890.00	485.00	343.75	342.50	137.00
Miscellaneous	23,548.63	24,353.68	1,895.50	1,424.13	1,102.59
Total	$909,846.08	$934,679.01	$851,958.99	$824,491.67	$872,881.95

[1] Includes the amount appropriated to the city and county of St. Louis.
[2] For the years prior to 1881 the "bills receivable" include both principal and interest notes; since August, 1880, only "interest" notes are included.

EXPENDITURES.

	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.
Teachers' salaries	$564,478.25	$607,929.25	$623,630.85	$594,410.95	$585,456.93
Janitors' salaries	48,453.50	53,537.30	57,450.05	56,938.65	56,319.60
Officers' salaries	26,598.35	27,162.35	23,654.55	22,900.00	23,036.25
Repairs	28,334.81	36,782.24	35,586.08	33,323.11	37,986.12
Fuel	14,428.91	7,012.63	13,994.99	12,904.97	15,999.67
Gas	4,651.05	5,120.11	6,099.95	5,565.02	5,196.27
Supplies—proper	12,294.17	23,874.32	13,643.93	13,031.79	4,296.41
Supplies—Kindergarten[1]	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,267.35
Rent of school-houses	3,469.18	5,674.60	6,090.00	5,881.45	6,072.93
Library	13,400.00	12,999.50	10,800.00	13,508.00	11,000.00
Furniture	7,577.81	12,913.42	7,581.65	5,477.61	5,257.89
General expenses	12,023.21	15,111.11	6,223.29	5,957.51	6,534.25
Census	.....	.....	5,693.40	5,500.00	800.00
Cleaning vaults	997.74	812.35	3,279.13	323.93	804.25
General taxes	2,017.09	331.80	4,006.33	8,787.45	1,598.00
Special taxes	1,977.74	278.82	1,322.42	1,086.18	417.74
Insurance	1,490.25	1,132.25	1,275.84	29.25	29.25
Printing	4,784.65	5,944.87	4,080.78	3,132.50	3,543.75
Water license	.....	.....	3,432.90	1,913.50	2,827.00
Sprinkling streets	.....	.....	1,282.49	1,430.26	1,531.75
Total	$746,977.04	$816,667.62	$829,132.27	$792,102.13	$772,915.66
New school sites and buildings	152,357.97	175,902.93	58,208.55	1,501.92	11,953.00
Grand total	$899,335.01	$992,570.55	$887,340.82	$793,604.05	$784,868.66

[1] Prior to 1881 included in supplies proper.

The building fund is the creation of the board and not of any law, its receipts being taken from the general revenues of the board. While under the Constitution of the State a special tax for the erection of new school buildings may be authorized by the vote of two-thirds of the qualified voters, the board has never availed itself of this provision, but has provided new school accommodations from its general revenues applicable to that purpose. This fund consists, *first*, of appropriations from the surplus current revenues of the board; *second*, of township bills receivable received under the scheme of separation on behalf of the school districts lying within the extended limits of the city which belong to the townships intersected by the new city line; *third*, the bills receivable representing deferred payments on all real estate sold by the board *prior* to the enactment of May 16, 18[illegible] and *fourth*, the proceeds of all sales of land not

longing to the permanent fund. The receipts and disbursements of this fund for the school year of 1881 were,—

Receipts	$42,859.91
Expenditures	11,953.00
Balance	$30,906.91

Including Missouri State bonds and premium amounting to $6360, the total cash and bonds in fund Aug. 1, 1881, were $37,266.91. The building fund for the year 1882 was increased from the above balance of $37,266.91 by an appropriation of $60,000 to $87,267.91, which is believed to be sufficient for the completion of all buildings now in progress.

Value of School Property.

Value of school lots	$777,777.00
Value of buildings and furniture	2,075,534.91
Total value of property used for school purposes	$2,853,311.91

Teachers.

Number of Principals.

	Male.	Female.	Total.
In the Normal School	1	...	1
In the High School	1	...	1
In the district schools (white)	34	14	48
In the district schools (colored)	12	...	12
In the evening school	10	...	10
Total number of principals	58	14	72

Number of Assistants.

In the Normal School	...	6	6
In the High School	11	15	26
In the district schools (white)	16	634	650
In the district schools (colored)	17	30	47
In the Kindergartens	...	178	178
In the evening schools	11	19	30
Total number of assistants	55	882	937
Music and drawing teachers	4	4	8
Total number of teachers	117	900	1017

Number of Assistants in the District Schools, by Rank.

	White.	Colored.	Total.
Head assistants	45	...	45
First assistants (grammar)	38	1	39
First assistants (primary)	47	...	47
Second assistants (grammar)	41	1	42
Second assistants (primary)	51	3	54
Third assistants	371	42	413
Kindergarten directors	61	...	60
Kindergarten paid assistants	118	...	118
Head assistants (German Dept.)	17	...	17
First assistants (German Dept.)	21	...	21
Second assistants (German Dept.)	9	...	9
Third assistants (German Dept.)	17	...	17
Total assistants	835	47	882

Pupils.

Number of Pupils Enrolled.

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
In the Normal School	...	134	134
In the High School	257	671	928
In the district schools (white)	23,105	23,762	46,867
In the district schools (colored)	1,714	1,938	3,652
Total in day schools	25,076	26,505	51,581
In the evening schools	2,142	242	2,384
Total day and evening schools	27,218	26,747	53,965

Average Number of Pupils Belonging.

In the Normal School	100
In the High School	723
In the district schools (white)	34,814
In the district schools (colored)	2,250
Total in day schools	37,887
In the evening schools	1,333
Total day and evening schools	39,220

Average Number of Pupils in Daily Attendance.

In the Normal School	97
In the High School	701
In the district schools (white)	32,070
In the district schools (colored)	2,025
Total in day schools	34,893
In the evening schools	1,049
Total day and evening schools	35,942

Number of Pupils enrolled in the Kindergarten.

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Receiving primary and Kindergarten instruction	1892	2025	3917
Receiving Kindergarten instruction only	2171	2547	4718
Total number enrolled	4063	4572	8635

Average Number of Pupils belonging in the Kindergarten.

Receiving primary and Kindergarten instruction	2296
Receiving Kindergarten instruction only	2219
Total average number belonging	4515

Average Daily Attendance of Pupils in the Kindergarten.

Receiving primary and Kindergarten instruction	2025
Receiving Kindergarten instruction only	1901
Total average daily attendance	3926

Number of Pupils remaining in the Kindergarten at the close of the Year.

Receiving primary and Kindergarten instruction	2240
Receiving Kindergarten instruction only	2265
Total remaining at close of the year	4505

Cost of Tuition in Day Schools, based on

Average number attending	$16.59
Average number belonging	15.28
Average total number enrolled	11.22

Cost of Incidentals.

(Including fuel and light, janitor hire, and supplies.)

Based on average number attending	$2.16
Based on average number belonging	1.99
Based on number enrolled	1.46

Total Cost of Tuition and Incidentals.

Based on attendance	$18.75
Based on number belonging	17.27
Based on number enrolled	12.68

ENROLLMENT, ATTENDANCE, AND COST OF INSTRUCTION.

Year.	Whole Number enrolled in Day Schools. Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Average Number Belonging.	Average Attendance.	Per Cent. of Attendance.	Per Cent. of Attendance on Total Number Enrolled.	Average Number of Teachers.	Average Number of Pupils belonging to each Eng. Teacher.	Average Cost of Tuition per Scholar.	Average Cost of Incidentals.	Total Cost of each Scholar.	Average Salary paid each Teacher.
1857–58.....	5,058	4,711	9,769	5,814	5,361	92	55	123	47	$11.65	$2.65	$14.60	$550.75
1858–59.....	5,342	4,769	10,111	6,253	5,739	92	57	140	45	13.20	3.87	17.16	583.51
1859–60.....	5,933	5,409	11,342	7,040	6,422	91	56	158	45	12.16	2.35	14.57	583.20
1860–61.....	6,347	5,819	12,166	8,098	7,407	92	61	167	49	9.65	1.83	11.48	562.52
1861–62.....	2,909	2,878	5,787	3,654	3,364	93	58	76	48	12.59	1.40	14.00	606.64
1862–63.....	4,116	3,989	8,105	5,272	4,752	91	58	111	50	.....	.....	11.19	465.65
1863–64.....	6,139	6,210	12,340	7,715	7,058	91	57	162	48	11.17	2.49	13.66	582.35
1864–65.....	6,960	6,966	13,926	9,090	8,121	90	58	184	48	13.31	3.86	17.17	657.04
1865–66.....	7,256	7,300	14,556	9,493	9,846	91	61	204	47	15.15	3.98	19.13	712.77
1866–67.....	7,830	7,461	15,291	10,751	10,029	93	66	200	47	14.85	1.99	16.84	729.77
1867–68.....	9,246	9,214	18,460	12,281	11,848	93	64	278	46	15.51	2.13	17.64	713.60
1868–69.....	10,757	10,429	21,186	15,282	14,218	93	67	340	49	15.86	2.03	17.89	711.84
1869–70.....	12,175	12,172	24,347	17,670	16,277	92	67	411	48	16.85	2.05	18.90	744.98
1870–71.....	13,688	13,899	27,587	19,884	18,428	93	67	[illegible]	46	18.33	2.49	20.82	748.51
1871–72.....	15,085	15,209	30,294	22,010	20,479	93	67	[illegible]	46	18.53	2.28	20.82	763.88
1872–73.....	16,895	17,033	33,928	23,902	21,113	92	62	613	42	19.74	2.18	21.92	740.65
1873–74.....	16,825	17,448	34,273	24,731	23,105	93	67	601	47	18.80	2.71	21.51	773.43
1874–75.....	17,692	18,249	35,941	26,183	24,438	93	68	654	46	19.21	2.53	21.74	772.43
1875–76.....	18,825	19,535	38,390	27,501	25,426	93	66	668	47	[illegible]	2.16	21.26	786.84
1876–77.....	20,729	21,707	42,436	29,774	27,581	93	66	752	45	[illegible]	2.15	20.19	744.98
1877–78.....	24,379	25,199	49,578	35,710	33,075	93	67	916	46	[illegible]	2.06	18.45	639.00
1878–79.....	24,053	24,783	48,836	35,860	33,087	92	68	907	45	16.73	2.00	18.73	629.57
1879–80.....	25,046	26,195	51,241	37,150	34,319	93	67	953	48	15.60	1.04	17.64	616.93
1880–81.....	25,676	26,505	51,581	37,887	34,893	92	68	977	48	15.28	1.99	17.27	592.64

The following table shows the number and capacity of the school-houses owned and rented, number of teachers, enrollment of scholars in day and evening schools, and, approximately, the receipts and expenditures for each fiscal year (ending July 31, 188[illegible] since 1850:

Year.	Number of School-Houses owned by the Board.	Number Rented.	Total Number of Seats.	Whole Number of Pupils Enrolled.	Average Number Belonging.	Average Daily Attendance.	Average Number of Teachers.	Receipts. From Rents.	From State and County School Fund.	From City School Taxes.	Revenue from other Sources.	Total Receipts.	Expenditures. Teachers' Salaries.	Permanent Improvements.	Current Expenses	Total Expenses
1850	6	3	1,800	.....	.....	.....	31	$14,537.34	.....	.....	$6,026.02	$20,563.36	$13,703.00	$3,117.75	$3,742.61	$20,563
1851	7	3	2,850	.....	2,427	.....	47	14,220.57	.....	$18,432.11	14,150.01	46,802.69	37,575.00	20,756.26	4,390.07	46,802
1852	7	3	2,876	.....	2,625	.....	52	14,154.40	.....	25,344.70	7,857.11	47,356.21	20,000.00	19,348.28	8,007.93	47,356
1853	9	3	3,755	.....	2,968	.....	60	14,060.66	.....	26,263.90	3,670.99	43,992.58	23,565.85	11,303.02	9,926.71	43,795
1854	9	4	3,800	.....	3,681	.....	67	13,353.53	$31,043.79	27,759.85	14,932.38	87,088.55	28,466.17	41,993.60	17,328.68	87,788
1855	11	4	3,917	6,096	4,105	.....	74	15,014.87	11,583.47	28,481.27	32,060.63	87,219.24	34,819.12	30,620.12	18,061.87	87,529
1856	11	5	.....	8,123	.....	.....	86	14,547.50	24,289.50	31,219.60	27,980.04	98,036.33	42,765.25	40,806.86	21,820.70	97,993
1857	12	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	116	15,784.34	28,179.84	33,880.38	42,438.27	126,282.83	57,020.33	71,029.07	24,374.57	126,082
1858	13	10	6,773	9,769	5,814	5,361	131	25,764.49	32,730.35	53,500.73	48,224.69	160,220.20	67,742.21	55,754.59	28,211.54	160,208
1859	23	3	9,289	10,111	6,253	5,739	145	30,542.45	32,955.98	66,815.44	37,660.67	167,974.54	83,074.96	55,228.71	29,670.87	167,974
1860	22	2	9,441	12,218	7,576	6,880	168	33,497.28	29,159.76	70,716.83	20,359.40	162,733.36	92,141.35	45,743.01	24,859.00	162,743
1861	21	2	9,441	13,380	8,716	7,983	181	25,674.32	7,626.32	62,765.09	6,058.61	102,124.36	68,390.63	13,556.86	20,176.87	102,124
1862	21	1	8,945	5,787	3,654	3,364	76	25,937.86	.....	47,387.82	34,121.06	107,446.73	46,028.78	13,670.33	47,845.80	107,544
1863	...	...	8,664	8,937	5,588	5,101	111	27,264.67	1,598.24	50,666.69	35,880.73	115,410.31	51,886.05	.....	55,556.41	115,902
1864	21	...	8,976	13,370	8,229	7,489	162	35,340.43	21,861.66	50,222.55	84,050.81	197,480.45	88,078.54	9,640.04	47,098.38	154,616
1865	22	1	9,916	15,917	9,871	8,894	194	35,234.65	4,259.70	118,571.68	48,999.89	207,065.91	126,023.42	20,914.14	122,889.68	269,827
1866	25	5	11,055	16,228	10,454	9,597	226	43,788.71	6,463.79	163,923.28	119,901.17	333,076.95	153,232.80	7,811.50	166,660.26	327,705
1867	26	3	13,510	17,524	11,641	10,802	261	42,066.97	7,700.00	273,729.13	121,580.25	445,076.35	167,134.90	157,573.36	83,729.04	408,437
1868	27	11	15,282	20,594	13,972	12,925	315	48,630.01	36,706.45	410,771.57	26,273.12	522,381.15	207,702.80	154,227.21	118,454.90	480,384
1869	34	6	18,000	23,714	15,282	14,218	390	49,011.47	43,590.86	414,332.51	54,435.54	561,370.38	249,228.25	245,460.38	82,303.36	577,021
1870	38	10	20,105	26,811	18,008	17,358	453	52,614.72	47,019.92	521,537.95	16,223.13	637,405.72	304,407.45	241,256.42	118,104.33	663,768
1871	44	7	23,222	29,924	19,884	18,428	516	53,224.65	51,360.71	550,810.30	21,536 90	676,942.56	373,674 55	241,716.82	137,244 77	752,636
1872	49	6	25,750	32,658	22,010	20,479	566	51,583.00	71,108.00	608.16 00	29,132.00	759,983.00	420,539.00	202,503.00	134,580.00	757,622
1873	49	8	26,810	36,867	23,902	21,113	628	50,347.31	56,210.88	594,006 54	18,049.58	719,717.31	466,462.40	182,950 93	154,307.40	803,720
1874	50	4	30,530	39,850	27,857	25,767	711	59,208.29	74,045 07	623,220 13	23,121.24	779,594.73	490,426.10	158,351.64	178,941.28	827,719
1875	56	5	32,070	41,092	29,109	27,100	769	52,855.75	94,783.15	645,176.09	60,398.25	849,513.24	522,350.09	111,471.83	184,591.97	818,413
1876	56	5	33,510	43,663	29,318	29,706	785	50,275.50	96,743 60	731,527.14	56,150.64	964,696.85	543,741.52	59,053.80	141,272 88	744,068
1877	56	5	34,100	47,676	32,618	30,002	870	47,006.28	131,946.05	795,438.74	150,802.78	1,125,194.48	564,478.25	188,270.59	181,475.72	934,225
1878	82	13	37,580	55,995	39,330	36,170	1,056	47,427.10	85,117.07	891,550.98	87,792.75	1,111,936.30	607,929.25	225,599.29	170,650.02	964,178
1879	92	12	42,270	55,122	39,369	36,077	1,113	50,285.65	71,268.85	759,856.98	60,259 20	941,670.68	632,988.15	101,376 28	135,920.01	870,284
1880	93	10	42,560	55,780	39,725	36,449	1,044	51,819.54	74,725.80	745,442.61	76,788.02	948,745.97	594,410.95	40,302.64	153,243.05	787,956
1881	93	10	42,610	53,965	39,220	35,942	1,017	52,086.13	76,063.20	720,043.59	30,899.24	879,092.25	585,456.95	51,670.55	122,362.52	759,490

The following statement will show the amount expended by the board for new school sites and school buildings during each year from Aug. 1, 1863:

For the year ending Aug. 1,	1864	$7,702
" " "	1865	6,051
" " "	1866	66,979
" " "	1867	149,476
" " "	1868	135,761
" " "	1869	439,682
" " "	1870	191,895
" " "	1871	197,313
" " "	1872	152,698
" " "	1873	133,904
" " "	1874	18,888
" " "	1875	44,345
" " "	1876	21,388
" " "	1877	152,357
" " "	1878	175,902
" " "	1879	58,208
" " "	1880	1,501
" " "	1881	11,953
Total		$1,965,003

The population of the city of St. Louis June 1, 1880, was 350,522; school population June 1, 1880 (between the ages of six and twenty),—

	White.	Colored.	Total.
Male	50,626	2,772	53,398
Female	50,216	2,758	52,974
Total	100,842	5,530	106,372

SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

Total number of school-buildings	103
Number of school buildings owned by the board	93
Number of school buildings rented by the board	10
Number of school-rooms	753
Seating capacity for pupils	42,610

COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR FIFTEEN YEARS.

Year.	No. Houses.	No. Seats.
1867	30	11,055
1868	35	13,510
1869	40	18,000
1870	48	20,105
1871	52	23,222
1872	58	25,750
1873	67	27,785
1874	54	28,530
1875	56	30,070
1876	56	31,510
1877	88	35,790
1878	95	37,580
1879	104	42,270
1880	103	42,560
1881	103	42,610

SCHOOL PROPERTY, JULY 31, 1881.

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Where Located.	Estimated Value of Ground.	Estimated Value of Houses and Furniture.	TOTAL.
Public School, Polytechnic Building	Corner Seventh and Chestnut Streets	$60,000.00	$376,397.52	$436,397.52
High	Corner Fifteenth and Olive Streets	35,000 00	41,469.98	76,469.98
Hams	Taylorwick Station, Pacific R. R.	1,760.00	2,036 25	3,796.25
Arlington	St. Charles Rock road, one-half mile east of Rinkelville	1,060 00	4,793.00	5,853.00
Ann	Hebert Street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth	13,060.00	62,748.56	75,748.56
Bellaire	Bridgton road, one mile west of Grand Avenue	2,000.00	10,600.00	12,600.00
Bellefontaine	Baden P. O.	1,500.00	8,500 00	10,000.00
Bates	Collins, between Bates Street and Cass Avenue	17,571.00	38,070.32	55,641.32
Bell Avenue	Bell Avenue, half-mile west of Grand Avenue	4,000 00	6,577.86	10,577.86
Benton	Corner Ninth and Locust Streets	40,000.00	38,288.30	78,288.30
Benton Station	Manchester road, near Benton Station	500.00	2,000.00	2,500.00
Bremen	Corner Fifth Street and Loughboro' Avenue	5,000.00	11,776.27	16,776.27
Bunker Hill	John Avenue and Emily Street	2,000.00	11,372.13	13,372.13
Carondelet	Corner Third and Hurck Streets	2,500.00	33,984.64	36,484.64
Carr	Corner Sixteenth and Carr Streets	7,300.00	4,002.77	11,302.77
Carr Lane	Southwest corner Twenty-fourth and Carr Streets	10,000.00	30,794.01	40,794.01
Carr Lane Primary	Northwest corner Twenty-fourth and Carr Streets	7,500.00	3,000.00	10,500.00
Carroll	Corner Carroll and Buel Streets	10,000.00	44,662.20	54,662.20
Charless	Kingsbury Street, near Gravois road	3,000.00	25,244.43	28,244.43
Cheltenham	Cheltenham Station, Pacific R. R.	1,000.00	3,250.00	4,250.00
Chouteau	Chouteau, near Summit Avenue	3,000.00	9,521.38	12,521.38
Clay	Corner Tenth and Farrar	10,000.00	37,026.32	47,026.32
Clinton	Grattan, near Hickory Street	11,000.00	45,290.63	56,290 63
Cotton Branch	East side Grattan, near Hickory Street	7,349.00	15,721.60	23,070 60
Compton	Henrietta, between Arkansas and Illinois Streets	3,500.00	14,329.01	17,829.01
De Brillante	Kennedy road, north of St. Charles road	4,000.00	20,000.00	24,000.00
De Peres	Fourth and Illinois Streets	7,000.00	11,136.00	18,136.00
Dwight	Dayton Street and Glasgow Avenue	13,040.00	39,060.84	52,100.84
Virginia	Corner Eleventh and Howard Streets	11,300.00	47,232.00	58,532.00
Eliot	Fifteenth and Pine Streets	15,000.00	9,310.73	24,310.73
Everett	Fifteenth and Walnut Streets	25,000.00	39,411.05	64,411.05
Ellendale	Ellendaville post-office, four miles out	3,250.00	22,350.00	25,600.00
Fairmount	Eighth, between O'Fallon Street and Cass Avenue	11,000.00	13,753.33	24,753.33
Franklin	Lucas Avenue and Eighteenth Street	22,000.00	38,521.72	60,521.72
Franklin	Fifth and Poplar Streets	17,000.00	6,200.00	23,200.00
Gravelville	Gravois road, near King's Highway	500.00	3,250.00	3,750.00
Grand View	Watson road, south of Old Manchester road	1,000.00	1,690.00	2,690.00
Gravois	Gravois road and Wyoming	3,000.00	17,083.42	20,083.42
Hamilton	Twenty-seventh and Dickson Streets	6,000.00	30,635.18	36,635.18
Jackson	Corner Jackson and Lesperanee Streets	8,000.00	61,313.51	69,313.51
Kerr	Corner Bremen and Kossuth Avenues	6,000.00	36,125.77	42,125.77
Lafayette	Corner Nineteenth Street and Maiden Lane	4,000.00	23,401.20	27,401.20
Lawson (new and old)	Corner Ninth and Wash Streets	45,810.00	49,374.22	95,184.22
Lincoln	Corner Sixth and Poplar Streets	34,000.00	51,473.40	85,473.40

SCHOOL PROPERTY, JULY 31, 1881.—*Continued.*

Name of School.	Where Located.	Estimated Value of Ground.	Estimated Value of Houses and Furniture.	Total.
Lafayette	Corner Ann Avenue and Decatur Street	$8,000.00	$20,221.24	$28,221.24
Lincoln	Eugenia and High Streets	12,000.00	46,707.92	58,707.92
Lincoln Branch	Walnut and High Streets	Leased.	18,607.45	18,607.45
Lowell	Lowell post-office, near Bellefontaine road	1,500.00	3,500.00	5,000.00
Lyon	Eighth and Pestalozzi	5,000.00	56,528.67	61,528.67
Madison	Seventh and Hickory Streets	13,000.00	35,823.43	48,823.43
Madison (new)	Seventh, between Hickory and Labadie Streets	15,000.00	15,829.40	30,829.40
Madison Branch	Corner Seventh and Hickory Streets	Leased.	4,000.00	4,000.00
Maramec	Corner Iowa and Maramec Streets	3,000.00	1,449.35	4,449.35
Mullanphy	Fourteenth and Howard Streets	Leased.	4,117.42	4,117.42
Oak Hill	Russel Avenue, south of Arsenal	1,000.00	3,500.00	4,500.00
O'Fallon	Sixteenth Street, between O'Fallon and Cass Avenues	10,000.00	64,700.85	74,700.85
Peabody	Second Carondelet Avenue and Carrol Street	16,500.00	61,176.93	77,676.93
Penrose	Penrose Street, between Clay and Glasgow Avenues	3,500.00	30,128.16	33,628.16
Pestalozzi	Corner Seventh and Barry Streets	15,000.00	29,411.29	44,411.29
Pope	Corner Ewing and Laclede Avenues	11,525.00	36,153.25	47,678.25
Pope Kindergarten	Leffingwell Avenue and Chestnut Street	Leased.	329.68	329.68
Rock Spring	Manchester road, half mile west of Grand Avenue	3,000.00	15,355.90	18,355.90
Shaw	Old Manchester road and King's Highway	1,500.00	7,000.00	8,500.00
Shepard	Marine Avenue, near Hospital	3,000.00	21,079.38	24,079.38
Spring Avenue	Parsons Street, corner Spring Avenue	3,000.00	3,857.22	6,857.22
Stoddard	Corner Lucas and Ewing Avenues	20,000.00	27,608.05	47,608.05
Stoddard Branch	Lucas Avenue, near Ewing Avenue	8,800.00	23,878.66	32,678.66
Webster (old and new)	Eleventh and Exchange Streets	25,000.00	66,473.55	91,473.55
Sumner High	Eleventh, between Poplar and Spruce Streets	22,500.00	11,793.59	34,293.59
Colored No. 1	Lucas Avenue and Fourteenth Street	12,500.00	18,533.26	31,033.26
" No. 2	Twelfth Street, near Webster	8,000.00	5,513.00	13,513.00
" No. 4	Cozzens Street, near Pratt Avenue	3,000.00	12,267.64	15,267.64
" No. 6	Fifth, between Fillmore and Market Streets	1,500.00	9,733.61	11,233.61
" No. 7	Rock Spring	1,000.00	6,500.00	7,500.00
" No. 8	Elleardsville	800.00	1,576.46	2,376.46
" No. 11	Baden P. O	800.00	800.00	1,600.00
	Bought for School Purposes and not yet Improved.			
Lots 17 to 22, inclusive	Caroline Street, near Park Avenue	5,000.00	.....	5,000.00
Lots 5, 6, and 7	St. Louis Avenue and Eighteenth Street	10,000.00	.....	10,000.00
Lots 1 to 7, block 1084	Bell and School Streets	15,000.00	.....	15,000.00
Block 40, survey 3	South St. Louis	9,000.00	.....	9,000.00
Northwest half-block 49	Eiler's survey, South St. Louis	1,000.00	.....	1,000.00
North part block 1520, 149.8 x 249.6	Wyoming and Clara Streets and Jefferson Avenue	5,100.00	.....	5,100.00
Lots 150 x 120 feet	Gravois road and King's Highway	2,012.00	.....	2,012.00
Lots 11, 12, 13, and 14	One hundred feet on Capital Avenue	2,000.00	.....	2,000.00
150 feet on Dominique Street	Lowell	3,000.00	.....	3,000.00
		$777,777.00	$2,075,534.91	$2,853,311.91

NAMES, LOCATION, DIMENSIONS, AND VALUE OF SCHOOL-HOUSES, SIZE AND VALUE OF GROUNDS, FOR JUNE 1, 1881.

Name of School.	Number of Teachers. Whole Day.	Number of Teachers. Half Day.	When Built.	Estimated Value of Lots.	Estimated Value of Houses and Furniture.	Size of Lots.	Size of Houses.	Number of Stories.	Number of Rooms.
Polytechnic Building (purchased)	...	...	1867	$60,000.00	$376,397.52	135 x 109	.....	5	11
Normal (Polytechnic Building)	7	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	11
High	13	1	1855	35,000.00	41,469.98	150 x 106	84 x 67	3	12
Br. High No. 1 (Polytechnic Building)	9	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	12
Franklin Branch High	5	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	5
Blow Branch High	1	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	1
Adams	1	...	1878	1,600.00	2,036.25	265 x 110	.....	1	1
Ames	30	1	1873	45,000.00	62,748.56	252½x 147½	76 x 96	3	18
Ashland	5	...	.....	2,000.00	10,600.00	216 x 128	60 x 30	3	6
Baden	4	...	.....	1,500.00	8,500.00	196 x 125	26 x 20	3	6
Bates	18	...	1872	17,671.00	38,070.32	182½x 107½	76 x 80½	3	13
Bell Avenue	4	...	.....	4,000.00	6,577.56	.....	.....	2	4
Benton	14	1	1870	40,000.00	32,288.30	127 x 112	76 x 80½	3	12
Benton Station	1	...	1870	500.00	2,000.00	100 x 216	56 x 38	1	2
Blow	15	1	1858	5,000.00	11,776.27	150 x 115	100 x 34	3	10
Bryan Hill	4	...	.....	2,000.00	11,372.13	.....	.....	2	4
Carondelet	17	1	1871	2,500.00	33,984.64	150 x 138	86 x 65	3	12
Carr	9	1	1855	7,300.00	4,002.77	76 x 155	40 x 75	2	8

NAMES, LOCATION, DIMENSIONS, AND VALUE OF SCHOOL-HOUSES.—*Continued.*

Name of School.	Number of Teachers. Whole Day.	Number of Teachers. Half Day.	When Built.	Estimated Value of Lots.	Estimated Value of House and Furniture.	Size of Lots.	Size of Houses.	Number of Stories.	Number of Rooms.	Number of Seats.
Carr Lane	16	...	1870	$10,000.00	$39,794.01	135 x 143	76 x 80½	3	12	700
Carr Lane Primary (purchased)	6	...	1875	7,500.00	3,000.00	75 x 100	.....	2	6	360
Carroll	21	1	1866	10,000.00	44,062.20	140 x 150	58 x 75	3	14	900
Carroll Branch	4	...	Rented	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	240
Cauldens	19	...	1859	3,000.00	25,244.43	180 x 120	58 x 32	2	12	700
Cheltenham	3	...	1868	1,000.00	3,250.00	1 acre.	53 x 26	1	3	110
Chouteau	11	...	1868	3,000.00	9,521.38	75 x 123	58 x 32	2	10	610
City	20	...	1859	10,000.00	37,026.32	250 x 160	74½x 56	3	16	950
City Addition	8	...	1878	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	9	500
Clinton	23	1	1868	11,000.00	45,290.63	170 x 129	72 x 66	3	12	750
Clinton Branch	4	...	1877	7,349.00	15,721.60	125 x 131	.....	2	10	600
Compton	4	...	1868	3,500.00	14,329.01	100 x 136	53 x 33	2	4	240
Des Brilliante	8	1	.....	4,000.00	20,000. 0	311 x 140	.....	3	7	350
Des Peres	4	...	1873	7,000.00	11,136.00	145 x 100	45 x 61	2	4	240
Divoll	22	1	1872	13,040.00	39,060.84	200 x 118	76 x 80½	3	13	800
Dodier	4	1	Rented	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	4	240
Douglas	15	...	1870	11,300.00	47,232.00	127 x 155	76 x 80½	3	12	700
Eads	10	...	1859	15,000.00	9,310.73	78 x 109	42 x 71	2	8	480
Eliot	16	...	1868	25,000.00	39,411.05	125 x 150	72 x 56	3	12	700
Bleardsville	14	1	.....	3,250.00	22,350.00	128 x 142	.....	3	12	650
Everett	22	...	1859	11,000.00	13,753.33	172 x 127	80½x 58	3	16	950
Franklin	31	...	1857	22,000.00	38,521.72	140 x 107	70 x100	3	19	1,000
Gamble	6	...	1851	17,000.00	6,200.00	70 x 127	42 x 71	2	7	420
Gardenville	2	...	.....	500.00	3,520.00	¾ acre.	.....	2	3	80
Grand View	1	...	.....	1,000.00	1,600.00	1 acre.	40 x 25	1	1	60
Gravois	6	...	1867	3,000.00	17,083.42	125 x 85	53 x 33	2	4	240
Hamilton	15	1	1859	6,000.00	30,635.18	133 x 155	58 x 32	2	10	600
Humboldt	20	...	1870	8,000.00	61,313.51	126 x 157	76 x 80½	3	12	700
Humboldt Addition	5	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	7	420
Irving	21	1	1871	6,000.00	36,125.77	200 x 128	76 x 80	3	12	700
Jackson	19	...	1859	4,000.00	26,401.20	150 x 140	58 x 32	2	12	700
Jefferson	22	1	1848	45,610 00	49,574.22	82 x 109	42 x 72	3	12	700
Jefferson Branch	9	...	Rented	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	10	550
Labeile	15	1	1870	34,000.00	51,473.40	125 x 128	76 x 80½	3	12	700
Lafayette	20	1	1863	8,000.00	20,221.24	150 x 140	50 x 80	3	12	700
La Salle	23	...	1867	12,000.00	46,707.92	150 x 120	72 x 66	3	12	700
Lincoln Branch	5	...	1878	Leased.	18,607.45	.....	.....	2	8	480
Lowell	5	...	.....	1,500.00	3,500.00	150 x 150	.....	1	3	180
Lyon	21	1	1868	5,000.00	56,528.67	124 x 150	71 x 66	3	16	950
Mahood	20	1	.....	13,000.00	6,823.43	100 x 145	64 x 70	3	12	700
Madison (new)	6	...	1873	15,000.00	24,829.40	150 x 150	100 x 40	2	6	360
Madison Branch	4	...	.....	Leased.	4,000.00	.....	.....	2	8	480
Maramec	4	...	1870	3,000.00	1,449.35	85 x 125	58 x 32	2	4	240
Mclaughly	8	1	.....	Leased.	4,117.42	.....	.....	3	12	700
Mt Hill	3	...	1870	1,000.00	3,500.00	1 acre.	63 x 29	2	4	240
O'Fallon	26	1	1867	10,000.00	64,700.85	190 x 127	72 x 6	3	20	1,100
Peabody	27	...	1872	16,500.00	61,176.93	120 x 278	72 x 66	3	19	1,100
Prairie	15	1	1868	3,500.00	30,128.16	175 x 140	53 x 33	3	11	600
Rombauer	10	1	1870	15,000.00	29,411.29	90 x 140	76 x 80½	2	8	480
Shaw	20	...	1872	11,525.00	36,153.25	130 x 131	71 x 65	3	14	800
Shepley	10	...	1870	3,000.00	15,355.90	125½x 150½	Irregular.	3	8	480
Soulard	4	...	1870	1,500.00	7,000.00	¾ acre.	57 x 55	2	4	240
Sumner	16	...	1859	3,000.00	21,079.38	100 x 160	58 x 32	2	12	700
Sumner Avenue	2	...	1879	3,000.00	3,857.22	215 x 134	60 x 40	1	2	120
Willard	22	1	1867	20,000.00	27,608.05	130 x 135	86 x 52	3	12	700
Willard Addition	10	...	1878	8,800.00	23,878.66	.....	.....	2	12	720
Wyman (old)	16	...	1853	25,000.00	66,473.55	1¼ acres.	50 x 80	3	12	700
Wyman (new)	22	1	1866	.....	.....	.....	86 x 52	3	12	720
Colored School, Sumner High	12	...	.....	22,500.00	11,793.59	125 x 152	80½x 38	3	12	700
" No. 1	9	...	.....	12,500.00	18,533.26	.....	.....	2	8	500
" No. 2	5	...	1871	8,000.00	5,513.00	152 x 150	48 x 35	2	4	240
" No. 3	6	...	1870	Rented.	.....	.....	.....	2	4	240
" No. 4	5	...	1859	3,000.00	12,267.64	98 x 131	58 x 32	2	4	240
" No. 5	4	...	Rented	.....	.....	.....	58 x 32	1	2	120
" No. 6	4	...	1873	1,500.00	9,733.61	37 x 150	61 x 38	2	4	240
" No. 7	2	...	.....	1,000.00	6,500.00	75 x 120	56 x 26	2	4	240
" No. 8	4	...	.....	800.00	1,576.46	125 x 160	.....	1	4	240
" No. 9	3	...	Rented	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	120
" No. 10	1	...	Rented	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	50
" No. 12	4	...	Rented	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	200
Manual, drawing, etc	9	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	...	.....
Total	977	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	753	42,610

German-English Instruction.—As early as [illegible] the German residents of St. Louis petitioned [illegible] board to establish schools wherein both the [illegible]man and English languages should be taught; [illegible] the State school law interdicted the establishment [illegible]ny schools except such as taught the English language *only*. The same question was repeatedly brought to the attention of the board, but no action was taken until, in 1864, it was presented in such shape as to be adopted by the board unanimously, and the German schools were accordingly established. The census of 1870 showed that out of every one

hundred persons in St. Louis twenty-eight were from parents born *in* the United States, and seventy-two from parents born *out* of the United States; of the seventy-two born of foreign parents, thirty-eight were from German parents, twenty-one were from Irish parents, five were from English parents, two were from Swiss parents, two were from Bohemian parents, two were from French parents, and two were from parents of other nationalities. Many of the twenty-eight whose parents were born in the United States had foreign grandparents. From these statistics it appeared to the board that the city was very nearly equally divided between nationalities whose home language is English and those who received some other language from their parents.

The *Republican* of April 5, 1860, gives the following statistics of the German schools in the city at that time, taken from a report by a committee acting under instructions from an association of German teachers:

"There are in all in St. Louis 38 German schools, at which 5524 pupils receive instruction; whole number of teachers employed, 98; of whom 76 are male and 22 female; average number of pupils to one teacher, 56; average yearly fee for each pupil, $9.60. Of the schools the great majority are Protestant, 6 are Catholic, 10 are not committed to any denomination, 1 is conducted by an association of 'Free-thinkers,' and 1 is Israelite.

"The committee also institute a comparison between these and the public schools in this city, from which we adduce the following public school statistics.

"There are in St. Louis 35 public schools, with an average number of 6253 pupils; number of teachers employed, 140, of whom 40 are male and 100 female; average number of pupils to one teacher, 45; average yearly expenses for one pupil, $17.17."

NUMERICAL CONDITION OF GERMAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN ST. LOUIS FROM 1864 TO 1881.

Year.	No. of Schools having German Classes.	No. of Special German Teachers.	Average No. of Pupils studying German.	Increase.	Per Cent. of Increase.
1864–65	5	...	450	.....	.....
1865–66	7	8	710	260	58
1866–67	9	10	1,446	736	104
1867–68	14	17	2,476	1,030	71
1868–69	19	25	3,840	1,364	55
1869–70	32	38	6,213	2,373	62
1870–71	37	46	8,071	1,858	30
1871–72	41	53	10,246	2,175	27
1872–73	41	59	12,055	1,809	18
1873–74	44	67	15,769	3,714	31
1874–75	44	74	17,197	1,428	9
1875–76	44	76	18,161	964	5.6
1876–77	44	78	18,727	566	3
1877–78	56	89	20,851	2,124	11
1878–79	56	95	20,428	—423	2 dec
1879–80	54	69	19,787	—641	3 dec
1880–81	54	64½	20,258	471	2

THE HIGH SCHOOL was established Feb. 11, 1853. Every well-devised and well-executed plan of public education necessarily implies this grade of school. Without it any system would be imperfect and inadequate to the wants of the community. The bringing together of the most advanced scholars of the elementary schools and furnishing them instruction in the higher English and classical studies is an arrangement both natural and philosophical, and one which has been adopted and sustained in every system of public schools in the Union. The St. Louis High School, under the charge of Jeremiah D. Low, A.M., went into operation in the Benton school-house, where it remained until the completion of the High School building, at the corner of Fifteenth and Olive Streets, in the Sixth Ward, which was dedicated on March 2, 1856.

The usefulness of this school and the wisdom of sustaining and enlarging its scope of instruction have become so apparent that a new High School building was recommended in the report of 1880–81. "The need," it was stated, "is dictated alike by considerations of economy and by the interests of the pupils in the first year of the course."

The following table shows the number of pupils enrolled for each year (excluding year in branches):

Year.	Second Year.			Third Year.			Senior Year.			Course		
	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	
1854	23	14	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	14	
1855	11	15	26	10	3	19	...	...	...	21	24	
1856	10	27	37	8	10	18	...	...	...	18	37	
1857	30	35	65	12	16	28	...	...	...	42	51	
1858	40	35	75	7	10	17	8	5	13	55	50	
1859	40	28	68	10	6	25	7	6	13	66	40	
1860	43	31	74	18	11	29	16	6	22	77	48	
1861	52	40	92	20	22	42	22	10	32	94	72	
1862	31	19	85	21	19	40	12	8	20	64	46	
1863	52	23	75	15	9	24	15	5	20	82	37	
1864	34	48	82	10	15	34	9	7	16	62	70	
1865	26	50	76	17	29	46	10	11	21	53	90	
1866	38	40	79	16	33	49	14	24	38	68	97	
1867	28	43	71	19	27	46	12	21	33	59	91	
1868	45	45	90	31	21	52	16	25	41	92	91	
1869	47	51	98	28	33	61	17	26	43	92	110	
1870	30	51	90	26	42	68	21	25	46	86	118	
1871	59	67	126	21	25	48	17	30	47	99	125	
1872	66	89	155	39	45	81	12	21	33	114	152	
1873	81	128	209	32	53	85	22	39	61	135	225	
1874	91	111	202	28	47	75	20	45	65	139	226	
1875	95	135	231	44	74	118	13	34	47	151	245	
1876	98	102	200	13	32	45	42	64	106	151	297	
1877	83	202	285	27	65	92	20	44	64	130	315	
1878	54	126	180	33	108	141	18	54	72	104	350	
1879	67	187	254	21	77	98	13	57	70	101	323	
1880	59	153	212	24	103	127	15	82	97	98	339	
1881	55	155	210	34	109	143	18	83	101	107	360	

GRADED SCHOOLS.—In 1857, Ira Divoll, then appointed superintendent of public schools, visiting other cities and examining their public systems made a report to the board, and there the following general principles were agreed upo

"1. That it is the true policy of the board to build and own its school-houses rather than rent unsuitable tenements.

"2. That no more houses be built according to the old plan, but that *graded schools* be established in future.

"3. That the school-houses hereafter to be built be of uniform size throughout the city, as nearly as the demands of the different districts will permit; those in thinly-settled districts to be one-half or one-third the full size, and constructed with the view of receiving additions when required.

"4. That each first-class school-house, in order to secure good classification and economical management, contain twelve rooms, with seats for about seven hundred scholars, and be provided with separate play-grounds, doors, stairs, etc., for boys and girls.

"5. That the scholars be classified according to their respective attainments, so that those who may be allotted to any one teacher will be equally advanced and pursuing the same studies; the primary scholars to be seated on the *first* floor, the intermediate on the *second*, and the most advanced on the *third*.

"6. That there be one organization and one principal teacher for each building.

"7. That such of the old buildings as will admit of alteration be reconstructed and adapted to the graded system.

"8. That wherever there are several independent departments in the same building, these shall be consolidated under one principal as soon as circumstances may justify such action."

Financial difficulties prevented the immediate realization of this comprehensive system, but it has since been fully carried out.

During the year 1857–58 an inquiry established the fact that there were "at least eight thousand children in the city between six and sixteen years of age whose names had not been registered either in the public or private schools during the year." Efforts were immediately made to provide school-houses for this large number of children, the board authorizing the president to negotiate a loan of fifty thousand dollars for six years, said loan to be expended exclusively for purchasing sites and erecting buildings thereon. This loan could not be raised in St. Louis, but was placed in Philadelphia at an annual interest charge of ten per cent. Messrs. Bailey, Barlow, Fahrenkamp, Green, Leavy, Leonard, Hodgman, Meyer, O'Neil, Robbins, Robinson, and Divoll were appointed a special committee to examine and report (1) where school-houses should be erected; (2) the estimated cost of each; (3) the number of seats it should contain; (4) the annual expense of carrying on the same. This committee on March 8, 1859, reported in favor of building eight school-houses, which were subsequently named *Washington*, *Everett*, *Howard*, *Charless*, *Chouteau*, *Stoddard*, *Hamilton*, and *Jackson*.

EVENING SCHOOLS.—Prior to 1859 the evening schools were conducted under the auspices of Washington University. They were held in the public school buildings, and the expenses of their management were equally borne by the Washington University and the Board of Public Schools. In that year they were taken under the exclusive control of the school board. These schools, which now constitute an important feature of the educational system of St. Louis, originated with Ralph Sellew, who in 1853, after advising with others, offered to guarantee the money needed for the establishment of night schools for the benefit of the working boys of the city. The experiment was heartily seconded by the authorities of Washington University, who furnished facilities for instruction. The practical working of the project greatly exceeded expectations, for while an attendance of about thirty was anticipated and planned for, no less than three hundred young men presented themselves. So great was the interest excited by this venture, and such was the demand for more schools of the sort, that in a year or two the board of education was constrained to organize the system of night-schools which have been in vogue until the present time, and which have proved of inestimable benefit in affording a large number of persons the education which otherwise would have been denied them. The university gladly relinquished the night school to the board of education, and proceeded with the development of a scheme of mechanical education which culminated in the establishment of the existing Manual Training School. The progress of the latter has been watched by Mr. Sellew with the utmost interest, and he has demonstrated his sympathy with the movement by continuous contributions, aggregating a large sum.

Ralph Sellew was born in Connecticut, and prior to 1846 was engaged with his brothers in the metal trade in Cincinnati. In that year he removed to St. Louis to establish a branch house, and in 1849 became sole proprietor. Only about fifteen thousand dollars capital was at first invested, and the first year's sales amounted to only about thirty thousand dollars, but the growth of the business was rapid and steady, and the yearly sales now aggregate not far from two million dollars. In 1866, Mr. Sellew, feeling the need of assistance in managing so large a business, admitted two younger men as partners, and the firm has since been known as R. Sellew & Co. The house deals in metals and manufacturers' supplies, and occupies a large four-story building of its own, with basement, at 805 North Main Street. Its splendid business, which was woven out of the active and enterprising brain of its founder, has hardly any rival in St. Louis, and in its distinctive line is representative of the growth of St. Louis, and typical of her commercial spirit.

Mr. Sellew has always exhibited a warm affection for the city of his adoption, and it would be hard to select any one of her business men who has taken a deeper interest in every judicious scheme to advance her prosperity. The Vulcan Steel Company (now the St. Louis Ore and Steel Company) and the Harrison Wire Company are among the important enterprises with which he has been closely identified. For twenty-one years he has been a director in the Mechanics' Bank, in whose prosperity he has taken great pride, and has rendered the management invaluable service as a counselor of ripe experience and accurate judgment.

Mr. Sellew is a gentleman of retiring habits, and is seldom heard of outside of his chosen calling. He is known to not a few, however, as a person of warm sympathies for the unfortunate, and his name will always be associated with one of the most important features of the educational system of St. Louis. Himself once an apprentice and a journeyman, and having been for many years an employer, he comprehends perfectly the disadvantages under which most mechanics labor, and sympathizes intensely with their condition. Being especially interested in the boys in the shops and factories, who, compelled to labor for a living, were growing up without educational advantages and restraints, it seemed to him a duty to do something for them, and he devoted much of his time and money to the establishment of night schools, as stated above. Mr. Sellew has often been heard to express the regret that in his boyhood he was deprived of educational advantages such as are afforded by these schools and the Manual Training School.

The same large-hearted philanthropy has distinguished Mr. Sellew at every point in his career, but our limited space forbids more than a reference to his numberless charities, which have been bestowed with a graceful modesty which has characterized all that he has ever done. A self-made man, he cherishes a warm and ready sympathy with his young colleagues in business, and in his quiet way has extended practical encouragement to many beginners. He abhors dissimulation and hypocrisy, but those who gain his confidence may count upon the friendship of one of the most estimable citizens that St. Louis has ever possessed.

The following table of comparative statistics will show the growth and value of the schools:

Years.	No. Schools.	No. of Teachers.	No. of Pupils Enrolled.			Average No. Belonging.	Average No. Attending.	Per Cent. of Attendance.	Average No. Belonging to each Teacher.	Entire Cost of Evening Schools.	Average Cost per Pupil.	Average Age
			Boys.	Girls.	Total.							
1859–60	5	14	777	84	861	536	460	85	39	$2,041.00	$3.80	1
1860–61	5	17	1027	122	1149	618	556	89	36	2,621.00	4.24	1
1862–63	4	12	726	106	832	416	346	83	35	1,624.00	3.90	1
1863–64	5	18	869	152	1021	514	431	79	28	2,220.00	3.57	1
1864–65	6	23	1177	294	1471	781	683	86	34	3,610.00	4.62	1
1865–66	8	32	1372	300	1672	861	751	86	25	5,450.00	6.56	1
1866–67	8	30	1364	189	1553	887	773	87	28	5,500.00	6.20	1
1867–68	12	43	1936	198	2134	1191	1075	90	28	7,621.00	6.40	1
1868–69	12	46	2324	204	2528	1402	1259	90	30	8,713.25	6.21	1
1869–70	11	42	2253	211	2464	1247	1081	87	30	8,450.96	6.77	1
1870–71	16	63	2908	707	3615	2055	1773	86	33	11,696.95	5.69	1
1871–72	17	80	3425	712	4137	2290	1996	87	29	15,718.30	6.86	1
1872–73	17	81	3417	554	3971	2016	1711	85	25	14,413.90	7.15	1
1873–74	22	110	4867	710	5577	3126	2662	85	28	17,983.05	5.75	1
1874–75	21	115	4999	752	5751	3070	2644	86	27	19,841.07	6.46	1
1875–76	24	117	4623	650	5273	2817	2368	84	24	19,189.48	6.81	1
1876–77	24	118	4525	715	5240	2844	2421	85	24	19,688.70	6.92	1
1877–78	34	140	5464	953	6417	3620	3095	85	26	24,337.64	6.72	1
1878–79	41	146	5378	908	6286	3509	2990	85	26	25,811.99	7.35	1
1879–80	29	91	4008	531	4539	2575	2128	83	31	17,985.53	6.98	1
1880–81	11	40	2142	242	2384	1333	1049	79	33	7,763.27	5.82	1

KINDERGARTEN SCHOOLS.—The school age under the Constitution of Missouri is from six to twenty years. In his report for 1870–71 the superintendent called attention to the fact that "in certain sections of the city where influences are corrupting to the children, they being obliged to play on the street, it is decidedly better to have them in school at an early age, and to so far modify the tasks imposed upon them as to prevent overstraining their delicate organism. The Kindergarten culture for the young," he continued, "is justly receiving much attention from educators everywhere. To it we must look for valuable hints on the method of conducting our instruction in the lowest primary grades." The superintendent accordingly recommended the establishment of an experimental Kindergarten, but the project



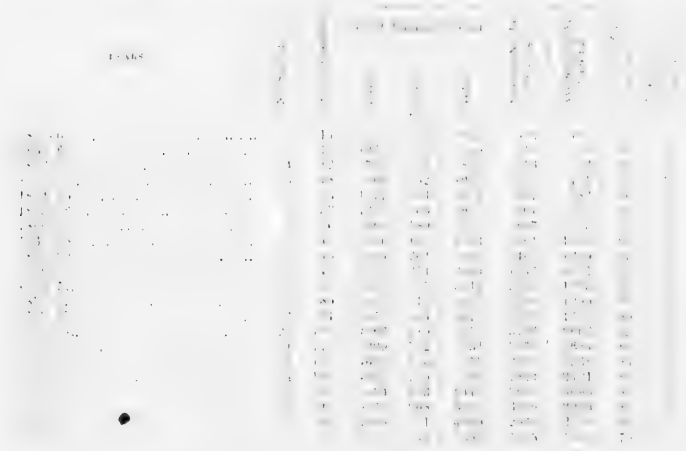


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the schools:

Entire Cost of Evening Schools.	Average Cost per Pupil.	Average Age.
$2,041.00	$3.80	1
2,621.00	4.24	1
1,624.00	3.90	1
2,220.00	3.57	1
3,610.00	4.62	1
5,450.00	6.56	1
5,500.00	6.20	1
7,621.00	6.40	1
8,713.25	6.21	1
8,450.96	6.77	1
11,696.95	5.69	1
15,718.30	6.86	1
14,413.90	7.15	1
17,983.05	5.75	1
19,841.07	6.46	1
19,189.48	6.81	1
19,688.70	6.92	1
24,337.64	6.72	1
25,811.99	7.35	1
17,985.53	6.98	1
7,763.27	5.82	1

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no further than the experiment at the Everett Primary School. In November, 1871, Col. Rombauer introduced into the board a resolution appointing a committee to prepare a report on "play-schools." This committee, consisting of Robert J. Rombauer, W. D'Oench, and Thomas Richeson, reported March 12, 1872, recommending,—

"1. That one thousand dollars are hereby appropriated for the institution of a play-school, provided private citizens furnish a similar amount for the same purpose.

"2. That the institution and the funds created as above shall be under the control of the president, superintendent, and chairman of the teachers' committee of the board.

"3. That the object of that school shall be the same as expressed in this report.

"4. That admission to said play-school shall be free.

"5. That the citizens contributing to the establishment of the play-school may select its locality and elect an advisory committee for its management.

"6. That the superintendent of the public schools shall report from time to time upon its condition and progress."

This report was laid over. The subject was again favorably mentioned in the report of the superintendent of 1871–72, and again in his report of 1872–73. The offer of Miss Blow to undertake gratuitously the instruction of one teacher appointed by the board and to supervise and manage a Kindergarten, provided the board would furnish the rooms and a salaried teacher, was accepted; and in the report of the teachers' committee, Aug. 26, 1873, it was recommended,—

"That room No. 4 of the Des Peres School be devoted for the present year to the purpose of ascertaining, by a faithful experiment, what valuable features the Kindergarten may have that can be utilized in our primary schools; and for this purpose, that Miss Mary A. Timberlake be assigned to this room, with the rank of first assistant; and that Miss Susie E. Blow having proffered her services gratuitously, the same be accepted, and the school be placed under her control and supervision."

The Kindergarten reported in 1880–81, 178 paid and 53 unpaid teachers, a total of 231, with 8635 scholars.

School for Deaf Mutes.—A communication from Samuel Brant, Jacob S. Merrill, and others was presented to the school board Oct. 9, 1878, praying the establishment of a day-school for deaf mutes in the central portion of the city. This communication was referred to the teachers' committee, and at the meeting of November 12th that committee reported in favor of "the establishment of a school for the instruction of deaf mutes in one room in a centrally located school building, and that one teacher be employed." This report was referred to the joint legislative and teachers' committee, which on December 12th asked for further time for consideration. In the mean time a second petition had been presented to the teachers' committee, asking for the use of one room in one of the centrally located school buildings for a deaf mute school, the petitioners agreeing to bear the expenses of the same. This request was granted, and the petitioners were informed that they could have the use of one of the then vacant rooms in the Franklin Branch building (now No. 1), located on Lucas Avenue, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets. On December 2d the school was opened by Delos A. Simpson with eight pupils. On the 8th of April, 1879, the joint legislative and teachers' committee recommended that "one teacher be employed for the remainder of the scholastic year, at a salary not to exceed fifty dollars per month, to instruct deaf mutes," it being at that time the opinion of the committee that this experiment would be "sufficient to determine what the action of the board should be in undertaking this branch of instruction permanently." This recommendation was adopted, and on the 13th of May Delos A. Simpson was appointed instructor of deaf mutes, at a salary of fifty dollars per month. The school was removed in September, 1879, to the old Jefferson building at Ninth and Wash Streets, and, since its establishment, there has been a gradual improvement in the method of instruction and an increased patronage. The number of pupils Dec. 1, 1880, had reached thirty-two. The school has proven of great value to those directly interested, providing suitable instruction for these unfortunate children without removing them from parental care and home influences, both of which are so essential to their future welfare. Two teachers are now employed, Delos A. Simpson and Miss Sylvia Chapin.

Normal School.—The difficulty experienced in procuring suitable teachers for the public schools was found to increase with the growth of the system. The reluctance of persons to engage in teaching compelled the board, as we have seen, to send to the East for teachers. It was in order to obviate this difficulty, as well as to furnish first-class teachers (those trained professionally for the work), that the board determined to establish the Normal School, which went into operation in October, 1857,[1] under the principalship of

[1] The *Republican* of Oct. 21, 1857, says, "The St. Louis Normal School, which is to go into operation on the 28th inst., has been established by the board of school directors to meet a pressing want,—that of a sufficient number of well-qualified teachers for the public schools. It is the first institution of the kind west of the Mississippi. As stated above, and in an advertisement in another column of this paper, the St. Louis Normal School will open on the 28th of this month, and the examination of candidates will take place on Monday, the 26th, at the High School building. The board have secured Mr. Richard Edwards

Richard Edwards, afterwards president of the Illinois State Normal University. From its organization to the present time the school has fully realized the expectations of its friends, and has supplied a desideratum which could be filled in no other way. It has furnished a large majority of the teachers employed in the public schools, and these teachers have proved themselves the equals in every respect of any others in the employ of the board.

An important feature of the work of the Normal School is the imparting of professional information, which is defined by the report of F. Louis Soldan, the principal, as "a knowledge of child-nature." "He" (the teacher), adds Mr. Soldan, "is not simply a teacher, but also the person who is to watch over the health of the children during the time they are under his care, and to teach them how to take care of themselves."

The following table shows the number of applicants for admission for each year, the number admitted, the number of pupils in each class, their ages, and the number of graduates:

Years.	Number of Applicants.	Number Admitted.	Whole Number enrolled during the Year.	Ages at the Close of Year.								No. of Graduates.		
				Senior.	Middle.	Junior.	Fourth.	Senior Class.	Middle Class.	Junior Class.	Fourth Class.	Whole School.	January.	June.	Total.
1857–58	..	...	70	...	...	70	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	5	5
1858–59	...	...	104	27	...	7	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	6	6
1859–60	...	...	106	40	...	66	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	29	29
1860–61	...	...	80	36	...	44	...	29.9m	.....	21	.....	.....	...	10	10
1861–62	...	...	38	14	...	24	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	13	13
1862–63	...	...	48	14	...	34	...	18.11m	.....	18.2m	.....	.....	...	22	22
1863–64	...	...	59	12	...	47	...	19.7m	.....	16.6m	.....	.....	...	17	17
1864–65	...	...	64	15	...	49	...	20.4m	.....	18.4m	.....	.....	...	18	18
1865–66	70	51	77	25	...	52	...	19.9m	.....	18.9m	.....	19.3m	...	25	25
1866–67	56	44	65	13	...	52	...	20.4m	.....	18.11m	.....	19.7m	...	18	18
1867–68	95	79	104	18	70	76	...	19.5m	17.11m	18.2m	.....	18.6m	8	24	32
1868–69	121	73	130	39	18	46	27	18.8m	20	19.9m	19.2m	19.6m	12	19	31
1869–70	123	96	149	39	24	17	69	20.3m	22.10m	18.4m	19.7m	19.11m	11	24	35
1870–71	109	81	155	27	24	32	72	19.1m	19	19.1m	17.5m	18.6m	10	17	27
1871–72	109	72	139	39	31	21	48	19.3m	21.2m	18.8m	19	19.9m	17	22	39
1872–73	142	92	177	14	22	30	83	19.10m	20.3m	19.5m	18.4m	19.3m	20	21	41
1873–74	180	137	220	26	37	48	84	20.5m	19.4m	18.5m	18	18.4m	26	22	48
1874–75	186	116	254	36	50	50	59	19.4m	18.8m	18.7m	18.4m	18.9m	45	26	71
1875–76	221	159	290	54	37	45	62	19.9m	18.4m	18.6m	17.10m	18.6m	12	40	52
1876–77	142	103	215	56	44	42	40	19.4m	19	17.11m	17.9m	18.7m	12	55	67
1877–78	1st term... 92	77	225	54	32	36	77	19.4m	18.11m	18.6m	18	18.6m	22	...	...
	2d term... 69	47		51	30	37	82	19.3m	19.1m	18.4m	18.4m	18.9m	...	27	49
1878–79	1st term... 105	33	225	58	36	44	75	19.6m	19.1m	17.7m	18.3m	18.7m	22	...	...
	2d term... 4	4		44	40	52	33	19.5m	19.5m	18.8m	18.1m	18.10m	...	27	49
1879–80	1st term... 34	22	162	56	43	39	...	19.3m	19.1m	18.8m	.....	19.1m	10	...	...
	2d term... 14	12		80	42	11	...	19.2m	18.5m	18.3m	.....	18.10m	...	35	45
1880–81	1st term... 33	30	134	97	22	...	...	20	19.8m	.....	.....	20.3m	31	...	...
	2d term... 15	13		85	8	...	...	19.10m	20	.....	.....	19.11m	...	37	68

The O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute.—In its original plan the Washington University contemplated the organization of a practical or industrial department, looking to the education of members of the industrial classes with reference to fitting them for their pursuits in life. The object was to acquaint them with the principles and rules of science, so as to enable them to work to the best advantage in their chosen line of labor. With a view to the establishment of such an institution, several gentlemen who were engaged in mechanical and manufacturing enterprises began in 1855 the organization of a library and reading-room. In this connection, as well as every other movement designed to build up the institute, the name of Hon. John How deserves special mention. With him were associated other public spirited citizens, among whom were Giles F. Filley, Gerard B. Allen, and Capt. N. J. Eaton. The four—Messrs. How, Filley, Allen, and Eaton—were appointed by the university authorities the first managers, and the rooms were opened for use in the summer of 1855. The library started with a respectable number of volumes, the gifts of individuals, which grew to about seven thousand in 1867. The library and reading-rooms were soon supplemented by free evening schools, which were opened to apprentices, journeymen clerks, and other young men who could not attend school during the day. The schools, as previously stated, have been kept up with

as principal. Mr. Edwards was for several years associated with Mr. Tallinghast in the management and instruction of the State Normal School at Bridgewater, Mass. Mr. Edwards was afterwards for some time engaged as assistant to the secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education."

great spirit, and their opportunities embraced by a large number of the class of persons for whose benefit they are intended. Many of the pupils have been adults, some of them over thirty years of age, who here acquired the first rudiments of learning. Seventy per cent. originally were apprentices and journeyman mechanics. In these schools, besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, are taught grammar, geometry, algebra, mensuration, physical geography, and industrial drawing.

The constitution of the institute declares its object to be the establishment of a library, of reading- and conversation-rooms, cabinet of models, etc., and a school of design, together with class-, exhibition-, and lecture-rooms.

At the first meeting of the board of managers, in 1855, Hon. John How was chosen president; G. B. Allen, vice-president; A. M. Anderson, librarian and secretary, and John Cavender, treasurer.

The institution has received from time to time a number of liberal gifts from public-spirited citizens of St. Louis, conspicuous among whom was Col. John O'Fallon, who presented two blocks of land "adjoining the new reservoir" containing nearly three thousand square feet, with an average depth of one hundred and fifty feet, the only condition being that the land should not be sold within ten years from the date of the deed. There was also a money endowment paid in or legally secured of forty-five thousand dollars, of which, however, fifteen thousand dollars was applicable only to the expenses of instruction, and not of building. The Benton Public School was granted by the public school directors for the use of the evening school, with lights and fire, free of charge.

In 1867 the institute removed from its original location to its new building, on the southwest corner of Seventh and Chestnut Streets. The lot covered by the building has a front on Chestnut Street of one hundred and thirty-five feet, with a depth on Seventh Street of one hundred and nine feet. The building is four stories in height, crowned by a Mansard roof, tastefully constructed and admirably suited to the architectural character of the edifice. The entire height from the sidewalk to the vertex of the roof is one hundred and twenty-two feet.

The material used in the construction of the principal façades is a species of magnesian limestone, known as "Nipper's stone," being of a cream color, somewhat unlike the Parisian stone, but more resembling travertine, used in the construction of the church of St. Peter's at Rome. The walls of the building are generally massive, and constructed in the most solid and imperishable manner, hard brick, iron, and stone being the sole constituents. The building was begun in 1858, and completed at a cost of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The architects and superintendents of the work were Messrs. Walsh & Smith.

The building was formally opened on June 12, 1867, and at the inauguration ceremonies addresses were made by Hon. John How, Rev. Dr. Post, Dr. Charles A. Pope, Chancellor Chauvent, and Rev. W. G. Eliot, D.D. In his address Mr. How paid the following well-deserved tribute to Col. John O'Fallon:

"The name given to our institute, that of Col. John O'Fallon, was and is so well known to our community that it hardly requires an explanation. Many who hear me claimed him as their friend; his liberal views, his willingness to aid in all endeavors to advance the interests of our loved city, would be sufficient to entitle him to any honor we could bestow; but, in addition to this, he was an early sympathizer in our movement, and though not the largest contributor to our funds, yet he was one of the largest. To him also the manufacturing interest of our city is largely indebted; some who hear me and many who will read this will remember that where a friend was needed to advance their plans, his purse was always open and his name indorsed them. It is not considered wise to indorse paper, and I shall not here justify the practice; still, this I may say, on the authority of Col. O'Fallon, that it is pleasant to look around you, as you descend into the vale of years, and see the good done, business created, families comfortable, city prospering, even if it has been brought about by the want of common prudence in indorsing. True, as Col. O'Fallon said, he had been often disappointed in those he had aided, yet, on the whole, he was satisfied with the result. So much for the name—O'Fallon."

In 1868 the Washington University made a proposition to the board of public schools to transfer the Polytechnic Institute building, together with the ground, the library, and a bequest of one hundred thousand dollars made by the late Henry Ames to the library of the Polytechnic Institute, to the board of public schools for two hundred and eighty thousand dollars. The board appointed Messrs. Coste, Meyer, Thompson, Duros, Peacock, and the superintendent, Mr. Harris, to consider the proposition. Upon the report of this committee, the board of public schools adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the proposition of the Washington University for the sale of the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute be and the same is hereby accepted, provided the same be modified in the following two particulars:

"First. By striking out the following sentence, 'The university will also agree to pay over to the public school board a sum

of money equal to that received from Henry Ames' estate so soon as the same shall be received thereupon, said bequest being one hundred thousand dollars,' and by inserting instead thereof the following sentence, viz.: 'The university also agrees to pay to the board of the St. Louis public schools the sum of one hundred thousand dollars on the first day of December, 1872; provided, however, that if by reason of the provisions of the thirteenth article of the last will of the late Mr. Henry Ames and the order of payment therein established, and for no other reason, the legacy to the Washington University named in said will shall be reduced in amount, then and in such case the sum of money to be paid by the university to the public schools shall be reduced to the same extent.'

"Secondly. The deferred payment of thirty thousand dollars is to be met in two years, instead of in eighteen months, and all deferred payments to be made to Washington University shall bear six per cent. interest per annum."

These modifications of the proposition were accepted by Washington University, and the transfer was effected. On Feb. 11, 1869, the building was publicly dedicated to school purposes with appropriate exercises. It now bears the fitting appellation of the Public School Polytechnic Building, and forms a striking and appropriate centre of the public school system of St. Louis.

In it are now located the public school library, the normal school, and the offices of the school board and superintendent. The Missouri Historical Society also holds its meetings in the same building.

St. Louis University.—Soon after his arrival in St. Louis (Jan. 5, 1818), Bishop Dubourg made strenuous efforts to procure the establishment of a college under Catholic auspices. With this end in view the bishop, in 1818, rented the Alvarez residence, a one-story stone building on the north side of Market Street, between Second and Third Streets, for a school, and in 1820 a two-story building of brick was erected for a college south of the old log church.[1] Rev. Father Niel, a French priest, was the president of the institution, and among the pupils were a few boarders. Bishop DeNecker, of New Orleans, and Fathers Saulnier and Dahmen, studied theology at the college, and Father Dahmen was the first priest ordained in St. Louis by Bishop Dubourg. Elihu H. Shepard was at one time Professor of Languages in the institution, which was attached to the cathedral, and conducted by five secular priests. Owing, however, to the fact that the pastoral duties of the priests were so onerous that they were unable to give sufficient time and attention to their classes, the enterprise did not prove successful, and in 1826 the college was discontinued. Two years later another effort was made to put the project of Bishop Dubourg into execution, and the foundation of the future St. Louis University was laid.

Father Van Quickenborne, superior of the Jesuit mission at Florissant, undertook the task of organizing the college, and issued the preliminary announcements to the public in September, 1828.[2] Accompanied by an assistant, Father Timmermans, and seven Jesuit novices, Father Van Quickenborne had settled at Florissant in June, 1823, with the view of teaching and civilizing the Indians; but becoming satisfied that he and his companions could accomplish more valuable results by the establishment of a school of higher education in St. Louis, he decided to remove to the city. Bishop Rosatti extended all possible encouragement to the enterprise, and John Mullanphy offered to present a desirable lot for the college. His proposition, however, was coupled with the condition that the college should support twenty orphan pupils; and Father Van Quickenborne, unwilling to accept the responsibility of so grave a charge and possibly onerous tax upon the college in the future, declined

[1] Another statement is that the building stood on the site of the old log church.

[2] In the *Republican* of Sept. 2, 1828, the following notice appears:

"College in St. Louis, Mo. Having been for several years earnestly solicited by the Right Rev. Dr. Dubourg, late bishop of this diocese, and the Right Rev. Dr. Rosatti, his successor, and his other respectable friends of all denominations . . . a college in this city, the Rev. Mr. Charles F. Van Quickenborne deems it his duty to inform the public at large that he will soon have it in his power to comply with the repeated entreaties that were made to him."

This was supplemented on the 23d of the same month by the following announcement:

"College at St. Louis, Mo. In a former publication I have acquainted the public with my desire of opening soon a college in this city. The expression of this desire, I have been assured, has met with the satisfaction and approbation of friends. The branches of literature that will be taught in the institution may be reduced to the following general heads: the Greek, Latin, English, and French languages, natural philosophy, mathematics, geography, and the use of the globes, to which will be added reading, writing, book-keeping, etc., and should it be desired by any parent lessons in music and drawing will be given. The education of youth being essentially linked with the study of religion, which is to form their hearts to virtue, while their minds are polished by arts and sciences, the learning of profane history will be interwoven with the study of sacred and divine objects. As to religious opinions, however, no undue influence shall be exercised on the mind of any pupil. A certain number of boarders will be received; these will have to pay a pension, and conform to the rules and conditions that will be specified in the prospectus. But as the primary view of the institution is to extend the benefit of a polite education as far as possible, day scholars will have a free access to the classes, and none shall be excluded but upon the reasonable grounds of a blemished character. The spot which has been pitched upon for the described establishment is known by the name of college lot, situate in Common addition to St. Louis."

Mr. Mullanphy's offer. Bishop Rosatti then made over to the Jesuit Fathers the lot on which the university now stands, on Ninth Street and Christy Avenue, which had been given by Jeremiah Conner, deceased, for a college in St. Louis. The remaining portion of the square west of Ninth Street, bounded by Washington Avenue and Christy Avenue, together with two-thirds of the next square immediately west, between Tenth and Eleventh Streets, was subsequently purchased for the college, the entire premises having a front on Washington Avenue of four hundred and seventy-five feet.[1]

At this time (1828) the Jesuit mission of Missouri comprised only eight priests, all of whom were busily employed at Florissant and elsewhere; but Father Van Quickenborne was a man of exceptional energy and tact, and through his strenuous exertions the college was speedily organized. St. Louis then contained a population of only about six thousand people, but subscriptions were soon obtained among them amounting to five thousand dollars in aid of the proposed institution. Subsequently the Jesuit Fathers were assisted in the erection of their second and third buildings by the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, then recently established at Lyons, France, and by friends in Belgium. The construction of the foundation for the first building was begun in the autumn of 1828, the structure to be fifty feet in length by forty feet in width and three stories high, besides a basement and attic. "It fronted south towards the public road leading out of the town to St. Charles. The site of the college was then surrounded by weedy ponds, groves of sorry oak, and suburban farms."[2]

The building was completed sufficiently for the use of the college on Monday, Nov. 2, 1829, and classes were organized on that day. There were then "about fifteen white boys, sons of respectable parents in St. Louis and some from other localities," at the Florissant Seminary, and these were transferred to the new St. Louis College. The first name recorded (June 12, 1829) was that of "Charles P. Chouteau, aged eight years." The register of the Florissant Seminary also bears the names of Francis Cabanné, Julius Cabanné, De Thil Cabanné, John Shannon, William Boilvin, Bryan Mullanphy, Francis Bosseron, Julius Clark, Edward Christy, Alexander La Force Papin, Edmond Paul, Edward Chouteau, Thomas Forsyth, and Paul F. Du Bouffay.

Rev. P. J. Verhægen was chosen to be the first "president of the St. Louis College," and among the professors were the Rev. Father De Smet, so well known throughout the literary world for his letters descriptive of his journeys to the Rocky Mountains, and his labors as a missionary among the Indians, and Rev. J. A. Elet, Brother James Yates, and Rev. Peter Walsh. Thomas B. Taylor, John Servary, Benjamin Eaton, Bartholomew McGowan, and Jeremiah Langton were employed in the early years of the college as teachers of mathematics and English. Ten boarders and thirty externs, as day scholars were then termed, entered on the first day, and in a short time the boarders had increased to thirty and the day scholars to one hundred and twenty, making a total of one hundred and fifty. There was but little variation in the number of scholars until the year 1831, when an additional building, forty by forty feet, was begun at the east end of the main building. The structure was completed in 1832, and was ready for occupancy at the beginning of the summer.

On the 24th of October, 1831, Rev. James Van de Velde arrived in St. Louis, preceded by Father Van Lommel and Mr. Van Sweevelt, all three of whom had been sent by the Jesuits of Maryland to act as professors in St. Louis College. Early in 1832, Father Van de Velde, who was an eloquent preacher and an accomplished scholar, visited Louisiana and Mississippi with the view of making the college better known to the people of those States, and succeeded so well that before the close of the session twenty-one additional boarders from Louisiana were registered on the college books.[3] At the beginning of the next session, Sept. 7, 1832, the number of boarders had increased to such an extent that the faculty became convinced that the permanent success of the institution was practically assured, and determined to apply to the Legislature for a charter, which was granted and signed by the Governor of the State on Dec. 28, 1832. The petition for the charter was signed by P. J. Verhægen, Theodore De Theux, P. W. Walsh, C. F. Van Quickenborne, and James Van de Velde, who constituted the first corporation. The charter provided that the institution should be known as the St. Louis University, and that the trustees named in the act should have power to fill vacancies in the board, to

[1] "Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University; the Celebration of its Fiftieth Anniversary, or Golden Jubilee, on June 9, 1879," by Walter H. Hill, S.J., to whom the author of this work is greatly indebted for valuable material in the preparation of the accompanying sketch of St. Louis University.

[2] Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University, p. 39.

[3] Peter Poursine, of New Orleans, was the first student from Louisiana, arriving Feb. 27, 1830, at which date, according to his own statement, "the college building was not yet finished, the students having to ascend to the different stories by means of ladders."

control and manage the property and affairs of the University, to award literary degrees, "and generally to have and enjoy all the powers, rights, and privileges usually exercised by literary institutions of the same rank."

In 1851 an act amendatory of the original charter was passed by the Legislature, empowering the university to hold, purchase, and convey any estate, real, personal, or mixed, for the use of the corporation for educational purposes, the General Assembly reserving the right to repeal or modify the act, and that of which it was amendatory, "whenever it believes said St. Louis University has failed to accomplish the beneficent purposes of its institution."[1]

The regular faculty was organized under the charter, with Rev. P. J. Verhægen as rector of the university.

The Asiatic cholera visited St. Louis in 1832, and again in 1833, and during its greatest prevalence the students were removed to the novitiate near Florissant. Notwithstanding the drawback which was caused by this calamity, and the destruction wrought by a tornado which swept over St. Louis during the period of the epidemic, the attendance of scholars became so large that the building completed in 1832 did not afford sufficient room for the boarders. Accordingly during that year the western wing was begun, and was completed in 1834.

The Philalethic Literary and Debating Society was organized in 1832.

In January, 1834, there were thirty-four Jesuits in the Missouri station, of whom twelve were priests, six scholastics, and six lay brothers. Of these ten were stationed at the St. Louis University. There were at that time fifteen professors and tutors engaged at the university, eight of whom were members of the Jesuit society and seven externs receiving compensation. The British government in 1834 presented to the library of the university nearly one hundred large folio volumes, containing the ancient statutes of the realm and various State papers, the famous Domesday Book, with its index, etc., all reprinted from the original by order of the government. Printed at the beginning of each volume is the following injunction: "This book is to be perpetually preserved in the Library of St. Louis University. C. P. Cooper, Sec. Com. Pub. Rec., March, 1834."

A visit to the south of the Rev. J. A. Elet in 1834 resulted in his returning in April of that year with thirty-three students, who were speedily followed by seventeen others, making a total increase of fifty students, nearly all of whom were from Louisiana, so that at the beginning of May there were at the university one hundred and forty boarders. At the annual commencement, July 31, 1834, the first graduates received their diplomas, and the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on Paul Auguste Frémon Du Bouffay and Peter A. Walsh, and that of Master of Arts on John Servary, all three of whom were citizens of St. Louis. Messrs. M. Pin and J. B. Emig were added to the staff of professors in 1834, during which year the erection of a new building on Washington Avenue was commenced. The structure was completed by the summer of 1835, the first story being used as a chapel until the completion of St. Francis Xavier's Church, in 1843. On the 1st of September, 1835, the faculty petitioned the United States government, through the Hon. Thomas H. Benton, for a grant of land towards establishing the institution on a more solid and permanent basis. Their request was not acceded to, and indeed the university never received any public aid, nor an endowment from any source, but has been entirely dependent for its support on the fees of its students.

A medical department was established in connection with the university on the 5th of October, 1836, consisting of Drs. C. J. Carpenter, J. Johnson, William Beaumont, E. H. McCabe, H. Lane, and H. King, but the design was not perfected until 1842, when its first course of lectures was inaugurated in a building erected for its use on Washington Avenue, west of Tenth Street.

The Rev. P. J. Verhægen was made superior of the Jesuit mission in Missouri March 24, 1836, and removing from Florissant made the university his future home, which arrangement was continued after the mission was erected first into a vice-province and then into a province, and is still in force at the present time. The appointment of the Rev. M. Verhægen to the superiorship of the mission created a vacancy in the office of president or rector of the university, which was filled by the Rev. J. A. Elet, who became president at the opening of the new session, in September, 1836.

A new site for the university outside of St. Louis was determined upon at the meeting of the trustees May 3, 1836, and the Revs. P. J. Verhægen, J. A. Elet, and T. De Theux were appointed a committee to select it. The locality chosen for this purpose was a farm containing three hundred acres, situated on the Bellefontaine road, three and a half miles from St. Louis, which a short time before had been pur-

[1] The charter of the St. Louis University is to be found in the "Laws of Missouri from 1824 to 1836," vol. ii. page 298, and in Father Hill's "Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University," pp. 44, 45, 46, and 47.

chased by the university. The plan of the proposed building was prepared, its erection contracted for, and the foundations dug (which are still a conspicuous point on "College Hill," in North St. Louis); but the contractor dying, its construction was suspended, and all further work was postponed to a future year. Subsequently the project was abandoned. The purchase of the land, however, proved a fortunate investment, and the property becoming extremely valuable in after-years, the university was enabled to make costly improvements on its premises in the city, and to purchase valuable additions to its library, philosophical apparatus, and museum. In 1857–58 buildings were erected on a part of the farm, and on Sept. 11, 1858, a scholasticate or theological department was opened, with Rev. F. X. Wippern as superior, which flourished just two years, when it was transferred to Boston. More than half of the farm was sold prior to 1854. In 1855 a portion of the remainder was divided into lots and sold, the profits accruing from these sales serving materially to aid the university, and add to its collections of books, apparatus, etc. On May 25, 1867, a piece of property was bought for fifty-two thousand six hundred dollars, its dimensions being four hundred feet on Grand Avenue by three hundred and sixty feet on Lindell Avenue. In 1869 a farm of three hundred and seventy-six acres was purchased for seventy-six thousand dollars at "College View," nine miles from the city, on the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern Railroad, and seven thousand five hundred dollars was expended in perfecting plans for the new college; but the enterprise was abandoned in consequence of a change in the railroad line which took it two miles away from the farm.

The Rev. George A. Carrell was a member of the faculty at the opening of the session in September, 1836, and, together with the Rev. James Van de Velde, became pre-eminent among the professors of the institution for superiority of literary attainments. The trustees of the university, on May 6, 1837, appointed a committee, with Rev. James Van de Velde chairman, to take time and considerately "to specify what studies and acquirements shall henceforth be deemed necessary for finishing the classical course and being found qualified for taking the degree of A.B. in the St. Louis University." The scope of the inquiry was afterwards enlarged so as to embrace the proper qualifications that should be required for the degree of A.M. The report as adopted by the board of trustees on July 28, 1838, was as follows:

"*First*, that the classical course shall comprehend a competent knowledge of the Greek, Latin, and English languages; of geography, use of globes, ancient and modern history, logic and principles of moral philosophy, including ethics and metaphysics; of rhetoric and mathematics, including arithmetic, algebra, plane and solid geometry, trigonometry, surveying, mensuration, conic sections, and the principles of natural philosophy." It was also further provided that "as to graduates of other colleges or universities that shall apply for the degree of A.M., it shall be required that they produce the diploma of A.B. and testimonials that after their graduation they have devoted at least two years to some literary pursuit."

In 1832 the Rev. P. J. De Smet was compelled by ill health to suspend his labors in St. Louis and make a trip to Europe. While abroad he procured many valuable instruments for the department of physics, and also many volumes for the library, and sent them as a donation to the university, for which he received the "special thanks" of the board and faculty in appropriate resolutions adopted March 7, 1835. The donation also included "a collection of minerals, classified according to the system of Dr. Hauy." They were brought over, together with the instruments, by M. Oakley and P. Verheyden. The "Philharmonic Society" was established in 1838.

More than half of the active students recorded in 1837 and 1838 were from Louisiana, and during the ten years beginning with 1829 twelve persons were graduated from the university.

The fifth building of the university consisted of a suite of class-rooms on Christy Avenue, erected in 1839. It was one and a half stories in height, the attic being used temporarily as a dormitory. The sixth was St. Xavier's Church, erected in 1840–43; the seventh, built for the Medical Department, on Washington Avenue, west of Tenth Street, and now used as a dormitory; the eighth, a three-story brick structure, built in 1846, on Christy Avenue, the first story of which was used for wardrobe and infirmary purposes, the second for the parochial school, and the third as a dormitory; the ninth, a Sodality Hall, at the southeast corner of Ninth Street and Christy Avenue, completed in 1855, and containing a hall, library and reading-rooms, etc.; and the tenth and principal structure, erected in 1853–55, on the corner of Washington Avenue and Ninth Street, as the east wing of a building intended to extend from Ninth Street to a point one hundred and thirty feet west of Tenth Street. The original plan, however, was abandoned, and the structure as completed fronts sixty feet on Ninth Street, with a depth of one hundred and thirty feet on Washington Avenue. It is divided into three stories, the first of which contains the

students' chapel and study hall, the second the library and museum, and the third a public exhibition hall (one of the finest in the West), one hundred and thirteen by fifty-five feet, and with a seating capacity of over twelve hundred. The eleventh and last building of the series closed up the remaining gap of eighty feet on Ninth Street, and made the front continuous; it is forty feet in depth, four stories high, and contains class-rooms, the Philalethic Hall in the third story, and dormitories in the fourth.

The removal of the Rev. J. A. Elet to Cincinnati in 1840 [1] created a vacancy in the presidency of the university, to which the Rev. James Van de Velde succeeded, who remained in office until appointed vice-provincial of the Jesuit society in Missouri in 1843.[2]

The financial crisis of 1842 compelled the board of trustees to reduce the board and tuition fee to one hundred and thirty dollars per session of ten months, but notwithstanding "hard times," the classes were all full, and the institution lost none of its prosperity. The medical department of the university, which was organized Oct. 5, 1836, did not begin its lectures until March 28, 1842, but subsequently, through the efforts of Drs. M. L. Linton and Charles Pope, it became very successful. It existed under a charter of its own, and removed to Seventh and Myrtle Streets in 1849, when the building it had occupied was purchased by the university for a dormitory. The medical faculty for the session of 1842–43 was composed of Drs. Daniel Brainard, Joseph W. Hall, H. Augustus Prout, James V. Prather, Moses L. Linton, Joseph J. Norwood, and Alvin Litton. The law department began its first session in October, 1843, but notwithstanding the efforts of the Hon. Richard A. Buckner to sustain it, it was soon dissolved.[3]

[1] The *Republican* of Oct. 9, 1840, says,—

"Yesterday the Right Rev. Father J. A. Elet, late president of St. Louis University, bid farewell to the institution, and left in the steamer 'Messenger' for Cincinnati, Ohio, whither he goes to establish another school. We understand that Bishop Purcell in that city has placed his large property, probably about one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, at the disposition of the Jesuit society, encumbered with only one condition, which is that it shall be forever applied to the purposes of education and the advancement and promotion of science. The property in part embraces what is known in Cincinnati as the Athenæum, a site sufficient for a large and well-appointed institution, and eligibly situated in the city, and is hereafter to be known as the St. Xavier College. The selection of Father Elet is of itself a guarantee that the institution must flourish, and if he is spared as its head, it must become one of the first in reputation in the West."

[2] The St. Louis University Free School was opened in October, 1842, for the benefit of the children in the neighborhood. The school was free for the children of all persons, without distinction as to religious belief. Three gentlemen of the university, says the *Republican* of March 9, 1843, "devote themselves to the duties of this school. About one hundred and twenty scholars have been in attendance since the organisation, and at least one hundred or more have been unavoidably denied admission for the reason hereinafter stated.

"When the school was opened it was rather an experiment, and of somewhat doubtful result, as one of the public schools of the city had been closed from want of pupils or money, and was necessarily opened in a small room, there being no larger at the disposal of the institution. The room in which the school was commenced and is now kept is in fact not large enough to accommodate more than sixty or eighty pupils; nevertheless, the one hundred and twenty have been crowded into it. It was the intention and expectation of the reverend gentlemen connected with the university to have the large basement-room of the new church completed and fitted up for the accommodation of this school, but the erection and completion of the church have absorbed the means of the institution. Sensible of the utility and moral advantages to the community of the continuance of the school and the placing it in an apartment where, instead of one hundred and twenty, at least three hundred pupils can be accommodated, the gentlemen having it in charge have resolved to appeal to the aid and contributions of the community to finish the room in the basement of the new church. Their applications have already been met in a very liberal spirit by several of the most wealthy of the citizens, and we trust that all will, in proportion to their means, contribute something. There is surely no movement of the day which appeals more directly and strongly to the moralist and politician than this. The gentlemen of the institution with a liberality which has no equal in this community, give their time, labor, and assiduous attention to the instruction and education of the youths sent to them; they give it without pecuniary reward, and to the children of parents of all and every sect; they devote their efforts to the mental and moral improvement of their pupils, but without any effort or intention to influence their belief for or against any particular creed. Three of them now devote themselves unremittingly to this labor, and as soon as they can procure a larger room the number of teachers will be increased in proportion to the increase of pupils."

The same paper of Sept. 8, 1845, speaking of this school, says, "Since the erection of the church adjoining the university buildings, the school has been kept in the basement of the church. The number of scholars in attendance since the school was opened in the basement . . . has averaged three hundred and fifty, and at times has been as high as four hundred. There are six teachers constantly engaged in instructing the classes, one of whom devotes his time exclusively to German children. Children of all denominations are admitted, none being excluded on account of religious opinions; neither is there any interference with the religious opinions of the pupils, further than to require a conformity to the rules and observances of the school during school hours. All the various branches of English education are taught, and hundreds are enabled to obtain this important desideratum who, but for this institution, would be compelled to live in ignorance and its attendant vices."

[3] The following notice appeared in the *Republican* of June 15, 1843:

"*Law Department of the St. Louis University.*—In consequence of the applications made by many alumni who wish to devote themselves to the regular study of law under compe-

The Rev. George A. Carrell succeeded the Rev. James Van de Velde as president upon the appointment of the latter, Sept. 17, 1843, vice-provincial of Missouri. As president he was "austere even unto severity,"[1] and there was a marked decline in the number of students during the first two years of the presidency, there being less than eighty for the scholastic year ending in the summer of 1845. In consequence of this decline the Rev. John Gleizal was sent to New Orleans in the early spring of 1846 to canvass the city for students. His visit was rewarded with the fullest success, and a large number of students returned with him. The college soon regained its former prosperity, and the number of scholars was increased by the transfer in 1843 of the scholasticate for the study of theology and philosophy from its location in the country, at what is now known as "College Hill," to the university. That portion of North St. Louis usually called Lowell is built on a part of the farm then belonging to the university. The Rev. John B. Druyts was appointed president at the close of the scholastic year in July, 1847. Father Druyts had been employed either as professor or disciplinarian in the university for twelve years preceding his promotion. His experience then acquired, together with his natural aptitude for such a position, made him one of the most popular and successful presidents that had thus far filled the position. In October, 1848, the medical faculty requested the trustees of the university to have the connection of the medical department with the university dissolved, and this request, though then declined, was repeated Jan. 24, 1849. The reason assigned for this request was "fear of injury to the medical department arising from religious prejudice among the people at large against Catholics and Catholic institutions." The trustees declined to permit the separation. When the "Know-Nothing" excitement arose in 1854 and 1855, it was again decided by the medical department that a separation from the university was expedient, and that it should be henceforth conducted under a distinct charter of its own; and this time, by mutual consent, its connection with the St. Louis University was dissolved.

The Rev. John S. Verdin, at the beginning of the session of 1854–55, succeeded the Rev. J. B. Druyts in the presidency of the university, but did not actually enter upon his duties until Oct. 2, 1854. His term of office lasted until 1859, and during this period the institution made rapid progress. In the autumn of 1855 there was the largest number of boarders at the university within any year of its existence, the number being one hundred and eighty-eight. In November, 1855, the "Student's Library Society" was instituted, with a view of collecting suitable works on branches of polite learning which could be made accessible to all classes on easy conditions. A small fee was required of members for the use of the books. The library was a success from the beginning, and has proved to be a great advantage, especially to the advanced classes.

At the opening of the session of 1858–59 the classical department was separated from the commercial department and assigned to distinct class-rooms, and distinct teachers appointed for it. The course of the former was made to comprise six years, and that of the latter four years.

The Rev. Ferdinand Coosemans succeeded Rev. Father Verdin in the presidency on March 19, 1859. The war between the States from 1861 to 1865 was attended with very serious effects upon the university. Most of the students being from the Southern States, the excitement of the times and their impatience to get to their homes before the movements of armies and military results rendered that impossible caused the suspension of all classes on May 24, 1861; and though the classes were re-

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fessors, the board and faculty of the St. Louis University have at length taken measures to open a law school on the first Monday of next October.

"In the name of the faculty,

"J. VAN DE VELDE,

"*President.*"

The same paper on March 6, 1845, gives the following particulars of the commencement held at the university in that year:

"The annual commencement of the medical and law departments was held on Monday evening last at the medical hall. The audience was very large, and though the hall is very spacious, numbers who went there were unable even to find a place to stand, and were deprived of the pleasure of witnessing the ceremonies. President Carrell delivered to the graduates a most elegant and polished address. He then conferred the degree of Bachelor of Law upon two young gentlemen, and the degree of Doctor of Medicine upon fourteen graduates, and we say with truth say, never have we beheld a more intelligent and gentlemanly-looking class. The valedictory, by Dr. Pope, of the medical students more than fulfilled the high expectations of his numerous friends.

"The following are the names of the gentlemen admitted to the degree of Doctor of Medicine:

"William Browne, of Kentucky; H. W. Darnall, of Missouri; R. R. Davis, of Illinois; William B. Dews, of Wisconsin Territory; G. W. Hereford, of Missouri; B. Johnson, of Illinois; P. F. Knott, of Kentucky; B. F. Russell, of Indiana; R. R. Taylor, of Missouri; W. S. G. Walker, of Kentucky; J. W. Whittington, of Missouri; R. R. Wickersham, of Mississippi; C. F. Wilson, of Kentucky; Thomas L. Young, of Missouri.

"The honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred on Richard E. Lacy, of Savannah, Mo., and J. Lawrence Page, of Weston, Mo."

[1] Father Hill's Historical Sketch of St. Louis University, p. 65.

sumed in the following September, it was with a greatly reduced number of students. Rev. Thomas O'Neil succeeded Rev. Ferdinand Coosemans in the presidency on the 16th of July, 1862, and the session of 1862–63 began with an increased number of students, notwithstanding the evils and disasters incident to the existing war, which caused the institution the loss of all its Southern patronage. At the annual commencement, July 2, 1863, three students received the degree of A.B., four received honorary certificates, and the total number of students registered for the scholastic year was two hundred and ninety. In 1865, the "Drake Constitution" imposed a heavy burden of taxes on the churches, schools, hospitals, orphan asylums, and cemeteries of Catholics. The tax paid by the university for one year reached ten thousand dollars. The Legislature subsequently empowered the city to remit general municipal taxes on all such property, and the university was relieved of a burden under which it must have sunk. The Drake Constitution was finally abolished by popular vote on the 30th of October, 1875. Immediately after the war the university recovered its former prosperity, and the number of students during the scholastic year of 1865–66 was three hundred and seventy-six. The register for the scholastic year 1867–68 contained the names of three hundred and forty-six students.

The Rev. Francis H. Stuntebeck succeeded the Rev. Thomas O'Neil as president on the 2d of July, 1868. On the 8th of August, 1871, the Rev. Joseph Zealand was installed as president, and the register for that year shows that four hundred and two students attended the university. The Rev. L. Bushart succeeded Rev. Joseph Zealand as president on Nov. 22, 1874, and resigned on Aug. 2, 1877, when the Rev. Joseph E. Keller was installed. Father Keller was succeeded by Rev. R. J. Meyer, S.J. The scientific course was begun at the opening of the session of 1877–78.

The 6th of October, 1871, was the fiftieth anniversary of the entrance into the Jesuit society of the six young missionaries who accompanied the Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne to Missouri, viz., P. J. Verhægen, J. F. Van Assche, P. J. De Smet, J. A. Elet, J. B. Smedts, and F. L. Verreydt. The faculty of the university determined to celebrate the occurrence of their "golden jubilee," and to invite the survivors to meet for that purpose at the university. This tribute to their memory from the university was deemed appropriate, because they, with their novice-master, the Rev. C. Van Quickenborne, had established the institution. The only surviving members were the Rev. P. J. De Smet, then traveling in Europe, the Rev. J. F. Van Assche, and the Rev. F. L. Verreydt. The celebration was held on the 10th of October, and among those present were the Rev. Thomas O'Neil, provincial of Missouri; Rev. Joseph Zealand, president of the university; Rev. F. Coosemans; Rev. L. Bushart, president of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati; Rev. Isidore Boudreaux, Rev. F. H. Stuntebeck, Rev. J. De Blieck, Rev. J. Schultz, Rev. S. Lalumiere, Rev. J. Roes, Rev. P. Tscheider, Rev. D. Niederborn, and Rev. T. Braun.

St. Mark's Academy was organized in 1876, mostly by former students of the university, having for its object "the development of an active Catholic spirit by philosophical, literary, and scientific culture."

In 1879, fifty years after its establishment, the university had eleven buildings, whose combined length was about eight hundred feet, erected at a total cost of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, though, as previously stated, possessing no endowment or other revenue except what it derived from the fees of students for board and tuition. It had also a select and valuable library of twenty-five thousand volumes, and a collection of instruments for all classes of physics and chemistry, including many curious and costly objects.

On Tuesday, June 24, 1879, was held another "golden jubilee," signalizing the fiftieth year since the establishment of St. Louis University. High mass was celebrated at St. Francis Xavier's Church, Bishop P. J. Ryan officiating, with Rev. Charles Ziegler as deacon, Rev. Michael McLoughlin as sub-deacon, and Rev. H. A. Schapman as master of ceremonies. The sermon was delivered by Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, of Peoria, Ill. At two o'clock in the afternoon the alumni dinner was held, Bishop Ryan presiding, with Bishop Spalding, of Peoria, on his right, and Father Damen on his left. In the evening a literary entertainment was given at the large hall of the university, next to the corner of Ninth Street and Washington Avenue. The exercises included poems by John C. Burke and Walter J. Blakely, and addresses by Dr. J. K. Bauduy and Governor Reynolds.

In 1881–82 the university had a faculty of nineteen professors and two hundred and ninety-one students. The total number of students registered since the beginning in 1829 is six thousand two hundred and fifty-three. It is related as a remarkable circumstance in the history of the university that during none of the three visitations of cholera in St. Louis (1832–33, 1849, and 1866) was one of the inmates of this institution attacked by the disease. The university has grown up with the city itself, and

one of its most useful as it is one of its most creditable institutions.

Washington University.[1]—In the year 1853, at the instance of the Hon. Wayman Crow, then a member of the State Senate, a charter, approved Feb. 22, 1853, was granted to an educational institution to be known as the Eliot Seminary. This was the beginning of Washington University, which has grown from a small grammar school with two teachers and about thirty scholars to an institution comprising seven distinct departments, in which are enrolled nearly fourteen hundred students. The names of the corporators and first board of directors will indicate how genuine was the interest in this new enterprise. They were as follows: Christopher Rhodes, Samuel Treat, John M. Krum, John Cavender, George Partridge, Phocion R. McCreery, John How, William Glasgow, Jr., George Pegram, N. J. Eaton, James Smith, Seth A. Ranlett, Mann Butler, William G. Eliot, Hudson E. Bridge, Samuel Russell, and Wayman Crow.

On the 22d of February, 1854, the directors organized under the charter and chose the following officers: William G. Eliot, president; Wayman Crow, vice-president; Seth A. Ranlett, secretary; John Cavender, treasurer. When Mr. Cavender resigned, six years later, Mr. Ranlett was made secretary and treasurer, and held the two offices until his death in October, 1881, when George M. Bartlett, a graduate of the college in 1876, was appointed to fill the vacancy. The offices of president and vice-president are now filled by the same gentlemen who were elected to those positions at the first meeting of the board.

At this meeting a constitution was adopted, in which the name Eliot Seminary was changed to Washington Institute. This change of name was suggested by Dr. Eliot. It had happened that the charter was granted on the 22d of February, and also that the meeting for organization in 1854 was held on the same date. This accidental circumstance suggested the new name. But this name, also, was a suggestion of the breadth of the foundation upon which these friends of education would build. The seminary had been changed to the institute, and it was not long before the word university was adopted as the only one sufficiently comprehensive to include all the plans that were made for its development.

At the very beginning a declaration was made of the purpose of the directors to keep the new institution forever free from sectarian or partisan government or instruction, for the eighth article of the constitution, adopted at this first meeting, declares that—

"No instruction either sectarian in religion or partisan in politics shall be allowed in any department of the university; and no sectarian or partisan test shall be used in the election of professors, teachers, or other officers of the university; nor shall any such test ever be used in said university for any purpose whatever. This article shall be understood as the fundamental condition on which all endowments of whatever kind are received."

Three years later, by act of the General Assembly, the charter was amended by fixing the name Washington University, and by incorporating the above-mentioned article. The university was thus made secure, both by constitution and charter, from the dangers of theological or political dissensions.

About eighty thousand dollars in money and land were given to the university at this first meeting of its board of directors, and never since that day has it wanted generous and devoted friends.

In the winter of 1854–55 an evening school was opened in the old Benton school-house on Sixth Street. This was the first work under the charter of the university, although a small school had been in operation the year previous to the granting of the charter. This evening school was called the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute, in honor of Col. John O'Fallon. The whole number of pupils in the evening school, which was in charge of Nathan D. Tirrell, was two hundred and twenty. The school was continued for several years, sustained at first wholly by the university. After a while, as elsewhere stated, the expense was shared with the board of public schools; and finally by a special arrangement the entire burden of the evening schools was assumed by the public school board.

In September, 1856, the school now known as the Smith Academy was opened in a new building on Seventeenth Street, near Washington Avenue. During the first year one hundred and eight scholars were enrolled. The teachers were James D. Low and Nathan D. Tirrell.

The formal inauguration of Washington University took place on the 22d of April, 1857. Its chief feature was an oration by Hon. Edward Everett, in Mercantile Library Hall, upon academical education. There were also addresses by President Eliot; James D. Low, principal of the academy; Hon. John How, president of the board of managers of the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute; Hon. Samuel Treat, one of the directors; and Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post.

[1] The author is indebted to Professor Marshall S. Snow for this sketch of Washington University, which he kindly prepared expressly for this work.

During the same year (1857) a building was erected for the chemical laboratory, and Professor Abram Litton was appointed to the chair of chemistry, which position he still holds. Professor J. J. Reynolds, now brevet major-general United States army, was also appointed to the chair of mechanics and engineering. In 1858, as heretofore stated, work was begun on the building intended for the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute, on the corner of Chestnut and Seventh Streets, upon a lot of land given by Hon. John How. Progress was slow and difficult. The plans adopted proved very expensive; the breaking out of the war caused many suspensions of the work, and the building was not fully ready for use until nine years had elapsed. This magnificent building, erected at a cost of upwards of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was soon found to be entirely unsuited to the wants of the university. Its situation was bad, the arrangement of its rooms was inconvenient, it burdened the university with debt. It was therefore thought wise to accept an offer made for its purchase by the board of public schools, and the building and its furniture were sold during the summer of 1868. The board of public schools agreed, as one of the terms of the purchase, to maintain, according to the original intentions, the polytechnic evening schools.

But in the mean time the college had been organized, and a college building had been erected on the corner of Washington Avenue and Seventeenth Street, and on the 17th of December, 1858, Professor Joseph G. Hoyt, then holding the chair of mathematics in Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., had been elected chancellor. He entered upon the discharge of the duties of his new position in February, 1859, and was formally inaugurated in October of the same year.

A school for girls, called Mary Institute, was established May 11, 1859, and opened in September of the same year, with Professor Edwin D. Sanborn as principal.

On the 19th of March, 1860, by vote of the directors, the law department was established under the name of the St. Louis Law School. The opening of the law school was delayed, however, by the war, until October, 1867, when its organization was completed and its first classes taught.

The outbreak of the civil war in 1861 brought to Washington University, as well as to all educational institutions in the city and State, many trials and hardships, which it hardly seemed possible to survive. The number of students was greatly reduced, a corresponding lessening of the number of teachers was necessary, and it was with great difficulty that the various departments were sustained. It was during this period of struggle and discouragement that the first college class was graduated, in June, 1862. Chancellor Hoyt conferred the degrees, but was even then struggling with the disease which was in a few months to take him from a position of so much usefulness. In his death, on the 26th of November, 1862, the university suffered a loss which could hardly be repaired. A ripe scholar, an able and enthusiastic teacher, gifted with a rare tact and sound judgment, ready with his pen, and an eloquent speaker as well, a vigorous executive officer, he was a man peculiarly well suited to the needs of the young university, and his death was nothing short of a calamity.[1]

The vacant chancellorship was filled by the election of William Chauvenet, Professor of Mathematics, who was formally inaugurated in June, 1863.

[1] Joseph G. Hoyt was born in Dunbarton, N. H., Jan. 19, 1815. In early youth his opportunities for obtaining an education were limited. Until he was sixteen he was able to attend the public school only three months out of the year. He was fitted for college at Hopkinton, N. H., and at Andover, Mass., and was an assistant teacher in both institutions throughout his preparatory course. His varied and extraordinary capacities had already begun to exhibit themselves. While a student at Andover he took charge of Professor Barton's classes in mathematics during the four months that he was engaged for the government in the survey of the Northeastern boundary. In 1836 he entered Yale College without conditions. He was distinguished at Yale for superior scholarship, independence of character, and originality of thought and expression. During his collegiate course he took prizes for excellence in mathematical studies and in English composition. He was graduated sixth scholar in a class of one hundred. While in college he was chosen one of the editors of the *Yale Literary Magazine*, and was elected by an almost unanimous vote president of the Brothers in Unity. He was conspicuous among the members of Yale for powers of clear and original argument, and for the general influence which arises from the possession of forensic abilities and manly virtues. His genial nature, his singular simplicity and transparency of character, his cordiality, unalloyed with hypocrisy, and his native strength of mind, in which there was no element of pretension, secured for him general esteem and friendship.

In the spring of 1840 he took charge of an academy at Plymouth, N. H. His popularity in the management of this large institution was based upon true success. In 1841 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., where he remained eight years. At Exeter, Professor Hoyt was foremost in every enterprise of public moment. Every measure for the improvement of the town, for the advancement of education, for the promotion of public interests received his efficient support. The beautiful school-houses, the public institutions and improved appearance of that quiet village, are largely due to his personal efforts.

In 1851 he was a member of the convention for the revision of the State Constitution. In 1858 he barely escaped a congressional nomination. In December, 1858, he accepted the appointment of chancellor and Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Washington University. In 1859 he received from Dartmouth College the degree of Doctor of Laws.

The war at last came to an end, and with the increase of the city in wealth and population came greater prosperity to the university.

On Oct. 16, 1867, the law school, which, as has been said, was established in 1860, was fairly opened to students.

Under date of Feb. 22, 1868, the anniversary of the institution, the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars was presented to the university, as a part of its permanent endowment, by Messrs. John P. Collier, William B. Collier, M. Dwight Collier, and Thomas F. Collier. The disposition of the income of this sum was left to the directors, subject only to the request "that until the board of directors shall officially determine a different employment of it to be required for the well-being of the institution, it shall be applied to the university professorship of Greek, in grateful recognition, by his former pupils, of the fidelity, learning, and ability with which the present incumbent of that chair has for years past discharged its duties." The incumbent of the professorship referred to was Professor Sylvester Waterhouse.

In 1869 professional courses of study were adopted in civil and mechanical engineering and in chemistry. In 1870 a fourth year was added to these courses, and in 1871 a course in mining and metallurgy was arranged. The first professional degrees were conferred in June, 1871, viz., five degrees in civil engineering.

In the death of Chancellor Chauvenet, in December, 1870, the university suffered another severe loss. His reputation as a teacher and a writer upon mathematical subjects had made the university of which he was the head known not only in this country but in Europe, and regret at his death was universal. President Eliot became acting chancellor upon the death of Professor Chauvenet, and was inaugurated chancellor in February, 1872.

In the year 1871 a large addition was made to the building on Washington Avenue. An extension was made to the west end and a new roof with an additional story was added to the old building, thus more than doubling its capacity. Upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars were given during this year (1871) for buildings, apparatus, and endowments. Since that time the career of the university has been one of uninterrupted prosperity.



WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY HALL.

In 1878 the need of more room and greater conveniences for the school for girls, Mary Institute, was met by the erection of a large, convenient, and well-furnished building, at a cost of more than seventy

thousand dollars, at the corner of Beaumont and Locust Streets. In 1879 a similar necessity caused the erection of a handsome and commodious building at the corner of Washington Avenue and Nineteenth Street, for the use of the Smith Academy. On May 22, 1879, was completed the organization of a department of the university known as the St. Louis School of Fine Arts. Instruction in art had always been provided in the courses of study, but the ever-increasing demand for more thorough and broader work led to the foundation of this separate department.

Through the generosity of the Hon. Wayman Crow, always a warm friend and benefactor of the university, a building for a museum and for class-rooms, containing also a fine lecture hall, was erected at a cost of one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars in the year 1879–80, at the corner of Lucas Place and Nineteenth Street.

The year 1880 saw also the addition of still another department to those already organized in the establishment of the Manual Training School, and the erection of a building for its uses at the corner of Washington Avenue and Eighteenth Street. The ordinance establishing this school was adopted June 6, 1879. The object of the school is instruction in mathematics, drawing, and the English branches of a high school course, and instruction and practice in the use of tools. The building was paid for by Edwin Harrison, one of the directors of the university, and the endowment fund and furnishing were provided by Samuel Cupples, another director, and Gottlieb Conzelman, with contributions also from other public-spirited citizens. During the summer of 1882, the original building having become inadequate to its needs, an addition was made, chiefly through the liberality of Ralph Sellew and G. Conzelman, on the Washington Avenue front, doubling the capacity of the school.

Washington University now comprehends the following departments:

I. The Undergraduate Department.
II. The St. Louis School of Fine Arts.
III. The St. Louis Law School.
IV. Smith Academy.
V. Manual Training School.
VI. Mary Institute.

The Undergraduate Department includes:

I. The College.
II. The Polytechnic School.

The standard of admission to both branches of the Undergraduate Department has always been high, and is kept fully up to the demands made in the best of Eastern or other institutions. The college has two courses of study, one of which leads at the end of four years to the degree of Bachelor in Arts, and the other to that of Bachelor in Philosophy. In the second course no Greek is required for admission or after entrance, a somewhat more extended course in scientific studies being taken as a substitute; in other respects, however, the courses run in parallel lines. The college courses have been changed and broadened very much during the last six years to suit the demands of the times for a more truly liberal course of study. More latitude is allowed in the choice of studies, and greater prominence is given to the study of modern languages and literature, and to historical work. It is safe to say that no student takes his degree without a sufficient knowledge of French and German to read easily at sight any ordinary French or German book. Some historical work is required every term during the four years. The careful study of the English language and literature is a feature of the college work. At the same time the study of the classical tongues is not neglected, and those who desire can pursue such studies throughout the course. Excellent opportunity is also given for the study of general chemistry, physics, botany, and other branches of natural science, according to the taste and acquirements of the students. In short, the effort is made both in the arrangement of the courses of study and in the direction of the student's inclination, to give a broad and liberal education in the best sense of the term, to lay the foundation upon which high literary and professional scholarship may be reared. The college is under the special charge of Professor Marshall S. Snow, dean of the college faculty.

The courses of study in the Polytechnic School are five, as follows: civil engineering, mechanical engineering, chemistry, mining and metallurgy, building and architecture. The completion of the four years' course entitles the successful candidate to the degree of Bachelor of Science, the professional degrees being conferred only at the end of a fifth year devoted exclusively to professional work. The excellence of the work done in this school has been proved in the best and most satisfactory way,—by the success of its graduates who have actively engaged in professional work. The laboratories for the practical study of chemistry, physics, and metallurgy are very complete, and the collection of minerals for use in geological work is hardly surpassed in the country. The Polytechnic School is under the immediate supervision of the dean, Professor Calvin M. Woodward. In many of their studies the classes of the college and the Polytechnic School are combined, and in the students' societies no distinction is made between

them. An excellent gymnasium was erected in 1879 for the use of the students of the Undergraduate Department, and regular instruction is given in gymnastics and calisthenics. Both sexes are admitted upon equal terms to this department, and also in the law school. The following list includes the names of all who have at any time been members of the faculty and corps of instructors in this department. The names of the present faculty are printed in *italics:*

Truman M. Post, Professor of Ancient and Modern History from 1857 to 1869; since then University Professor of History.

Abram Litton, Eliot Professor of Chemistry, appointed 1857. This chair was named in honor of Chancellor William G. Eliot.

Joseph Jones Reynolds, now brevet major-general United States army, Professor of Mechanics and Civil Engineering, 1857–60.

George Engelmann, Professor of Botany and Natural History, 1857–76; University Professor since 1876.

Charles A. Pope, Professor of Anatomy and Comparative Physiology, 1857–67.

Joseph G. Hoyt, Chancellor, elected Dec. 17, 1858; died Nov. 26, 1862.

Ferdinand Bocher, Instructor in Modern Languages, 1859–61.

Carl C. C. Zeus, Instructor in German and Gymnastics, 1859–61.

Edwin D. Sanborn, Principal of Mary Institute, 1860–62, and Professor of Latin and History, 1860–64.

William Chauvenet, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, 1860 to December, 1869; Chancellor, elected 1863, died December, 1870.

John McAllister Schofield, now brevet major-general United States army, Professor of Physics and Civil Engineering, 1860–61.

Sylvester Waterhouse, Tutor in Greek, 1858–62; Adjunct Professor, 1862–64; University Professor of Greek, 1864–69; Collier Professor, 1869. This chair was named in honor of John P. and Thomas F. Collier, graduates of the college, who have since died, whom, with their two brothers, as heretofore stated, the endowment of this professorship was made.

Alfred S. Hartwell, Tutor in Latin, 1860–61.

Willard F. Bliss, Adjunct Professor of Latin, 1860–60.

Rudolph L. Tafel, Professor of Modern Languages and Comparative Philology, 1860–68.

John D. Crehore, Professor of Civil Engineering, 1861–62.

Paulus Roetter, Instructor in Modern Languages, 1860–61.

George B. Stone, Principal of the Academy and Professor of Rhetoric, 1862–74.

John E. Sinclair, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, 1861–62.

William G. Eliot, Acting Professor of Ethical and Political Science, 1862–64; Acting Tileston Professor of Political Economy, 1864–66; Chancellor, and Tileston Professor of Political Economy, 1871.

The name of this chair is in honor of Thomas Tileston, of New York City, by whose daughter, Mrs. Mary Hemenway, it was endowed.

Calvin S. Pennell, Principal of Mary Institute, and Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, 1862.

George W. C. Noble, Professor of Latin and Classical Literature, 1864–67.

Benjamin F. Tweed, Professor of English Literature, 1864–70.

William H. Clark, Tutor in Mathematics, 1863–64.

George H. Howison, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, 1864–66; Tileston Professor of Political Economy, 1866–69.

Regis Chauvenet, Tutor in Mathematics, 1864–65.

John Gast, Teacher of Drawing, 1864–68.

John L. Ewell, Professor of Latin, 1866–67.

Calvin M. Woodward, Instructor in Mathematics, 1866–67; Assistant Professor of Mathematics, 1867–69; Professor of Descriptive Geometry and Topographical Drawing, 1869–70; Thayer Professor of Mathematics and Applied Mechanics, 1870. This chair was named in honor of Nathaniel Thayer, of Boston, Mass.

Charles E. Illsley, Instructor in Engineering and Mathematics, 1867–68.

Marshall H. Holmes, Teacher of Drawing, 1867–68.

George E. Jackson, Teacher of Latin and Greek, 1867–68; Acting Professor of Latin, 1868–70; Professor of Latin, 1870.

Geoffroi Goepp, Professor of Modern Languages, 1868–70.

George W. Minns, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, 1869–70.

J. W. Pattison, Teacher of Drawing, 1869–73.

Marshall S. Snow, Professor of Belles-Lettres, 1870–74; of History, 1874.

Leopold Noa, Professor of Modern Languages, 1870–73.

Henry Pomeroy, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, 1870–75.

Denham Arnold, Assistant Professor of Physics, 1870–74; Professor of Physics, and Principal of Smith Academy, 1874.

Charles A. Smith, Assistant Professor of Civil and

Mechanical Engineering, 1870–73; Professor, 1873. This chair is named the William Palm Professorship of Civil and Mechanical Engineering, in honor of William Palm, who died in 1875.

Frederick M. Crunden, Instructor in Mathematics and Elocution, 1871–72; Professor of Elocution, 1872–75.

William Eimbeck, Professor of Practical Astronomy, 1871–75.

William B. Potter, Allen Professor of Mining and Metallurgy, 1871. This chair was named in honor of Hon. Thomas Allen.

F. William Raeder, Professor of Architecture, 1871–78.

R. Thompson Bond, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, 1873–75; Professor, 1875–76.

Rudolph C. Arndt, Instructor in Modern Languages, 1873–74.

Charles V. Riley, University Professor of Entomology, 1876.

Herman Meister, Assistant in Mining and Metallurgy, 1877–79.

John R. Scott, Instructor in Elocution, 1877.

Alexander Leonhardt, Instructor in Assaying, 1880–82.

Gustav Hambach, Instructor in Botany and Zoology, 1880.

Thomas B. Annan, Instructor in Architecture, 1880–81.

Howard Kretchmar, Instructor in Modeling.

Edmund A. Engler, Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Descriptive Geometry, 1881–82; Professor, 1882.

Henry S. Pritchett, Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, 1881–82; Professor, 1882.

Charles E. Ludeking, Assistant in Chemistry, 1881



MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS.

John H. Jenks, Professor of Physiology, 1874.

James K. Hosmer, Professor of English and German Literature, 1874.

A. B. Copeland, Teacher of Drawing, 1873–74.

Francis E. Nipher, Assistant Professor of Physics, 1874–75; Wayman Crow Professor of Physics, 1875. This chair is named in honor of Hon. Wayman Crow.

Halsey C. Ives, Teacher of Free-Hand and Mechanical Drawing, 1874–76; Professor of Drawing and Design, 1876.

John K. Rees, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, 1876–81.

John T. Hodgen, University Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, 1876–82.

William T. Harris, Professor of the Philosophy of Education, 1876.

August Muegge, Instructor in Gymnastics, 1880.

THE ST. LOUIS SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS, although included in the proposed plan of the institution from the beginning, was not brought into any regular shape until its organization in 1879 as a separate department. Professor Halsey C. Ives has been the director since its organization. The school has the use of the fine collection of casts purchased in Europe for use in the art work of the university, which are placed in the museum and in the class-rooms of the school. Free admission is given all art students to the collections of sculpture and paintings in the museum, and the best opportunities are afforded for most thorough prosecution of art study. Evening and Saturday classes for the accommodation of those who cannot attend at other times are arranged every year.

hundred and sixty students are enrolled the present year. The school is under the direct control of a committee of the board of directors of the university, who with several gentlemen not otherwise connected with the university constitute the board of control of the School of Fine Arts. The following are the names of the board of control and of the teachers in this department:

Board of Control.—Daniel Catlin, Edwin C. Cushman, John B. Henderson, Ethan A. Hitchcock, Charles Parsons, Thomas E. Tutt.

Teachers.—Halsey C. Ives, director; Carl Gutherz, Paul E. Harney, Howard Kretchmar, Edmund A. Eogler, John H. Fry.

The founder of the School of Fine Arts was the Hon. Wayman Crow.[1] Mr. Crow was the youngest son of Joshua Crow. His father was born in Virginia, April 18, 1760, and March 27, 1787, married Mary Wayman, at Poplar Spring, Anne Arundel Co., Md. The issue of this union was twelve children, all of whom, except two boys who died in childhood, reached mature years.

The Crows came from North Irish stock; the Waymans were of English extraction.

Joshua Crow died in Hartford, Ky., April 20, 1830. He was a man of good abilities and sterling integrity, but somewhat deficient in vigor of character. His wife, who died near Hopkinsville, Ky., Sept. 27, 1827, was endowed with strong native sense and extraordinary energy. The subject of this sketch inherited his activity and executive capacity from his mother.

Shortly after his marriage, Joshua Crow invested his property in the manufacture of flour in the District of Columbia, but the business proved unsuccessful. Deeming it easier to re-establish his shattered fortune in a new country, Mr. Crow went to Kentucky and settled in Hartford, Ohio Co. The Indians were still numerous in that region, and of a temper so fickle and unfriendly that the existence of a fort at Hartford was a fact that had considerable weight with Mr. Crow in the selection of his new home. After his removal to Kentucky, Mr. Crow studied law and practiced his profession in the Green River counties.

Mrs. Crow was appointed postmistress of Hartford, and for several years acceptably discharged the duties of her office.

Wayman Crow was born in Hartford, Ky., March 3, 1808. When Wayman was six years old his father moved to Hopkinsville, Christian Co., Ky. At the age of seven Wayman was sent to the district school. The school-house, situated in the outskirts of the village, was a rude log cabin, whose chinks were imperfectly closed with mud. The floor was clay. It was here in this log cabin that Wayman, between the ages of seven and eleven, and under teachers whose system of instruction was as rude as the building in which they taught, acquired the elements of his imperfect education.

In 1819 his father removed to a farm six miles from Hopkinsville, and here Wayman spent one year, attending school in the winter and working on the farm in the summer. In February, 1820, he was, at the age of twelve, apprenticed to Strother J. Hawkins, who kept a store of assorted dry-goods, groceries, and hardware in Hopkinsville. The period of his apprenticeship was five years. By the terms of his indenture, he was to receive his "victuals and clothes" and to board in the family of his "master." He took his meals with the family, but slept on a cot in the counting-room. He made the fires, brought the water from a spring two hundred yards from the house, opened, swept, and closed the store. Mr. Hawkins was a thorough merchant, and under his careful instruction, Wayman easily mastered the difficulties of book-keeping by double entry, and became familiar with all the duties incident to the conduct of a country store. In the course of a year and a half Mr. Hawkins retired from business, and Wayman was transferred by agreement to the firm of Anderson & Alterbury. These merchants had previously been doing a wholesale business in Baltimore, and in consequence of their unfamiliarity with the details of a retail trade, Wayman, though not yet fifteen years old, was intrusted with the chief control of their business. To him was confided the responsible duty of making out the inventory for purchases and the lists of credits. After the expiration of his apprenticeship, he was employed by the firm at a salary of three hundred dollars per annum, and at the end of the first year Messrs. Anderson & Alterbury offered to establish a branch house, furnish it with three thousand dollars' worth of merchandise, and give Wayman one-quarter of the profits to manage the business. The young clerk accepted the offer, and in October, 1826, opened a store in Cadiz, Trigg Co., Kentucky. Although Cadiz is only twenty miles from Hopkinsville, six months elapsed before Wayman received a visit from either of his employers. Their confidence in his integrity and capacity did not need the reassurance of a frequent inspection of his books.

In December, 1828, Messrs. Anderson & Alterbury, in consequence of their determination to re-

[1] The accompanying sketch of Mr. Crow was prepared for this work by Professor S. Waterhouse.

move to Pittsburgh as a larger field for mercantile operations, voluntarily offered to sell to Wayman on credit their stock of goods at Cadiz. But Wayman was still in his non-age, and to his suggestion that the note of a minor is not legally binding, his employers replied that they were willing to assume the risk, feeling assured that he would never plead the statute of infancy in bar of a just claim.

During the twenty-six months Wayman had been engaged in business in Cadiz the firm had cleared four thousand five hundred dollars, but Wayman's share of the profits had been absorbed in the necessary expenses of living,—expenses that were materially increased by the fact that he was the sole representative of the firm at Cadiz. In his final settlement with his employers prior to going into business for himself, Wayman found that he owed the firm fifty-four dollars, but the payment was kindly deferred and the amount included in the sum which he was to pay for his stock of goods. Accepting the terms proposed by Messrs. Anderson & Alterbury, Mr. Crow started in business for himself Jan. 1, 1829, owing his former employers about three thousand dollars, on a credit of six, twelve, and fifteen months. He paid the notes before their maturity, and in July, 1835, sold out with a view of going elsewhere, having made in six years and a half, after deducting all his family expenses, the sum of twenty-one thousand dollars.

Nov. 5, 1829, Mr. Crow married Miss Isabella B. Conn, the third daughter of Capt. H. Conn, of Union County, Ky. Of this marriage nine children were born, of whom Alphonsine, Victor, Medora, and Alice died in childhood, while Cornelia, Emma, Mary, Isabel, and Wayman reached adult life.

In the fall of 1826, when he was only nineteen years old, Mr. Crow was appointed postmaster at Cadiz. He held this trust till the winter of 1832, when, in consequence of his support of Henry Clay for the Presidency, he was removed from office. But his dismissal was so unpopular that no citizen of Cadiz would accept the position, and the vacancy was filled by a man from Hopkinsville.

For some time Mr. Crow had been contemplating a removal to a larger field of commercial enterprise. In the spring of 1835 he set out in quest of a new home. Detained in St. Louis for several weeks by a severe illness, he used the opportunities of convalescence to examine the business features of the place, and deeply impressed with its commercial facilities, he determined to settle in St. Louis.

While he was lying sick in St. Louis, the Bank of Kentucky, without solicitation, appointed him a director for the purpose of organizing a branch bank at Hopkinsville. He was a member of the board until the following November, when, in view of his immediate removal to St. Louis, he resigned his place.

At this time Mr. Crow formed a partnership with his cousin, Joshua Tevis, of Philadelphia, and on the 18th of November, 1835, he landed at St. Louis, and began business under the style of "Crow & Tevis." Such was the humble beginning of one of the largest commercial houses in St. Louis. Under the later names of "Crow, McCreery & Co." and "Crow, Hargadine & Co." the firm has continued in business until the present time. From the date of its organization the house has never known a reverse or received a stain upon its commercial honor. From the beginning Mr. Crow has been the head of the firm, and it was chiefly owing to his practical wisdom and business foresight that the firm has been able safely to weather the financial storms that have from time to time swept so disastrously over the country. In 1837, '57, '61, and '73, when commercial confidence and credit were utterly unsettled, and when many of the strongest houses were sinking in ruin, this firm never failed to meet all its obligations at maturity. The panic of 1857 overtook the house when it was encumbered with a debt of several hundred thousand dollars. Ruin seemed inevitable. In this desperate emergency Mr. Crow borrowed money at two and a half per cent. a month, and secured the payment of funds used for the benefit of the firm by the pledge of his own private property. He also issued a circular which evinced great foresight and knowledge of human nature. By its candor of statement, exhibit of financial strength, and adroit appeal to the sympathies and interests of the debtors, this circular effectively relieved the embarrassment of the house.

One sentence is specially worthy of quotation:

"To us our commercial honor is as dear as our lives; to preserve it we are prepared to make any pecuniary sacrifice short of impairing our ability to pay ultimately every dollar we owe."

So manly an address met a generous response, and the moneys derived from collections and private loans were sufficient to rescue the firm from commercial danger. The house may well be proud of its noble founder, of the fine example of mercantile honor which he has set, and of a commercial career so distinguished for sagacity and unvarying success.

In 1840, Mr. Crow was unanimously elected president of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce. He held this office for about ten years in succession.

In 1840 and again in 1850 he was elected to the State Senate on the Whig ticket. The second term of senatorial service was four years.



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Clayman Crary

It was in 1850 that the present railroad policy of Missouri was inaugurated. Mr. Crow aided in procuring the charters of the Hannibal and St. Joseph and the Missouri Pacific Railroads. Of the latter road he was one of the original stockholders, and was a contributor on the eventful evening when the joint subscription of one hundred thousand dollars was raised. He was subsequently one of the directors of the road, and showed his faith in its future by retaining his stock for more than twenty years without any return of dividends.

In the last session of the State Senate in 1853, he was a member of the Committee of Ways and Means. While he was serving in this capacity, Governor Price, going beyond the limits of his own party and not expecting security for a trust involving two hundred thousand dollars, appointed him agent to sell a new issue of the State bonds. Mr. Crow disposed of the bonds in the New York market at a premium of nearly four and three-quarters per cent. Up to that date no sale of State securities had ever been made on terms so favorable. His commission of one-half of one per cent. amounted to about one thousand and fifty dollars. One-half of this sum he gave to New York bankers for aid in negotiating the loan, and out of the five hundred and twenty-five dollars that remained he paid his own expenses. For his success in this transaction he was highly complimented by Governor Price in a public message.

Mr. Crow obtained the charter of the St. Louis Asylum for the Blind and of the Mercantile Library Hall Company. With generous contributions he assisted in the erection of the library building, and was for many years a member of the board of directors.

In 1844 he was chosen president of the Marine Insurance Company. Five or six years later he resigned this position, and was elected president of the St. Louis Perpetual Insurance Company. He held this office till the outbreak of the civil war, when, at his suggestion, the stockholders closed up the affairs of the company.

Mr. Crow is a Unitarian, and has liberally supported the interests of his denomination. He has been for more than thirty years a trustee of the Church of the Messiah, and for many years president of the board of control. While in the Senate he procured the charter of the mission school connected with the Unitarian Church, and was several years a member of its board of managers.

Though a native of a Southern State, Mr. Crow early conceived a love of free institutions. The belief that Missouri would soon become a free State was one of the strongest motives that induced him to settle in St. Louis. In order that his daughters might be surrounded by the influences and imbued with the principles of freedom, he sent them to New England to be educated. It was while his daughter Cornelia was at school in Lenox, Mass., that Mr. Crow met her classmate, Harriet Hosmer. The young school-girl, who had already determined to devote her life to sculpture, was invited to St. Louis, and passed eight months in Mr. Crow's family, engaged in the study of anatomy, as an introduction to her more strictly technical education. Afterwards, when she was struggling in Rome under the discouragements which so often beset an artistic career, her patron sent her a check of two thousand five hundred dollars, and gave her an order to be executed at her pleasure. At a later period his influence as chairman of a committee to erect a statue in honor of Col. Benton enabled him to secure the commission for Miss Hosmer.

It was also at Lenox that Mr. Crow formed the acquaintance of Fanny Kemble and Charlotte Cushman, with whom he maintained a lifelong friendship.

Mr. Crow has always been an active supporter of the public schools, but his gifts to Washington University are his most important contributions to the cause of education. He may indeed be called the founder of that institution, inasmuch as he was the first to conceive the idea of a university and to embody that idea in an organic form. In the winter of 1853, during his last term of service in the Senate, without consultation with any one, he drafted, introduced, and secured the passage of the charter of Washington University. In the remarks which Mr. Crow made at the festival held on the 22d of April, 1882, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of Washington University, he used these words,—"Almost thirty years ago, near the close of my last senatorial term of office, without consultation with others, I drew up and introduced into the Senate the charter of this institution." The catholic provisions of that instrument, its clear recognition of the literary wants of St. Louis, its absolute prohibition of partisan politics or sectarian religion in the administration of the university, attest the liberality and practical sagacity of the mind that conceived it.[1] In June, 1875, he gave twenty-five thousand dollars to the university for the endowment of the professorship of physics. The total amount of his endowments is more than two hundred thousand dollars.

On the 21st of December, 1875, Mr. Crow, as the

[1] Mr. Crow has been vice-president of the university from its organization to the present time.

oldest surviving ex-president of the Merchants' Exchange, delivered the valedictory address in the old hall, prior to the inauguration of the new edifice on Third Street. His remarks on that occasion were pervaded by that lofty spirit of mercantile honor that should be the inspiration and guide of our commercial life.

On the 1st of March, 1878, Wayman Crow, Jr., died in Leamington, England. In the following summer his father, with the approval of his family, decided to erect a memorial art museum. A lot one hundred and fifty feet in front, and one hundred and fifty-five feet in depth, situated at the corner of Lucas Place and Nineteenth Street, was bought in February, 1879. The work of construction was at once begun. The edifice was formally dedicated on the 10th of May, 1881, and conveyed by deed to Washington University on the sole condition that twenty-five thousand dollars should be raised as a permanent fund, the interest of which should be expended for works of art for the museum.

The total cost of the ground and building was about one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars. The St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts is a superb structure. Tasteful, well built, and admirably adapted to the uses of an art gallery, it is at once a beautiful memorial of a beloved son and a lasting monument of the beneficent public spirit of the father.

Through the lapse of ages, this noble gift will foster the culture of æsthetic art and develop new sources of refined enjoyment. Mr. Crow is a man of great generosity. When his old employers were overtaken by business reverses, he showed his gratitude for the encouraging confidence which they reposed in his youthful honesty. The declining years of one of them were brightened by a generosity as delicate as it was constant, while the son of the other was placed in a position which enabled him to maintain his widowed mother in comparative ease. Many a man, disheartened by adversity, has been relieved by Mr. Crow; but the charity was often given in the considerate disguise of payment for services which he did not need. His encouraging words and helpful hand have aided many young men to rise in the world, and enabled many older ones who have stumbled in the arduous paths of business to regain their footing. During his life, the aggregate of Mr. Crow's gifts to his church, to Washington University, to the support of the Union during the civil war, to private charities and public enterprises, must have amounted to three hundred thousand dollars. Though a man of wealth, Mr. Crow is not a millionaire. That he, while yet living and still exposed to the hazards of business, should from a comparatively moderate fortune devote so large a sum to public munificence is proof of a liberality as rare as it is noble. To give away money which the owner can no longer use is not the highest exercise of benevolence; but to forestall death and become the executor of his own legacies is the act of an enlightened and self-denying benefactor.

The domestic life of Mr. Crow has been singularly pleasant. He has spent his happiest hours at home in the endeared companionship of his wife and children. He has always sought to make that home the scene of cultivated pleasure and the centre of tender associations. He has filled it with objects of art to please the eye and educate the taste. He has gathered in his drawing-rooms men and women of culture, in order that he might enjoy the rich and varied results of study which the circumstances of his own early life prevented him from attaining. His generous hospitality will be long and kindly remembered by the guests who have been so fortunate as to share it. His sprightliness of mind and his large fund of information, derived from observation and travel, contribute much to the pleasure and profit of his social entertainments.

Mr. Crow is essentially a self-made man, and his example is full of suggestive encouragement to young men. Three-quarters of a century ago the processes of teaching were everywhere throughout the country far less perfect than they are to-day, but in a frontier State both the methods and subject-matter of instruction were singularly defective. It was under these conditions, in a Kentucky log cabin, that Mr. Crow obtained in less than six years all the school education which his circumstances permitted him to acquire. Yet by reading and reflection, by home and foreign travel, and by extensive intercourse with mankind he has become a man of large views and varied information. Beginning his business life at twelve with the humble duty of sweeping a small country store, he rose step by step, without a single reverse throughout his long career, until he has become one of the merchant-princes of the land.

Mr. Crow is a man of eminent usefulness. For his honorable services in mercantile life, in political trusts, in public enterprises, in educational work, and in private charity, St. Louis will long cherish the memory of its distinguished benefactor.

The St. Louis Law School, after its formal opening in 1867, had its rooms and its lectures were given in the Polytechnic building, corner of Seventh and Chestnut Streets. On the completion of the new wing of University Hall, on Washington Avenue, in 1872, the Law School removed to eligible rooms there

but the growth of the Undergraduate Department and the need of much more room for the rapidly increasing collections made it necessary to seek new quarters for this important department. When, therefore, Mary Institute was removed to its new building, the Law School was transferred to the old institute building, No. 1417 Lucas Place, where it has since remained, and where it has ample room for growth. The character of its faculty and the high standard required for graduation which is rigidly adhered to have made the Law School well and most favorably known, and it stands among the first institutions of the kind in the country. A diploma from this school admits its owner to practice in the courts of the State and United States without examination, upon simple motion. These diplomas are conferred only upon those who successfully pass the severe written examinations of the school.

The chancellor of the university is *ex officio* the official head of the law department, but the control and management of the department has always been vested in the law faculty. At its organization in 1867, Henry Hitchcock was appointed dean of the law faculty, and was executive officer thereof until October, 1870, when he resigned in consequence of ill health. George M. Stewart was then appointed dean of the law faculty, and remained such until May, 1878. But Mr. Hitchcock, having returned home with renewed health in December, 1871, was reappointed a member of the faculty and made provost, and as such resumed the executive management of the Law School, and continued to exercise the same until May, 1878. At that time the entire faculty resigned and the law faculty was reorganized, Henry Hitchcock being reappointed dean and the number of the faculty being reduced, though the course of study was enlarged. In June, 1881, Henry Hitchcock having resigned, William G. Hammond, LL.D., was appointed dean of the law faculty, which office he now holds with the executive management and control of the Law School. Professor Hammond entered upon his duties in October, 1880, after many years of successful work in a similar position in the Iowa State University. To Henry Hitchcock, however, more than to any other man must be ascribed the successful establishment of the school. He was, as we have seen, for several years the dean, then provost, and dean again, and still holds an important chair among the faculty.

The following list includes the names of all who have at any time been members of the faculty of the Law School. Those in *italics* are the present members: *Samuel Treat*, 1867; Nathaniel Holmes, 1867–68; *Albert Todd*, 1867; John D. S. Dryden, 1867–68; *Henry Hitchcock*, 1867; Alexander Martin, 1867–78; Samuel Reber, 1868–79; John M. Krum, 1868–78; *George A. Madill*, 1868; George M. Stewart, 1868–78; Roderick E. Rombauer, 1872–73; Chester H. Krum, 1873–82; *Gustavus A. Finkelnburg*, 1878; George W. Cline, 1879–82; *William G. Hammond*, dean, 1881.

SMITH ACADEMY, which was the real beginning of the university, passed from the hands of Messrs. Low and Tirrell in the year 1862 into the care of Professor George B. Stone. Under his vigorous administration the academy grew and prospered, even throughout the trying days of civil war, and its reputation for thoroughness and general excellence, so well established by Professor Stone, is maintained and strengthened by his successor, Professor Denham Arnold, who became principal at the resignation of the former in 1874. Recent improvements have been made in the courses of study which make the academy a good fitting school for any college or polytechnic school in the country. It has a large corps of teachers and an attendance of nearly four hundred pupils. The following are the names of those now constituting the body of government and instruction:

Denham Arnold, principal; George E. Jackson, John H. Jenks, James A. Lanius, William S. Curtis, Eli R. Offut, Charles P. Curd, Henry E. Seaver, Horace A. Brown, Asa E. Goddard, John R. Scott, Richard D. Swain, Charles P. Morrison, Anna C. Hillman, Inez Borden, Mary B. Cushman, Amanda Ford, Isabel H. Noyes, Charlotte M. Martling.

MARY INSTITUTE, the university's school for girls, has been under the charge of Professor Calvin S. Pennell since the year 1862, when he succeeded Professor Sanborn. The first building was on Lucas Place, No. 1417. This becoming inadequate for the uses of the rapidly growing school, the building at the corner of Locust and Beaumont Streets was erected and occupied in 1878. The school has a large corps of teachers and more than four hundred pupils on its rolls. Mary Institute has always enjoyed a well-deserved reputation for the thoroughness with which its work is done and the admirable spirit which pervades the whole school. Those of its graduates who so desire have free admission to either branch of the Undergraduate Department of the university. The teachers of the institute are as follows: Calvin S. Pennell, principal; Caroline E. Pendleton, Henrietta Sawyer, Margaret T. Wallace, Sophie Desloge, Flora L. Whitney, Sarah E. Cole, Annie Wall, Mary J. Rychlicki, Jennie R. Greene, Annie L. McCargo, Sallie B. Dunnica, Emily A. Nelson, Emma G. Noyes, Kate J. Brainerd, Sarah M. Mills, Lizzie Butler, S.

D. Hayden, Jessie Elliot, Lily Irwin, Theo. Hagen, Emma L. Taussig, Ada Johnson.

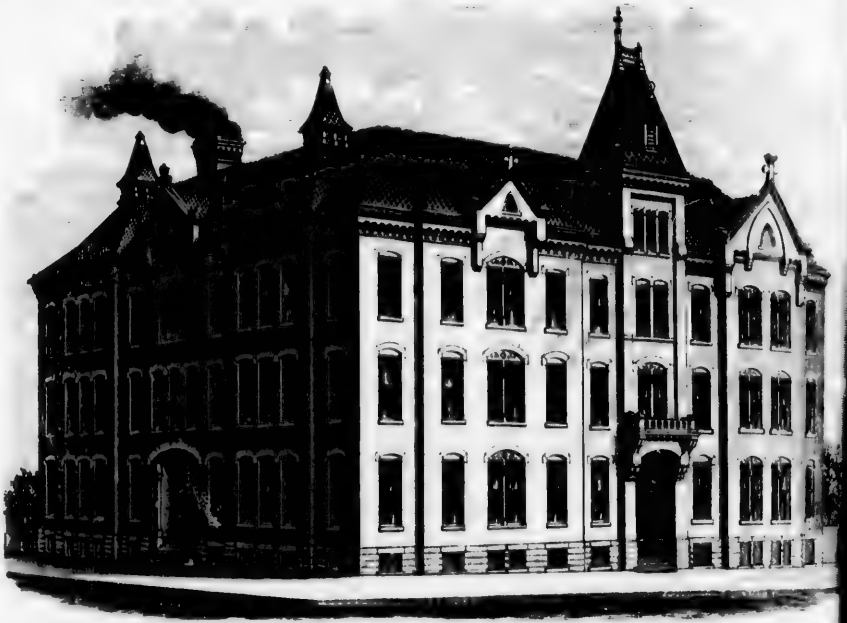
In the year 1875, William Henry Smith and his wife, Ellen Smith, gave to the university a sum of money which has since increased to thirty thousand dollars for the beginning of a lecture foundation. Lectures known as the Smith lectures are given every year, either in the large lecture-room or in class-rooms, upon all subjects which are suited to the needs of the public. The sum of five thousand dollars has also been given by Mrs. Mary Hemenway, of Boston, Mass., for the encouragement of the study of Ameri-

Woodward, dean of the Polytechnic School, is the director of the Training School, and is assisted by the following teachers:

John W. Spargo, Charles F. White, George W. Krall, W. Henry Vaughn, Charles E. Jones, Harry M. Newington, Oscar W. Raeder, George B. Woodward, B. S. Newland, Charles C. Swafford.

The property of the university, including buildings and furniture, is estimated to be worth more than one million dollars, all of which has been given by public-spirited men and women, most of them residents of St. Louis. No aid from the State has ever been received, nor has any money been obtained from any denominational source, for the university is in the strictest sense of the term non-sectarian and non-partisan, and desires no connection with either church or State. The following list includes the names of some of the benefactors of the university, now deceased, with a few of those who are still alive to see the fruit of their generosity, and the sums given by each as nearly as can be ascertained. Much has been given frequently in large sums, as the immediate need required, and without publicity:

Nathaniel Thayer, of Boston, Mass., $42,000



MANUAL TRAINING SCHOOL.

can history. The people of St. Louis now look to the university every year with confidence that the demand for instruction in this form will be regularly met.

THE MANUAL TRAINING SCHOOL, as has been before stated, is a school for the instruction of boys in English branches and the use of tools, the purpose being not to teach particular trades, but to give such an education in the use of tools as will be a good preparation for those wishing to be skilled mechanics. The course of study is also so arranged as to fit the pupils for the Polytechnic School of the university. Professor

Mrs. Mary Hemenway, of Boston, Mass., $35,000; James Smith, of St. Louis, $250,000; Hudson E. Bridge, of St. Louis, $179,000; John O'Fallon, of St. Louis, $62,000; William Palm, of St. Louis, $55,000; Wayman Crow, of St. Louis, $170,000; James H. Lucas, of St. Louis, $10,000; George Partridge, of St. Louis, $100,000; the Collier brothers, of St. Louis, $25,000.

We have given not accurate statements of amounts contributed, but such approximately correct statements as have been made from time to time in published reports and documents.

James Smith, who, as indicated above, was the largest single contributor to the funds of the university, was born at Peterborough, N. H., on the 28th of October, 1804. His father, John Smith, was a man of note and consequence. He had very limited opportunities of education, but possessed great natural vigor and activity of intellect, and made himself felt as a potent factor in the affairs of the town. For twelve annual terms consecutively he served the town as its representative in the State Legislature, and filled the office of local magistrate with great acceptability for many years. One who knew him well said of him, "He was a man of vast proportions, great in body, mind, and heart." He belonged to a family of stalwart men, and his brothers were also gifted with uncommon natural endowments. One of them, Jeremiah Smith, rose to the highest distinction by sheer force of his own native talents, energy, and ambition. After having, by dint of hard struggle, obtained a collegiate education, he entered the profession of the law, which he soon abandoned for the field of politics. He was elected a representative in the State Legislature, in which position he served with honor to himself and acceptability to his constituents. He was then chosen a member of Congress, where he served his native State during the whole period of Washington's two administrations. Subsequently he held in succession the offices of judge of the United States District Court, and of chief justice and Governor of New Hampshire, shedding in all of them new lustre on the family name.

James Smith inherited from his father a powerful frame, an active intellect, an iron will, and the ambition to excel. His mother was a woman of fine intelligence, a daughter of David Steele, of Peterborough, and of a family which gave to the State one of its early Governors, and has always been noted for mental and bodily vigor. It was from her chiefly that he learned those habits of industry, economy, and thrift that formed the basis of all his business prosperity. His youth was spent amid very trying conditions, for he was one of a family of eight children, with only scanty means of support, and lived in an obscure country village, with but little schooling and that at irregular intervals; but the discouragements and trials he was called upon to endure served only to temper and develop his natural strength of character. By the death of his father, who was accidentally killed in 1821, new and heavy responsibilities were laid upon him. His three brothers being absent and engaged elsewhere, the whole care of the family devolved upon James, who was then only seventeen years of age. At length, after three years of courageous and arduous effort to win a livelihood from the sterile soil, it was decided to give up the farm at Peterborough and remove to Franklin, where his brothers and a sister had already taken up their abode, and where a business opening for him presented itself. The change was accordingly made, and with his mother and sisters he took up his residence in Franklin in 1824, and at once obtained employment as a clerk in the store connected with the new mill at that place, which had recently been built by his brother-in-law, John Cavender, and others.

Four years were spent in Franklin, but his ambition was not satisfied with the slender promise afforded by the business of a small village, and he accordingly removed to the city of New York, where he also remained four years engaged in business. He then returned to New Hampshire, and was married on the 16th of May, 1832, to Persis, daughter of James Garland, of Franklin. The newly-wedded pair went to New York City, but the outlook not being satisfactory to the young merchant, he turned his face in the following year to the great West. In the spring of 1833, Mr. and Mrs. Smith started on their journey, and after four weeks of wearisome travel reached the spot on the west bank of the Mississippi which was destined to be their future home. St. Louis was then little more than a frontier town, but the influx of the New England element, with such representative names as those of Greeley, Gale, Filley, and Bridge, soon began to be felt in its commercial and industrial life. Shortly after his arrival Mr. Smith entered into a copartnership in the wholesale grocery trade with his brother, William H. Smith, and John Cavender, under the style of Smith Brothers & Co. All the partners went to work with a will, each playing the part of porter, book-keeper, and salesman indifferently, and it was not long before the sterling qualities of these thrifty, hard-working Yankees came to be known and appreciated, the new firm soon achieving an enviable reputation for fair dealing and integrity among the merchants of the city.

In Mr. Smith's family circle the habits of industry

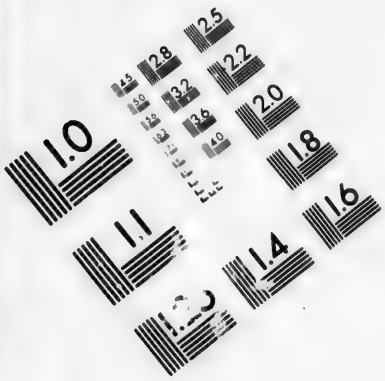
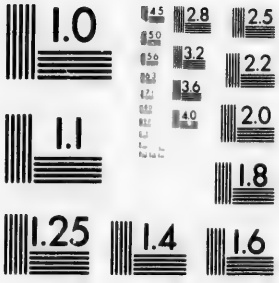
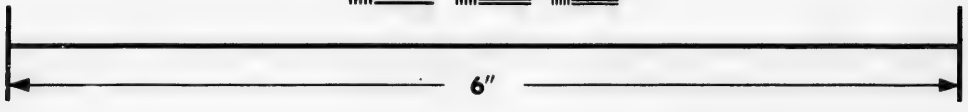


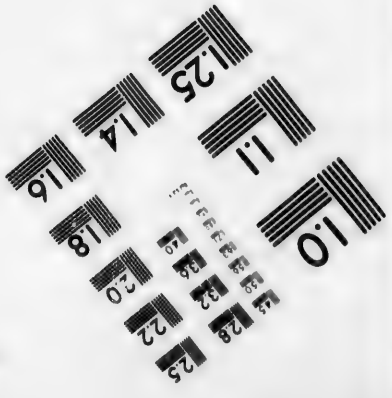


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and thrift that had been learned among the hills of the Granite State were transplanted to the soil of Missouri. Every dollar saved was added to the capital which was one day to build and endow institutions of learning and philanthropy.

As the years passed by the firm of Smith Brothers & Co. continued to develop and extend their business, keeping pace with the rapid growth of the city and surrounding country, and experiencing the usual vicissitudes of good and bad fortune. The great fire of 1849 inflicted the first and only serious loss that Smith Brothers & Co. ever suffered. It destroyed their store and stock of goods, and temporarily gave a check to their business. It was also the occasion of the retirement of Mr. Cavender from the firm. With fresh ardor and undiminished confidence the Smith brothers again resumed business as soon as a new store and new goods could be obtained, admitting as a partner Levi Parsons, who had been in their employ. The death of Mr. Parsons within a year led to the formation in 1851 of another partnership, to which George Partridge was admitted as a member. The new firm took the name of Partridge & Co., and prospered as the old one had done, James Smith being again, as before, the master spirit. At length, in 1862, weary of the cares and responsibilities of a business life which had lasted for more than a third of a century, Mr. Smith withdrew from the firm of Partridge & Co., and never again engaged in mercantile pursuits. He did not, however, retire from business pursuits, and the large interests which he had acquired in some of the leading banks and business corporations of the city continued to receive his constant attention. For many years he had held the position of director in the Boatmen's Savings-Bank, Provident Savings Institution, Belcher Sugar Refining Company, St. Louis Gas-Light Company, and the Missouri State Mutual Insurance Company, and during the remainder of his active life continued to give them a large share of his time and strength.

As his activity in affairs of business lessened, Mr. Smith's thoughts turned more and more towards works of charity and philanthropy. For many years the Washington University had been a special object of his benefactions. One of the original incorporators, and always a member of the board of directors, he had from the first taken a deep interest in its welfare, and given largely of his means for its support, and for the promotion of its growth and development. These gifts had previously been made as the current needs of the institution from year to year required, and aggregated a large sum; but in 1873 he signalized his devotion to its interests by placing at the disposal of the university, without conditions, bank stock valued at seventy thousand dollars. In these larger benefactions he always regarded his wife as an equal partner, and it was at her suggestion that the last-mentioned gift was made. The purpose to make final disposition of one-half of his property for educational, charitable, and religious uses had been definitely settled in Mr. Smith's mind for years, and in fulfillment of this purpose a will had been executed as early as 1855. When the matter came up for consideration, however, at a later day, it was thought that certain provisions of the will might prove inoperative, being in conflict with the new Constitution of the State. Accordingly Mr. Smith had a new will prepared, in which, after bequeathing one-half of his estate to his wife, and declaring certain minor specific legacies, he devised to the Rev. William G. Eliot, without express conditions or instructions as to its use, the residue of his estate, and named him as his executor. Thus was laid upon the trusted friend the burden of carrying out the charitable purposes which had been cherished so long by Mr. Smith.

In February, 1876, an attack of paralysis prostrated Mr. Smith, but he rallied and was enabled to resume in some degree his old interest in the world and its affairs. In the following summer he sought a renewal of health and strength at the seashore, in Hampton, N. H., and returned in the autumn much refreshed. Towards the close of his life his mind reverted to the old home among the granite hills of New Hampshire, and, animated by the desire to leave something as a memorial of gratitude to the place that had given him birth, he created a trust fund of three thousand dollars, the income of which in perpetuity should be devoted to the purchase of books for the town library of Peterborough, N. H. The summer of 1877 was spent by Mr. Smith at the home of his friend, Josiah C. Palmer, at Hampton, N. H., and on the 15th of October of that year his death occurred. His body, in accordance with his wishes, was taken to Franklin, N. H., and laid beside the remains of his mother and oldest brother. His devoted wife and their adopted son, George, for many years a resident of New York City, still survive him.

It was as a man of business that Mr. Smith was best known to the men of his own time. As a merchant, he had a high sense of commercial honor and integrity, and was scrupulously exact in all his business transactions, both giving and asking what he thought was justly due. He was cautious and conservative in temperament, preferring moderate profits with safety to greater speculative gains; was a good judge of men, rarely making mistakes in his estimates

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Truly
James Smith

of them, and possessed that rare quality of mind popularly known as "common sense," which when successfully applied to the management of great enterprises the world calls genius. Money-making he regarded in the light of a duty, as George Peabody is reputed to have done; and, like Peabody, he valued wealth only for its power to benefit mankind. Washington University was the largest recipient of his bounty, and he was its largest single benefactor. His munificent liberality toward that institution sprang from his conviction that the education of the people is the only sure foundation of our form of government, and that the establishment of a great institution of learning in St. Louis would be the best guarantee of the city's future prosperity. Confidently believing that Washington University would one day realize this ideal, he was led to devote to that institution directly or indirectly nearly one-half of all he possessed.

Mr. Smith was a Unitarian in his religious belief, and one of the original members of the congregation afterwards known as the Church of the Messiah. He was conspicuous for his devotion to the interests of the society, and was one of the largest contributors towards the erection of its first two churches and its current expenses. During his lifetime he was a generous giver to the Mission Free School, a charity devoted to the succor of destitute children, and an outgrowth of the Church of the Messiah, a liberal share of its present endowment in real estate having been received from him, as also by his will a further sum of five thousand dollars. Mr. Smith's generosity, however, was by no means limited to the few objects indicated. His sympathies were broad and catholic, and no worthy enterprise was undertaken in St. Louis for the general good during the active period of his long life which did not receive his substantial support.

Although he always took a deep interest in public affairs he never sought or accepted any public office, but was always prompt as a citizen to discharge every duty. In politics he was a stanch Republican, and during the civil war never faltered in his devotion to the Union. Upon great questions of public policy his views were broad and liberal, and it was not in his nature to be a partisan. His manners were genial and kindly, and throughout his conversation ran a vein of wit and humor which made him a delightful companion. Although tolerant of the opinions of others, he was tenacious of his own convictions and frank and outspoken in their expression. In his friendships he was strong and devoted, and always during himself upon the plane of perfect sincerity, he had no toleration for whatever was dishonest or insincere. His mode of life was plain and simple, and temperance and moderation characterized all his habits. Domestic in his tastes, he found his chief enjoyment in the quiet pleasures of his own fireside. Notwithstanding the fact that his early school education had been extremely limited, he was a great reader and keenly enjoyed the society of the best books, of which his library contained a goodly store. Charles Dickens was his favorite among the novelists, and he never wearied of quoting from that author's pages.

No child was born to him, but he took to his heart and home the children of others and cherished them with a father's affection. Still others, whose names cannot be mentioned here, to whom he extended the helping hand, and whose sense of grateful obligation no words could express, will never cease to hold his name in blessed memory.

In March, 1871, Hudson E. Bridge presented the university with $130,000 of the $179,000 stated above as the amount of his contribution, divided as follows: $100,000 for the endowment of the chancellorship and for a library fund, $15,000 towards the erection of a building for the Polytechnic School, and $15,000 for providing it with furniture and apparatus. In recognition of this liberality the board of directors voted that the office of chancellor should receive the title of "the Bridge chancellorship." At the annual meeting of the alumni, March 2, 1872, Hon. Thomas Allen offered the interest for five years at seven per cent. of the sum of $40,000, for the purpose of endowing a chair of mining and metallurgy. His offer was accepted, and a complete School of Mines was organized.

In the following list will be found the names of all who have served the university as directors since its organization, those in *italics* indicating names of the members of the present board of directors:

William G. Eliot, *Wayman Crow*, Seth A. Ranlett, John Cavender, Christopher Rhodes, *Samuel Treat*, *John M. Krum*, *George Partridge*, Phocion R. McCreery, John How, William Glasgow, Jr., George Pegram, N. J. Eaton, James Smith, Mann Butler, Hudson E. Bridge, Samuel Russell, Thomas T. Gantt, John O'Fallon, James H. Lucas, *Henry Hitchcock*, Charles A. Pope, D. A. January, *James E. Yeatman*, Robert Campbell, *Carlos S. Greeley*, *John R. Shepley*, *Albert Todd*, John P. Collier, *John T. Davis*, *George E. Leighton*, *Edwin Harrison*, *Henry W. Eliot*, *M. Dwight Collier*, *William A. Hargadine*, *Samuel Cupples*.

Miscellaneous Schools.—In addition to the public and private schools of St. Louis which are con-

ducted on a non-sectarian basis, there are a number of schools maintained and controlled by religious denominations. The earliest of these and the most important in point of numbers are those established by the Catholic Church. As will be seen in another portion of this work, the Society of Jesus early addressed itself to the task of supplying educational facilities of a superior character to the youth of St. Louis, and it is to be presumed there were already in existence when they arrived on the field several parish schools under the direction of the resident clergy. In 1852 over three thousand children were being educated at the Catholic free schools, which then numbered thirteen in all. Of these, St. Xavier School, at Ninth and Green Streets, numbered 376 pupils; Tenth Street School, 340; the Cathedral School, 270; and the Biddle Street School, 370. In 1870 the total attendance of scholars had increased to between seven thousand and eight thousand. The largest of the schools then were St. Joseph's, SS. Peter and Paul's, and St. Patrick's. All the male schools are under the charge of the Christian Brothers, who when they arrived in St. Louis in 1849 numbered only three individuals. In 1870 their number had increased to fifty-seven, with a novitiate averaging thirty, and they then had in charge one college, with an attendance of 350 students; an academy, with an attendance of 250; eight parish schools,—one at St. Vincent's Church, four teachers, 350 pupils; one at St. John's, three teachers, 200 pupils; one at the Annunciation, two teachers, 130 pupils; one at St. Patrick's, three teachers, 300 pupils; one at St. Lawrence's, two teachers, 130 pupils; one at St. Bridget's, three teachers, 300 pupils; one at St. Michael's, two teachers, 120 pupils; and one at St. Mary's, Carondelet, two teachers, 130 pupils. In the parish schools, besides the elementary branches, reading, writing, and arithmetic, the pupils are taught geography, history, grammar, algebra, and linear drawing.

College of the Christian Brothers.—It is not generally known that Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, was the first Catholic prelate to invite the Brothers of the Christian schools of France, who as a religious order had been founded in 1681 by the venerable J. B. de la Salle, to establish themselves in the United States. The first institution opened by them in this country, however, was in Baltimore, in 1846. They did not come to St. Louis until 1849, locating then in the Rider mansion, at the corner of Eighth and Cerré Streets, which has ever since served all the purposes of an excellently-conducted educational institution. The founders of the present college were three brothers, Gelisaire, Peter, and Dorothy. The corporation of the "Academy of the Christian Brothers" was organized in August, 1849, and chartered in 1855 by the State Legislature, the incorporators being Brothers Patrick, Paulian, Barbas, Dorothy, and Laurence. The first and successive presidents have been Brothers Patrick, Ambrose, Edward, and James, and the present board of officers is composed of Brother James, president; Brother Virgil, vice-president and secretary; and Brother Edward John, treasurer. On arriving in St. Louis the brothers opened (Sept. 11, 1849) a parish school at the Cathedral, and subsequently established schools in several other parishes of the city.

The Cathedral School at its opening consisted of two classes, and a third was added in November. The school prospered, and by the middle of March, 1850, scarcely more than half a year after its establishment, the patronage had grown so large that the number of brothers was increased to nine, and ere the end of May following had grown to twelve. In June, 1850, the brothers purchased the two-story brick residence at the corner of Eighth and Cerré Streets, and established themselves there, continuing, however, the schools as they then existed.

The closest economy was practiced, and within a year additions were being built to the brick residence. In 1852 the first improvements were completed, and the educational interests of the brothers were all consolidated under one roof. The college was founded in 1851, but not formally opened until 1852.

Brother Patrick was placed in active charge by the superior-general, and from that date, under the able management of his presidency, its success was onward and upward. For eight years Brother Patrick conducted its affairs with the highest success, until he was transferred by authority and placed in control of other important branches of the order.

Brother Patrick was succeeded in the presidency by Brother Ambrose, who filled the chair for three years, and he by Brother Edward, who served five years, until in 1870 the present incumbent, Brother James, was inducted into the office, which he has filled with such ability and fidelity as to cause the pressing demand for more facilities in the work to which he has dedicated his life.

The location in 1869 of the freight depot of the old Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company on the square directly across the street from the college buildings, and the subsequent erection in the vicinity of the college of the Union Depot and other structures for railroad purposes, rendered the neighborhood extremely noisy, and the brothers began looking about for new quarters. It was not until 1871, however

that a suitable site was found. In that year Brother James, president of the college, purchased the Côte Brilliante property of the late James H. Lucas, comprising about twenty-one acres. The site was pointed out by Rev. Father Henry, of St. Lawrence O'Toole's Church. The deed was made out and the purchase-money, fifty thousand dollars, in part paid on the 17th of March, 1871. That he might never again be annoyed for want of room, Brother James also purchased about nine acres adjoining the Lucas tract on the north, making in all nearly thirty acres. The site chosen was the spot that Mr. Lucas once set apart for an observatory which he contemplated building and presenting to the city of St. Louis. Various causes prevented the commencement of work on the building until 1877. The corner-stone was laid amid appropriate ceremonies in the spring of that year.

The structure, which is in the shape of a cross, consists of a central edifice and four wings, and was designed by James McGrath. The total frontage of the building is three hundred and seventy feet. Some idea of its magnitude may be gathered by remembering that the total length on Walnut Street of the Southern Hotel is only three hundred feet. The total depth of the college building is two hundred feet. The southern wing of the building is eighty feet in length by fifty in depth. The total elevation is about one hundred and ten feet, divided into three stories. The first story, which is nearly twenty feet in height, contains a magnificent vestibule, finished in white marble and Philadelphia enameled brick, and four grand parlors and reception-rooms. The second story, which is about thirty feet from floor to ceiling, is intended solely for the purposes of a library. The collection of books belonging to the college numbers nearly forty thousand volumes and manuscripts. The apartment is fitted up with iron book-cases similar to those in the Mercantile Library, and contains the accessories, usual to such apartments, of pictures and statuary. The third story, about forty-five feet in height, contains the college hall. The dimensions of the hall are the same as those of the library, and it is capable of seating one thousand people.

The north, south, and east wings of the building are five stories each. The rooms on the second, third, and fifth floors of the south wing are given up for class purposes; those in the east and west wings are used for the college dormitories. Each of the four wings leads to the grand rotunda, which may be termed the architectural triumph of the whole edifice. The rotunda is sixty feet square, the same dimensions exactly as the court-house rotunda. The college rotunda, however, is free from the unsightly pillars which detract so much from the beauty of the court-house rotunda. The college rotunda is surmounted by a glass roof, so that it is a veritable well of light for the entire institution. The building is supplied with a steam passenger elevator. One admirable feature of the internal architecture of the building is the system of ventilation. Each room in the vast edifice is supplied with its own air shaft and hot-air register, so that a constant circulation of pure air is insured. The heating of the rooms is by steam, and the boilers for generating heat and power are situated in a separate building, located in the angle formed by the junction of the west and south wings. This building is about thirty feet from the walls of either of these wings, so that, save in the kitchen, there is not any fire in the whole building from year's end to year's end. The kitchen is located in the south wing. It is built altogether of iron and brick, so that in the contingency of a fire breaking out in this room it could not be communicated to any other part of the building. The dining-room is in the south wing immediately beneath the parlors. The other apartments in the basement are designed for chemical laboratories, store-rooms, pantry, and the like. Underneath the basement is a sub-cellar.

In the course of a few years the brothers will erect a separate building in some suitable part of the grounds for an astronomical observatory. The playground for students is at the southwestern corner of the college inclosure. It contains ten acres of ground, and is sufficiently remote from the college to prevent the noise of the players from disturbing the scholastic quiet within. The grounds attached to the college are bounded on the east by King's Highway, on the south by St. Charles Rock road (now Easton Avenue), on the west by Union Avenue, and on the north by Côte Brilliante Avenue. The principal entrance is at the corner of King's Highway and St. Charles Rock road. The site is on the summit of the hill, which is one hundred and sixty-eight feet above the city directrix.

From the summit the hill declines gradually to the St. Charles Rock road, and in the rear of the building is a beautiful grove of forest-trees covering several acres. That tract is now within the city limits, and is accessible by means of several good routes. The extension of the Franklin Avenue street cars passes immediately by the main entrance, the Union Avenue depot of the Narrow-Gauge Railroad is within a quarter of a mile of the grounds, and the Forest Park depot of the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern Railroad is but one mile distant. The site has been beautifully favored by nature, and besides is suscep-

tible of great improvement, and the brothers have added art to nature's work. From the main entrance at the corner of King's Highway and the Rock road, a broad drive ascends the hill and circles around the building to the grove in the rear.

The new college is four miles from the court-house, and was opened at the beginning of October, 1882. The building was not quite completed, nor is it yet, but enough was made ready to answer present demands. It is large and commodious, a solid work, and with considerable pretensions to architectural beauty. The school is in a very flourishing condition, with the prospect of a highly successful future in its new career.

By authority of the superior-general, Brother James has founded a system of free scholarships. These scholarships are of two kinds, full scholarships and day scholarships. Five thousand dollars will establish a full scholarship, one thousand dollars a day scholarship. A full scholarship entitles the holder to board and tuition; a day scholarship to tuition only. Each founder of a scholarship reserves the right to educate one student for twenty years. After twenty years the college is allowed to throw it open to competition, or the founder may leave it so from the beginning. Several scholarships have already been established, and Brother James has assurances that a number of others will be taken.

THE CONVENT OF THE SACRED HEART, Maryville, is situated on Maramec Street, near Pennsylvania Avenue. On Aug. 22, 1818, five ladies of the Sacred Heart, with Madame Duchesne as superior, arrived in St. Louis, having come from France, by way of New Orleans, at the solicitation of Bishop Dubourg, and proceeded to St. Charles, where they opened a school. Meeting with insufficient encouragement, they removed to the bishop's farm, near Florissant, on Sept. 3, 1819, and on December 24th following occupied their own house in the town of Florissant, where they conducted a school and academy until they finally removed to St. Louis, selling their property in July, 1846, to the Sisters of Loretto, by whom this educational work has since been carried on. Madame Duchesne, who came in 1818, was made vicar of Upper and Lower Louisiana, and governed the province until 1840, when it was transferred to Madame (Princess) Galitzin, of the house at Grand Coteau, La., who died in 1842. Madame Cutts held the office till 1854, and Madame Jouve till 1865, when the vicariate was divided into two, Western and Southern, St. Louis being in the Western, with Madame Galway as vicar, who was followed in 1869 by Madame Gauthereaux, during whose administration Chicago was made the mother-house. Upon Madame Gauthereaux's death in 1872, and the completion of the convent at Maryville, the dignity was transferred back to St. Louis (where it will henceforth be maintained), with Madame Tucker as vicar. Madame Boudreaux became vicar in 1876, and at her death in 1880 the present vicar, Madame Niederkorn, succeeded. The work of the order in St. Louis began in 1827, when Judge John Mullanphy donated to the ladies a tract of twenty-six acres, of which the block on Fifth between Hickory and Labadie Streets is the remnant, on condition that they should perpetually support twenty orphan girls. On the property stood a house (considered palatial in those days), which has been the nucleus of the present cluster of buildings. In 1837 the chapel was built on the south side of the original structure; in 1844 class-rooms were added on the north, and in 1859 the last and large building was erected at the north end. The Maryville property, containing twenty-one acres, was bought of John Withnell in 1864, for forty thousand dollars, which price has since been swelled by interest to almost sixty thousand dollars. The construction of the convent building was begun in 1867, and it was opened in August, 1872. The structure has a front of two hundred and fifty feet, with a depth of sixty-five feet, and three rear wings (the southern one of which only is finished), the central one to be one hundred and twenty by eighty feet, and the others each one hundred by sixty feet. The central wing, when completed, will constitute the chapel, now temporarily located in the southern wing, and in which the services are conducted by the Franciscan Fathers of St. Anthony's Church close by. At this convent there are stationed seventy-two ladies, who conduct an academy for boarding pupils (of whom there are now one hundred and twenty) exclusively and the parochial school for the girls of St. Anthony's parish. At the old house on Fifth and Hickory Streets there are twenty-nine ladies, who conduct a day-school for girls and have charge of the orphans. The Western vicariate, of which this is the mother-house, has jurisdiction over the houses of Chicago, St. Charles, St. Joseph, Omaha, and Timaru, New Zealand (the first house of the order established in Australasia), and numbers in all two hundred and seventy-two ladies.

THE CONVENT OF THE NUNS OF THE VISITATION was originally established in Kaskaskia, Ill., in 183[illegible], being a branch of a house of the same order still existing in Georgetown, D. C. For nearly eleven years the convent prospered as one of the most popular seminaries for the education of young ladies in the West, but in the great freshet of 1844 the whole

town of Kaskaskia was laid under water, and the inhabitants compelled to take refuge on the bluffs beyond the Okaw River. The convent grounds extended to the banks of the Okaw, but as the location was elevated, it was thought secure. About the 1st of April the Mississippi River was very high and still rising. As this rise occurred every spring nothing serious was apprehended, but on the night of June 21st the water rushed into the convent cellar. Next morning the well caved in.[1] The greatest danger lay in the nature of the soil, for under the stratum of sand and clay lay one of quicksand, and it was apprehended that the whole would sink in the mighty flood.

The convent could now be approached only on horseback or in boats. Friends urged the nuns to desert the convent for their safety, and at six o'clock that evening Amedée Menard brought a flat-boat propelled by stout oarsmen, and taking on board Mother Isabella, with a number of nuns and pupils, conveyed them to his own residence on the neighboring bluffs. Next morning, Sunday, Father St. Cyr said mass in the convent chapel for the last time for those who remained. On going to breakfast the sisters found the water oozing in under the planks at one end. The bricks of the kitchen hearth sank when trodden upon, so that with all expedition, as soon as breakfast was over, the inmates began to remove tables, dishes, and kitchen furniture to the assembly-rooms on the next floor, where they passed the rest of the day. In the evening they bade adieu to the doomed convent and withdrew to the bluffs. During two days they were kindly entertained at the Menard mansion, and early Wednesday morning a steamboat came up the Okaw, and immediately after breakfast the sisters, with their sixteen pupils, went on board. The day was occupied in removing their furniture from the convent to the boat, and late in the afternoon they were under way for St. Louis. Here, by the kindness of Mrs. Ann Biddle, the refugees were installed in her elegant and spacious mansion on Broadway, which they occupied for two years.

In July, 1846, they rented the archbishop's newly-erected building on South Ninth Street, and continued to occupy it until 1858, when Mrs. Ann Biddle, having at her death bequeathed the sisters a handsome tract of land on Cass Avenue, above Twentieth Street, suitable buildings were erected for them. The foundations were laid in the autumn of 1854. On April 13, 1855, the institution was incorporated under the title of the Academy of the Visitation at St. Louis. In May, 1858, the sisters moved to the new location, and on Oct. 16, 1863, laid the corner-stone of the west wing, the convent proper, of which they took possession June 21, 1865.

The convent buildings are extensive and beautifully situated in large grounds well shaded and fitted for the recreation of young ladies. Mother Agnes Brent was the first mother superior, and her successors have been Sister Helen Flanigan, Sister Seraphina Wickham, Sister Isabella King, Sister Agatha Russle, Sister Aimée Brent, and Sister Vincentia Marotte, the present mother superior.



VIEW OF KASKASKIA IN 1840.

ST. JOSEPH'S CONVENT AND ACADEMY.—The congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph was founded by Rev. P. J. Medaille, S.J., and had its first establishment in the town of Puy, in Velay, France, where Madame Lucretia de la Planche gave the sisters an abode in her house until on Oct. 15, 1650, the Bishop of Puy gave them charge of the orphan asylum of that city. In 1836, at the invitation of Bishop Rosatti, six sisters of this order came to St. Louis and established themselves at Cahokia, in Illinois, where they conducted for nearly eight years a flourishing school. On Sept. 12, 1836, the first novitiate of the order was founded in Carondelet, and was presided over for twenty years by Mother Celestine. It occupied at first a log cabin, fifteen feet square, and its one room served at once for oratory, dormitory, refectory, kitchen, and parlor. A frame shed was added and used for parochial school purposes.

[1] In this well a man afterwards perished, being swallowed up by the quicksand.

The great flood of 1844 compelled the sisters to abandon their establishment at Cahokia, and soon after the present grounds at Third and Kansas Streets, Carondelet, were given to them by Judge Bryan Mullanphy, and a large brick building was erected on them, which was burned down in 1858. The present spacious and stately structure was begun immediately afterwards, and opened with eighty boarders. It is the mother-house of the order for the United States, and has under its jurisdiction sixty-five subordinate establishments, including three provincial novitiates, five hospitals, ten orphan asylums, one deaf-mute institute, and several academies. The total number of sisters owning allegiance to this house is eight hundred.

THE URSULINE CONVENT AND ACADEMY was first organized in 1848 by seven Ursuline Sisters, who came over from Germany upon an invitation from the archbishop. The convent was founded under the direction of Very Rev. Joseph Melcher, V.G. Its first location was on Fifth Street, below the French market, in a house bought by the sisters. In 1849 the king of Bavaria donated a large sum of money to the Ursuline Sisters, which enabled them to build a convent. They purchased the ground on which the present building is located, and erected a building in 1850. In 1857 the chapel was built, and in 1866 the north wing was added. The buildings are now extensive, covering an entire block on State Street and Russell Avenue. Rev. Mother Johanna is the superior, and Very Rev. Henry Muhlsiepen, V.G., is the manager. Although this convent is one of the oldest and most extensive in the city, it has never been incorporated.

ST. ELIZABETH INSTITUTE, situated on Arsenal Street, between Gravois road and Grand Avenue, and conducted by the Sisters of the Precious Blood, was removed to St. Louis from O'Fallon, Mo., in the fall of 1882. This institution has for its special object the training of young ladies who already possess the usual knowledge of the elementary branches in all that is required to fit them for assuming the duties of housekeeping. Its present quarters are those formerly occupied by the convent and asylum of the Sisters of St. Mary.

ST. PHILOMENA'S ORPHAN ASYLUM AND SCHOOL, northwest corner of Summit and Clark Avenues, is conducted by the Sisters of Charity from Emmittsburg, Md., where the mother-house of the order for the United States is located. The institution was established about 1844, on the southwest corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets, where the St. James Hotel now stands; but the location grew to be unsuitable, owing to the encroachments of trade, and in 1867, Archbishop Kenrick gave to the sisters their present lot, which has a front on Clark Avenue of two hundred and thirty-five feet. The present building was at once commenced, and was finished and occupied in 1868. It is a handsome brick structure, three stories in height, the main building one hundred and sixty by fifty feet, and the two wings each sixty feet long. The property on Fifth Street was sold for seventy-eight thousand dollars, and the proceeds were applied to the erection of the present building. Here are conducted the girls' parish school of St. Malachi's Church, taught by four sisters, and attended by three hundred pupils, and a select school for young ladies, numbering eighty-five pupils, in charge of three of the sisterhood. But the most important work of the institution is the care and education of the orphans who, at a sufficient age, are sent hither from other Catholic orphan asylums, and who here receive an industrial education. Several of the sisters devote themselves exclusively to this mission; sewing is taken in, and some of the finest sewing done in the city is the handiwork of the sisters and of their pupils in the sewing classes. Only female orphans are received, and for those who are proficient in their avocations places elsewhere are found by the sisters, who never permit any of their pupils to roam the streets in search of places or work. Moreover, the asylum is made a home for its inmates, and to it they are welcomed back whenever, from no matter what cause, they find themselves out of a place. There are at present fifteen sisters in this asylum, and ninety-two orphans.

LORETTO ACADEMY, corner of Jefferson Avenue and Pine Street, is conducted by the Sisters of Loretto, of the same society as those who have charge of the institution of the same name at Florissant. It is included in the charter of Loretto Academy, Florissant being a branch of that institution, in which its property is vested. The title of the corporation is "Sisters of Loretto, Missouri."

The first school conducted in St. Louis by the Sisters of Loretto was situated on the corner of Tenth and Morgan Streets. This they subsequently discontinued, taking charge of the parochial school connected with St. Michael's Church on North Eleventh Street. The property on Jefferson Avenue and Pine Street was donated to the Sisters of Loretto by Mrs. Anne L. Hunt in 1868 for educational purposes. The foundation for an academy and boarding-school for young ladies was laid during the same year, but the projected building was not finished, and the property was offered for sale with the consent of Mrs. Hunt. No acceptable offer was made for the lot, and in 187[illegible] Mother Ann Joseph Mattingly, of the academy

Florissant, began, with the approval of the general superior, at Loretto, Ky., the erection of a superstructure on the foundation already laid, but the plan was so modified as to adapt it to an academy exclusively for day scholars. The building, a plain but commodious and substantial structure, was finally made ready for occupancy Sept. 7, 1874.

Its chapel was dedicated to divine worship on Dec. 8, 1874, under the title of "The Seven Dolors." Mother Simeon James was appointed the first superior, and still retains that office. The first corps of teachers consisted of Sisters Mary Austin Gough, Macrina Hayden, Clotilde Bertant, M[illegible] Oda Smith, Octavia Robertson. Those who compose the present faculty are Sisters Mary Austin Gough, Beatrice Doyle, Dositheus Madigan, Clotilde Bertant, Mary Stephen Duffy, Marie Louise O'Connor, Bernadette Forbes, Mary Denis Abell, Clarasina Walsh, Odila Bishoff, Christina Dacey, Pauline Reed.

The Loretto Academy is well patronized, there being a regular increase of pupils every succeeding term. The total number of scholars registered for the session ending June 21, 1875, was 50; the total number registered for the session ending June 21, 1882, was 148; the number registered for the session of 1882–83 up to Jan. 22, 1883, was 156.

KEMPER COLLEGE, named after Right Rev. Jackson Kemper, D.D., Bishop of Missouri, was organized under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1836, in which year one hundred and twenty-five acres of land were purchased and buildings erected with twenty thousand dollars that had been secured in the Eastern States. The institution, which was located about four miles from St. Louis in a southwestwardly direction, on a healthful site surrounded by beautiful scenery, was opened under the charge of Rev. P. R. Minard, Oct. 15, 1838. The following gentlemen were the first trustees of the college: Bishop Kemper, Robert Wash, William P. Clark, J. L. English, Charles Juline, Rev. P. R. Minard, Col. J. C. Laveille, Augustus Kerr, N. P. Taylor, Edward Tracy, J. P. Doane, W. P. Hunt, H. L. Hoffman, J. Spaulding, Daniel Hough, Henry Von Phul, H. S. Coxe, and Capt. J. Symington. In 1840 a medical department, of which a full sketch is given elsewhere, was established by Dr. J. N. McDowell, and in the winter of 1846 was established as an independent organization under the title of the Missouri Medical College. The literary department of Kemper College continued in existence until 1845, when it became financially embarrassed, and the property was sold. The insane asylum now stands on a portion of the grounds.

THE CITY UNIVERSITY, at one time a popular and flourishing school, enjoyed a comparatively brief existence. The building, which was situated at the corner of Sixteenth and Pine Streets, was completed and made ready for occupancy in 1858, but was not opened as an institution of learning until the fall of 1859. The officers of the corporation at that time were Hamilton R. Gamble, president; Edward Bredell, vice-president; Daniel H. Bishop, secretary;



LORETTO ACADEMY.

faculty, Rev. E. C. Wines, D.D., president; David B. Tower, John W. Atcheson, Edward Keller. The money which had been raised prior to the opening was just sufficient, it seems, to pay for the building and purchase only a meagre and inadequate supply of furniture, apparatus, and the other usual paraphernalia of a well-furnished school. At the expiration of two years the board of trustees, upon an inspection of their finances, found that they had conducted their experiment at a net loss of thirteen thousand dollars. Accordingly, in the summer of 1861, they dismissed the faculty, suspended their school, funded their floating

debt, mortgaged their property, and, to secure payment of the debt, leased the building to Edward Wyman for a series of years, to conduct the school as a private enterprise under their appointment as president, and upon a rent expressed by a percentage of tuition fees. Mr. Wyman, who had previously been a highly popular educator, tided the institution over the shoals and quicksands of the civil war, and for some years subsequently conducted it with marked success.

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.—The following is a list of the educational institutions, in addition to those already given, which are conducted by religious denominations in St. Louis: School of the Good Shepherd, 2029 Park Avenue, conducted by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd of the Protestant Episcopal Church; St. Francis College, Church Street, N. W. corner of Clay Avenue; St. Vincent's Academy, Grand Avenue, corner of Locust Street, conducted by the Sisters of Charity.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.—Annunciation, Chouteau Avenue, cor. Seventh; Assumption, Sidney, cor. 8th; Benton Street M. E., 13th, N. W. cor. Benton; Bethania, 24th, N. W. cor. Wash; Bethania German Lutheran, Natural Bridge plank-road near Prairie Avenue; Cathedral, Walnut Street between 2d and 3d; Evangelical Lutheran, Victor, N. E. cor. Easton; Bethlehem Evangelical Lutheran, 13th, S. E. cor. Salisbury; German Evangelical Lutheran High School, Barry, cor. Fulton; German Lutheran, Beckville, Gravois road; German Protestant Evangelical, 13th, cor. Webster; German Catholic, Bellefontaine road near College Avenue; German Evangelical Lutheran Zion's School, cor. Warren and 15th Street; German Friedens, Hall Avenue near 3d, Lowell; German Evangelical, 810 Decatur Street; German Lutheran Evangelical, Jefferson Avenue between Miami and Winnebago; German Protestant Evangelical, 1840 S. 9th St.; German Evangelical Friedens, 13th, cor. Newhouse Avenue; German Lutheran Grace School, St. Charles Rock road opposite St. Louis Avenue; Holy Ghost Evangelical, 1937 S. 9th; Holy Trinity, 1108 Mallinckrodt; Immaculate Conception, 1527 S. 8th St.; Immanuel's Evangelical Lutheran, 16th and Morgan; Industrial School for Girls, Morgan, S. E. cor. 23d; Mission Free School, 9th, S. W. cor. Wash; Northern School of the Church of the Holy Ghost, 1123 and 1125 N. 11th; Our Lady of Perpetual Succor, w. s. 14th near College Avenue; Sacred Heart, 18th, cor. Warren; Sisters of St. Joseph, Marion, N. W. cor. Fulton; St. Agatha's, 8th, cor. Utah; St. Anthony's, Maramec, N. W. cor. Stringtown road; St. Augustine's, w. s. W. 22d near Hebert; St. Bernard, Tesson Avenue near Sarpy Avenue; St. Boniface Convent School, 34 Street, cor. Schirmer, Carondelet; St. Bridget's, w. s. 25th Street between Carr and Biddle; St. Columbkille's, 4th near Hurck, Carondelet; St. Elizabeth's Catholic (Colored), 811 N. 15th; St. Francis de Sales, Gravois road, cor. Ohio Avenue; St. Francis Xavier, 10th, S. E. cor. Christy Avenue, and 922 Morgan; St. John's Evangelical, 14th, S. E. cor. Madison; St. John Nepomuck's, 1623 Rosatti; St. John's, 16th cor. Chestnut; St. John's Female, 1520 Walnut; St. Joseph's Convent School, Marion, cor. Fulton; St. Joseph's Free Academy, Clark Avenue, cor. 15th Street; St. Joseph's, 11th, between O'Fallon and Cass Ave.; St. Joseph's, e. s. 2d near Kansas, Carondelet; St. Kevins's, Compton Avenue, cor. Sarah; St. Lawrence O'Toole's, 1415 O'Fallon; St. Liborius, North Market, cor. 19th; St. Luke's Evangelical, Scott Avenue, cor. Jefferson Avenue; St. Malachi's, cor. Summit and Clark Avenues; St. Mark's Evangelical, cor. Soulard and Jackson; St. Mark's German School, 744 S. 3d; St. Mark's, 10th, cor. Biddle; St. Mary's, Help of Christians, 14th near College Avenue; St. Mary's, e. s. 3d near Illinois, Carondelet; St. Michael's Girls' School, 11th, cor. Benton; St. Nicholas's, Lucas Avenue near 20th; St. Patrick's, 1115 N. 7th; St. Paul's German Lutheran, Henry, near Bryan Avenue, Lowell; St. Paul's, 1814 Decatur; St. Peter's Evangelical, 1509 Carr; St. Teresa's, Grand Avenue near Parsons; St. Thomas's, Lowell; Trinity Evangelical Lutheran, 6th Street near Kirk, Carondelet; St. Vincent de Paul, Decatur, cor. Park Avenue; SS. Peter and Paul, cor. Allen Avenue and 8th; Zion Evangelical (German), Benton, cor. W. 29th; Zion Evangelical Lutheran, Benton, S. W. cor. 13th; Zion Heiligen Kreuz, Ohio Ave., cor. Potomac.

CHAPTER XXII.

LIBRARIES.

AT a very early period the citizens of St. Louis took action looking to the establishment of a public library. On the 14th of February, 1811, notice was given of a meeting to be held on the 16th of the same month, at the house of Henry Capron, to organize an association for that purpose. It was also proposed to establish in connection with the library "a museum for such natural curiosities as may be offered." In April of the same year mention is made of the fact that John Audubon and Ferdinand Rozier

of Ste. Genevieve, had dissolved partnership, Audubon having sold his interest to Rozier. This "John Audubon" was John James Audubon, the celebrated naturalist, who was born in Louisiana, May 4, 1780, and died in New York, Jan. 27, 1851. From earliest childhood he displayed great fondness for studying the habits of birds. Of those which he kept as pets he made careful sketches, which, considering his youth, were surprisingly accurate. When about twenty-seven years of age he removed to Henderson, Ky., and in 1810 made the acquaintance of Alexander Wilson, the celebrated Scotch ornithologist, whom he accompanied in his expeditions to the western country in search of specimens. In 1811, Audubon went to Florida, where he collected a number of subjects for his pen and pencil. From Florida he appears to have gone West, and to have established a trading-post at Ste. Genevieve. He did not remain long at this point, however, and in 1824 we find him in New York, endeavoring to arrange for the publication of his writings and drawings. Two years later he sailed for England. He was warmly welcomed by British and Continental naturalists, and speedily secured one hundred and seventy-five subscribers, at one thousand dollars each, for his famous work "The Birds of America." In 1829 he returned to the United States, where he collected material for another work, "Ornithological Biographies." In 1832 he made another visit to England, but returned in the following year. After completing a new and enlarged edition of the "Birds of America," he projected a work on the "Quadrupeds of America," but died before it was published. His sons, however, finished it, but they also died without writing a biography of their father, as they had hoped to do. In April, 1843, Audubon, the elder, again visited St. Louis. The notice of his arrival stated that he was registered at the Glasgow House, and that he intended starting in the boat of the American Fur Company for the mouth of the Yellowstone, whence he proposed to proceed to the Rocky Mountains with several gentlemen, among whom was Sir William Stewart, of Scotland. Mr. Audubon's object in undertaking this journey was to collect new specimens of animals and birds.

On March 1, 1819, the St. Louis Debating Society, through a committee, consisting of Thompson Douglass, Horatio Cozens, Jeremiah Conner, Henry W. Conway, and Arthur Nelson, submitted

"to the citizens of St. Louis the following constitution for a library to be established in this place:

"SEC. 1. The stockholders, or subscribers, and their successors shall be associated by the name and style of 'The St. Louis Library Company.'

"SEC. 2. The amount of stock of the said library shall be five thousand dollars, in two hundred shares of twenty-five dollars each.

"The undersigned, having been appointed commissioners by the St. Louis Debating Society, inform the public that the books of subscription will be opened on the tenth day of the present month, at ten o'clock A.M., at the store of Dr. Nelson and at Mr. Bennet's tavern."

Then followed the names of the committee as given above. This appears to have been the first movement looking towards the establishment of a public library, and there is no evidence showing that it was even partially successful.

On the 28th of January, 1824, a meeting of citizens favorable to the establishment of a circulating library was held at the mayor's office; William Carr Lane presided, and Archibald Gamble acted as secretary. A constitution was submitted by Charles S. Hempstead, and it was adopted. Rev. Solomon Giddings, Wilson P. Hunt, Josiah Spalding, Capt. Gabriel Paul, Horatio Cozens, Hon. James H. Peck, and Daniel D. Hough were appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions. Subsequently a permanent organization was effected under the name of the St. Louis Library Association, and early in February the committee reported that they had received books from about fifty persons, the number of copies amounting to about eight hundred. The price of a share in the corporation was five dollars, payable in money or books. Within the year eleven hundred and six books were collected, and one hundred and eighty-one shares sold.

At a meeting of the subscribers to the St. Louis Reading Association, held July 7, 1831, Henry S. Coxe chairman, and C. F. Randolph secretary, James Clemens was elected president for the ensuing year, John F. Darby secretary, James S. Thomas treasurer, and Henry S. Coxe, James L. Murray, and C. F. Randolph board of managers. In July, 1833, Dr. Garnier, Professor of Modern Languages, was elected librarian of the St. Louis Library, "Col. Delaunay, the late incumbent, having received a place in the New Orleans custom-house." In October of the same year Theodore L. McGill, Thomas Andrews, and James P. Spencer announced to the directors of the St. Louis Library Association the donation of two hundred and fifty dollars to the library by "the members of Missouri Lodge, No. 1."

On the 26th of January, 1839, Messrs. Fowzer & Woodward, proprietors of the "Literary Depot," advertised that they were making an effort to enlarge the circulating library which they had then recently established in St. Louis.

Mercantile Library.—On the 30th of December, 1845, eight gentlemen engaged in mercantile pursuits

met to form an organization whose object was the establishment of a permanent library. At a subsequent meeting at Concert Hall (Jan. 13, 1846) a constitution was adopted, and a board of directors chosen. On the 2d of February following collections were reported to the amount of eighteen hundred and nine dollars and twenty-five cents, and subscriptions aggregating four hundred and ninety-eight dollars. Rooms for the library were secured at the northeast corner of Pine and Main Streets. Josiah Dent was elected first librarian, and on the 9th of April, 1846, the new library was thrown open to the public. At the close of this year (1846) the library contained 1689 volumes, and its membership numbered 283. During the year it had issued 720 volumes; its cash receipts had been $2689.92, and the property acquired was valued at $1954.35. In September, 1846, the library was removed to roomier quarters at Nos. 110 and 112 Glasgow Row, Fourth Street, and on the 16th of February, 1847, the association was incorporated by an act of the Legislature. James E. Yeatman was the first president, and from the start was one of the most energetic and unflagging promoters of the enterprise. In 1848 he was succeeded by Alfred Vinton, who held the office two years. Mr. Vinton presented the library with many valuable books and other gifts. To Mr. Vinton is mainly due the creation of a building fund, which he suggested and promoted with characteristic energy and enthusiasm. At the annual meeting of the association held on the 11th of January, 1846, the president made the following report:

Number of members for 1846	261
" " " " 1847	360
Increase of members	99
The members for 1847 consisted of:	
Life members	20
Beneficiary members	41
Merchants	147
Clerks	152
The receipts into the treasury were:	
For 1846	$2664.44
For 1847	2541.67
Total	$5206.11
The expenditures for the same period were	5141.88
Leaving the treasurer	$54.23
Number of volumes purchased in 1846	1018
Presented	608
Number of volumes purchased in 1847	648
Presented	108
Total number	2282

There were twenty-four periodicals subscribed for and received, of which twelve were foreign and twelve American publications. The number of members who took books from the library for perusal was only one hundred and twenty-five, out of a total of four hundred and thirty-three members. The number taken out from the origin of the association to the date of the report was stated to be two thousand one hundred and fifty.

The library-rooms were greatly enlarged during the year. The two houses adjoining the Odd-Fellows' Hall were thrown together and used by the association. Gas-light was also introduced into the room.

During 1850 one thousand and twelve dollars was secured for the building fund, and in January of the following year H. E. Bridge, the president, proposed the organization of a stock company distinct from the library association in order to expedite the raising of the funds needed for the construction of the new building. The company was formed at once, and was incorporated Feb. 17, 1851, under the title of the Mercantile Library Hall Company of St. Louis, with authority to issue stock in shares of ten dollars each, to purchase a lot and erect thereon a building for the library, the library association to be permitted to occupy such building free of rent, upon their defraying all expenses for taxes, insurance, and repairs, and further paying to the hall company six per cent. annual interest on all the stock held by the latter. The company was required to transfer the premises in fee-simple to the library association as soon as the latter should have become possessed, by purchase or otherwise, of the entire amount of stock issued by the former. Stock was issued by the company to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars.

At the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Library Hall Company, held on the 19th of January, 1852, J. H. Lucas presiding and C. K. Dickson and S. Humphreys secretaries, the following were appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions to the stock of the company:

A. Vinton, A. Abeles, J. A. Allen, J. H. Alexander, C. P. Chouteau, Calvin McClurg, Hiram Shaw, J. E. Yeatman, H. E. Bridge, W. H. Belcher, Joseph Charless, Wayman Crow, John How, Charles K. Dickson, J. R. Hammond, J. B. Sickles, R. Campbell, A. B. Chambers, Morris Collins, J. E. Woodruff, William M. Morrison, Solon Humphreys, I. H. Sturgeon, John T. Douglas.

The following were elected directors: John A. Allen, George Collier, Alfred Vinton, Conrad R. Stein, J. E. Yeatman, Hudson E. Bridge, William M. Morrison, H. D. Bacon.

At this meeting the directors reported that they had purchased from Alexander Finley fifty-seven and a half feet of ground at the corner of Fifth and Locust Streets, for the sum of thirteen thousand five hundred dollars, and fifty-seven and a half feet next adjoining for twelve thousand dollars. This last-named lot was claimed by Col. Brant and also by Mr. Robertson, both of whom executed bonds to convey their title as soon as it should be established by law, the library

company paying the purchase-money to the successful litigant.

The board of directors offered premiums for plans for the proposed buildings, one hundred and fifty dollars for the best and fifty dollars for each of the three next best. Eleven plans were submitted by Messrs. Aldrich, Andrews, Barnett, Edgart, Walsh, Greenleaf, Johnston, Mitchell, Pond, Vogdes, and Wright, all of whom were or had been residents of St. Louis.

None of the plans, however, fully met the ideas of the board, and it was only after prolonged consideration, and with hesitancy, that the premium of one hundred and fifty dollars was awarded to Robert S. Mitchell, and the three premiums of fifty dollars each to Messrs. George I. Barnett, Charles H. Pond, and E. Greenleaf.

Unable to adopt entirely any one of the plans, the board appointed a committee of three of their own members, to whom all of the plans were referred, with instructions to prepare another which should unite, in a greater degree than any of those presented, all of the objects of the company. This committee had the subject in charge for several weeks, obtained the aid of architects and mechanics, and at length reported two plans, which underwent critical examination by the board at numerous meetings, extending through several weeks. On the 2d of December one of these plans was adopted by the board. It was drawn by Robert S. Mitchell, architect, and was for a building one hundred and five feet on Fifth Street by one hundred and twenty-seven feet on Locust Street, and four stories high, the principal front on Fifth Street.

The site occupied the entire space on which the "old carriage repository" and the Laclede saloon had previously stood. The building is of red brick with cut-stone facings, in the Italian style of architecture, and is one of the handsomest structures in the city. The first floor, fourteen feet high, is rented out for stores; the second floor, twenty feet six inches high, is entirely occupied by the library, the library-room being eighty by sixty-four feet, and the reading-room adjoining, which for many years was used as a lecture-room, being eighty by forty-four feet. The third story, used for a public hall, is one hundred and five by eighty feet, and thirty-three feet six inches high. The lot and building cost one hundred and forty thousand dollars. The library association some years ago absorbed the stock of the old company, a large portion of it having been purchased or exchanged for life memberships. Henry S. Bacon was one of the leading promoters of the enterprise, and it was mainly through his instrumentality that it was brought to a successful conclusion. Mr. Bacon took shares of stock to the amount of twenty thousand dollars, and at a crisis in the affairs of the company advanced ten thousand dollars additional, and thus tided it safely over. On the 23d of January, 1854, the building was sufficiently advanced to permit the removal of the library to the room set apart for its use.

On the 2d of March, 1854, the Illinois delegation were entertained at dinner at the library hall, this being the first time that it was used for an occasion of this sort. Early in September of the same year Louis Pomarede "gave the finishing touches to the grand hall of the Mercantile Library." The hall was richly and tastefully decorated by Mr. Pomarede with mouldings and figures and designs in fresco. In the following month, Oct. 17, 1854, it was formally opened with appropriate exercises and an address by the Rev. William Holmes. Several nights later an operatic concert was given by Madame Rosa Devries.

The report for the year ending Jan. 1, 1854, shows that the library contained 10,565 volumes; its membership for the year was 944; its issue of books, 9885 volumes; its receipts, $7693.27; the value of its property was $22,756.71. Josiah Dent, who was the first librarian, held office for one year, and was succeeded by William Allen, who retained the position for the same period. In 1848, William P. Curtis was elected librarian, and continued to fill the office until 1859. Mr. Curtis prepared the first catalogue of the library, published in 1850, and a supplement to it, published in 1851. This catalogue was arranged alphabetically, with titles in full, and an index classified under general heads, with sub-divisions, such as history, theology, jurisprudence, works of reference, etc. Edward W. Johnston, who became librarian in 1859, undertook the preparation of a second catalogue. At this time the library contained about fourteen thousand volumes. The classification was different from the method at first pursued. All the books were placed under the three great divisions of history, philosophy, and poetry. Books dealing with two or more subjects were assigned to a separate or "indeterminate" class. The first class was sub-divided into seventy-four sections, the second into one hundred and twenty, the third into thirty-one. In selecting books, Mr. Johnston endeavored to fill up one section at a time, with the view of making it as nearly complete as possible. He began with English history and literature, and procured for the library many of the best editions then obtainable of the early chroniclers and poets. In 1862, Mr. Johnston was succeeded as librarian by John N. Dyer, the present (1883) effi-

cient incumbent. During Mr. Johnston's term of office the library secured, at a cost of one thousand dollars (the original subscription price), a copy of Audubon's "Birds of America," with text and plates complete. The copy has a special interest and value, from the fact that it was the author's reserved copy. It bears in every volume of the plates his autograph attached to his bequest of it to his sister.

In June, 1872, the directors made the experiment of throwing open the library on Sunday from two P.M. until nine P.M., solely for reading and reference purposes, no books being issued, and none but members being admitted. The average attendance from June 9th to December 29th was 71¾, and at the annual meeting in January, 1873, it was decided that the experiment was a failure and should be discontinued. During 1874 the third general catalogue was published, at a cost of eight thousand one hundred and seventy dollars. It differs slightly in classification from Mr. Johnston's method, and its typography and general appearance are very handsome. According to the report of the directors for the year ending Dec. 31, 1874, the statistics of the library were:

Total number of volumes		42,013
Number of volumes added during the year:		
By purchase	1,225	
By donation	318	
		1,543
Number of new members enrolled		606
Total membership:		
Honorary	18	
Life	660	
Proprietors	727	
Clerks	1,511	
Beneficiaries	1,530	
		4,446
Volumes issued		132,175
Total cash receipts		$46,505.49
Total value of property		$278,608.68

A supplement to the catalogue, with an index of authors, containing four thousand five hundred titles in addition to those in the catalogue of 1874, was published in 1876. The terms of membership in the library are: for proprietors (merchants), five dollars initiation fee, five dollars annual dues; for clerks (in mercantile business), two dollars initiation fee, three dollars annual dues; for beneficiaries (persons not engaged in mercantile pursuits), five dollars annual dues, no initiation fee; life memberships, fifty dollars. The rooms are open every day from nine A.M. until ten P.M. Once in four years the library is closed for general examination.

The Mercantile Library is one of the most important and valuable institutions in St. Louis. It is admirably managed, and its influence as an educational agency is almost incalculable. Many valuable books and works of art have been presented to it, among which are the Peck collection of books and pamphlets relating to America, marble statues of Œnone and Beatrice Cenci, by Harriet Hosmer, marble busts of Burns and Walter Scott (presented by the Caledonian Society), a number of fine paintings and portraits, a large sculptured slab of marble from Nimroud, inscribed in cuneiform characters, and a number of other articles. The rooms are handsomely furnished, and very attractive in appearance. As the library is in need of more commodious quarters, the sale of the present property and the erection of a larger and more convenient structure are contemplated.

On the evening of the 13th of January, 1871, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the library was celebrated. Among those present were Mayor Cole, Hudson E. Bridge, Gerard B. Allen, Gen. Nathan Ranney, Judge Treat, Rev. Dr. Post, Judge Knight, Col. George Knapp, Henry Shaw, Charles Speck, Wayman Crow, J. B. S. Lemoine, Alfred Carr, Silas Bent, J. C. McAllister, Dr. Engelmann, Thomas Allen, Dr. Hodgen, Bishop Robertson, Gen. Louis B. Parsons, and others.

The proceedings were opened with an address by James E. Yeatman, first president of the association, who was introduced by John T. Douglas, chairman of the committee of arrangements. In the course of his remarks Mr. Yeatman said,—

"This institution had its birth in a most appropriate place, the merchant's counting-room. The paternity as ascribed by between two of our old and accomplished merchants, Peter Powell and John C. Tevis. The former has long since been gathered to his fathers; the latter has retired to the more quiet and peaceful pursuits of the country. These gentlemen were ably seconded by A. B. Chambers, the then editor of the *Missouri Republican*, one of the most public-spirited men that has ever graced our city. Those who remember him, and there are many who hear the sound of my voice who do, will bear me out in saying that he was foremost in every enterprise that had for its object the improvement and advancement of the city, to which he not only contributed with his pen, through the columns of his paper, then one of the leading commercial journals of the West, but by his personal efforts and private means.

"My own recollections are that the more especial honor of being the originators of the library belongs to John C. Tevis and Robert K. Woods. These recollections have been fully confirmed by a letter which has been placed in my hands by the president of the committee of arrangements within the past week from Mr. Tevis, in which he says, 'One afternoon in the fall of 1845, while standing chatting at our doors on Main Street, which were adjoining, the subject of forming a mercantile library was first broached between Mr. Robert K. Woods and myself. After some conversation, Mr. Woods and I resolved "to make an effort" at least by calling in person on a few active and enterprising citizens, who agreed to meet us and discuss the matter, which they did one night at the counting-room of Tevis, Scott & Tevis, on Main Street.' John C. Tevis was a Philadelphian by birth, and a man of liberal education and genial manners and habits, and at that time a prosperous merchant. The first meeting was held at his counting-room at night, on Dec. 30, 1845. There were eight gen-

men present,—Col. A. B. Chambers, Peter Powell, Robert K. Woods, John F. Franklin, R. P. Perry, William P. Scott, John Halsall, and John C. Tevis,—all of whom were merchants except Col. Chambers. All have since passed away save John C. Tevis and R. K. Woods, the latter of whom is present with us this evening, a witness of the success of the organization which he took so prominent a part in founding. Mr. Peter Powell was the chairman of this meeting, and the following resolutions were offered by Col. Chambers:

"'*Resolved*, That it is deemed expedient by the merchants of this city to found a Mercantile Library Association for their own mutual improvement, and for the improvement of those in their employ; and that in so doing they deem it expedient to form a library principally devoted to such subjects as are useful to men employed in commercial pursuits; but that whilst the primary object is mercantile, all other professions are respectfully invited to unite.

"'*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed at this meeting to select a committee of fifteen to report to a meeting of merchants and others a constitution and by-laws.'

"In compliance with the above, Messrs. Powell, Budd, Chambers, Kennett, Hall, Rust, Clark, Barnard, Richeson, Halsall, Dougherty, Peterson, Southack, Glasgow, and Yeatman were appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws."

Mr. Yeatman added that he was elected president, and that the other officers were Luther M. Kennett, vice-president; Robert K. Woods, treasurer; S. A. Ranlett, corresponding secretary; John A. Dougherty, recording secretary; William M. Thompson, John C. Tevis, Peter Powell, George K. Budd, Alexander Peterson, J. F. Franklin, and Robert Barth, directors; Josiah Dent, librarian.

In addition to the ordinary attractions of the library courses of lectures were given, but they did not prove financially remunerative.

Mr. Yeatman also stated that "in the designs of the library hall building there was to have been a fourth story, which was to have been used exclusively for a fine art gallery, but during its erection, from economical considerations, this story was dispensed with. No funds of this association have ever been used for the promotion of this object, unless some eighteen hundred dollars expended in procuring the portraits of Henry D. Bacon and Baron Von Humboldt be so considered. The large number of works of art now possessed by the association have been the gifts of its friends and patrons, the value of which now amounts to twenty thousand five hundred dollars."

At the close of the address the Liederkranz sang Beethoven's chorus, "Glory to God," after which T. J. Garrett recited an original "Ode to Progress." The poem was handsomely illustrated with a series of tableaux suggested by the narrative. They were prepared under the supervision of J. R. Meeker, artist, and Mrs. Edwina Dean Lowe. A portion of the third part of the poem was recited by Miss Gertrude, daughter of Gen. N. Ranney, who represented Columbia. Orchestral music was rendered at intervals. Following is a list of the presidents of the association up to and including 1871:

1846-47, James E. Yeatman; 1848-49, Alfred Vinton; 1850-51, H. E. Bridge; 1852, Henry D. Bacon; 1853, J. H. Alexander; 1854-55, J. T. Douglas; 1856, W. M. Morrison; 1857, John W. Luke; 1858, M. V. L. McClelland; 1859-60, J. B. S. Lemoine; 1861, Alfred Carr; 1862-63, John H. Beach; 1864-65, Charles Miller; 1866-67, George R. Robinson; 1868-69, Lafayette Wilson; 1870-71, Richard M. Scruggs.

The officers and directors at the time of the celebration were,—

President, Richard M. Scruggs; Vice-President, Charles Speck; Secretaries: Corresponding, M. N. Burchard; Recording, John H. Tracy; Treasurer, Henry H. Wernse; Directors, James P. Fiske, Frederick Hawes, James O. Carson, John S. J. Miller, Lorraine F. Jones, Henry T. Simon, Francis Carter; Actuary and Librarian, John N. Dyer; Assistant Librarians: First, W. H. H. Anderson; Second, J. M. H. Washington; Third, O. B. Webb.

The officers in 1882 were Robert E. Carr, president; R. S. Brookings, vice-president; Emil A. Meysenburg, corresponding secretary; William L. Scott, recording secretary; John R. Lionberger, treasurer; Gerard B. Allen, Robert S. Brookings, Samuel M. Kennard, J. W. Munson, B. F. Adams, Henry Stanley, Pierre Chouteau, directors; John N. Dyer, actuary and librarian.

Public School Library.—The St. Louis Public School Library, situated at the southwest corner of Seventh and Chestnut Streets, is another of the highly successful and useful institutions of St. Louis. On the 10th of January, 1860, Ira Divoll, superintendent of public schools, presented to the school board a report in favor of establishing a public school library. At the time of that report the then library consisted "of forty-two volumes of the annals of Congress and a collection of school and miscellaneous books, amounting altogether to about one hundred volumes, and worth perhaps one hundred dollars."

In his report Mr. Divoll recommended that the proposed library be established in connection with and as supplementary to the public schools, for the directors, officers, and teachers of which it was to be free, the pupils to pay a small fee for its use, and all other persons who wished to do so to become annual subscribers at low rates. He also recommended that the school board appropriate a sum sufficient to purchase the nucleus of a library, which was to be sustained by donations and membership fees. Mr. Divoll's proposition was favorably received, but owing to the unsettled state of affairs which intervened during the period of the civil war, it was not acted on until 1864, when the project was revived and efforts were

made to establish a library. Mr. Divoll's scheme was then discussed, but S. D. Barlow, president of the school board at that time, suggested in his annual report the formation of a separate library association. At the ensuing session of the Legislature, Feb. 3, 1865, an act of incorporation was passed, among the incorporators being S. D. Barlow, Ira Divoll, and C. F. Childs. The association was known as the "Public School Library Society of St. Louis," and its objects were stated to be "the establishment and maintenance of a public school library society and lyceum."

The charter provided that all the directors, officers, teachers, or pupils of the public schools might become life members by the payment of twelve dollars, and that there should be no other members; but there might be annual subscribers. The management was vested in a board of sixteen trustees, six of whom might be women, and who were empowered to assess all the life members "any amount not exceeding three dollars per annum." The board of public schools was authorized to appropriate out of its general fund a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars for the purchase of books.

The Library Society was organized in accordance with the provisions of the act, and in March, 1865, a series of regulations and by-laws were adopted providing the details of organization and management, and that the library should be open daily from ten A.M. until ten P.M., except on Sundays and holidays. On the 11th of March the secretary reported that one hundred and fifty persons had become life members of the society. The first board of trustees under the charter was composed of S. D. Barlow, president board of public schools; Ira Divoll, superintendent of public schools; Charles F. Childs, principal of the High School, and Miss Anna C. Brackett, principal of Normal School, all *ex officio;* W. G. Eliot, D.D., James Richardson, T. B. Edgar, C. S. Greeley, Dr. John Conzelman, Dr. Charles W. Stevens, Miss Kate T. Wilson, Mrs. E. C. Clement, Mrs. E. C. Dunham, William T. Harris, John A. Gilfillan, and Carlos W. Mills.

On the 1st of November, 1865, the treasury of the society contained five thousand seven hundred and twenty-six dollars and sixty-five cents, obtained from membership fees, donations, and an exhibition given by the pupils of the High School, which netted one thousand dollars. Of this the sum of five thousand dollars was appropriated for the purchase of books. When the library was first opened for the issue of books, Dec. 9, 1865, with John J. Bailey as librarian, it contained fifteen hundred volumes. The membership then numbered three hundred and four life members, and about two hundred who held certificates of partial payment. The location of the library was in Darby's building, corner of Olive and Fifth Streets. As soon as the books commenced circulating the pupils of the schools enrolled themselves as members, at the rate of one hundred and fifty per month, and at the close of the first year of the library's existence it had a membership of fourteen hundred and thirty-two. Its net cash receipts for that year amounted to eight thousand one hundred and thirty dollars. The number of volumes issued during 1866 was thirty-one thousand five hundred and seventy-two, and in the following year the collection of books numbered ten thousand five hundred and fifteen volumes, and the membership-list two thousand two hundred and twenty-seven persons, of whom eighteen hundred were or had been connected with the public schools. The amount of money expended up to Aug. 1, 1867, amounted to twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven dollars and ninety-six cents, the whole of which sum had been obtained from membership fees, lectures, exhibitions, and donations varying in amount from fifty to one hundred and fifty dollars, for which, in a majority of cases, certificates of membership were issued, in accordance with the directions of the donors. The library was thus financially self-sustaining from the start. During the winter of 1866–67 the society furnished a course of thirteen lectures by distinguished speakers, which proved very popular, and were of great benefit to the institution. In 1868 the board of public schools, as authorized by the charter of the Library Society, contributed five thousand dollars for the purchase of books. Another provision in the charter of the Library Society gave authority to the school board to furnish rooms for the library, and to heat and light them. The library occupied the room in the Darby building for nearly three years, and when the school board purchased the O'Fallon Polytechnic building, the library was invited to occupy more spacious quarters there, and has since enjoyed remarkable prosperity. Besides the library-room proper it had a reading-room twenty-seven by thirty feet, arranged in the most convenient style for readers.

Subsequently the library outgrew its accommodations again, and the school board appropriated another and still larger hall for its use, one hundred by fifty feet, with a ceiling forty-two feet in height. The library now has one hundred and seventy linear feet of files for newspapers, and one hundred and forty-eight feet of reading-room at the tables. A large number of books were acquired by the absorption of other libraries. The St. Louis German Institute and the St. Louis High School Library Association gave all the

books in exchange for certificates of membership, and in 1869 the Henry Ames Library of the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute, together with a legacy of one hundred thousand dollars, which had been transferred to the school board along with the Polytechnic building, was merged into the Public School Library. It contributed about six thousand volumes. In the same year were purchased the entire libraries of Dr. Shumard (geological) and Professor Rossmaessler, of Leipsic (natural history). Subsequently the Academy of Science, St. Louis Medical Society, Historical Society, Institute of Architects, Engineers' Club, Microscopical Society, Local Steam Engineers' Association, and Art Society enriched the library with their literary possessions.

The library was owned for three years and a half by the Library Society, but it was a part of the design of its founders that it should eventually be owned and controlled by the board of public schools. This branch of the design was consummated in April, 1869, by the transfer to the absolute ownership of the school board of the library and all its belongings. The conditions were that the board should keep it in operation under a board of sixteen managers, nine of whom should be appointed by the school board and seven elected by the life members of the library; also to appropriate not less than three thousand dollars annually, besides the revenues of the library itself, to its maintenance and increase. Should the board fail in its part of the contract, the library was to return to its original owners by the terms of the transfer. In five and a half years the board had, besides providing a large increase of room, contributed the sum of thirty thousand one hundred and forty-one dollars, principally for the purchase of books. Active membership in the library is now open to all, without regard to sex or occupation, at the same terms as provided by the original society. The Sunday opening of the library to the public, which was inaugurated June 9, 1872, has proved thoroughly successful and satisfactory. By an act of the Legislature, approved March 27, 1874, the school board was authorized to provide for all the wants of the library, which under its management continues to flourish. During the months of March and April, 1875, a classified record was kept of the reading in the library-rooms, with the following results: There were drawn on week-days, novels, 227 volumes; juveniles, 408; other books, 2026; on Sundays, novels, 91 volumes; juveniles, 799; other books, 607. In June, 1874, the school board appropriated to the library $6000 for the current year, and the annual revenues of the library became: School board appropriation, $6000; interest on Henry Ames' legacy, $5900; income from memberships, fines, etc., $5000; total, $16,900.

In June, 1874, the library was thrown open to the public free for reading and reference, the membership fees being retained unaltered for such as desired to borrow books for home use. On the 1st of May, 1875, the condition of the library was shown by the following statistics:

Volumes in library		38,758
Newspapers and periodicals in reading-room		251
Life members	2,276	
Perpetual memberships	30	
Temporary members	3,519	
		5,825
Issues:		
For home use	93,140	
For library use	28,061	
		121,201
Value of property (estimated)		$72,127.31

In 1880 the library contained 48,368 volumes and 141 unbound pamphlets, and the total issue of volumes for the year was 202,834. The membership on the 1st of August, 1881, numbered 4164 persons, and up to July 31, 1881, the total receipts and expenditures had amounted to $156,434.55.

In 1883 a movement has been begun to abolish all membership fees, and to recognize what is even now true in effect, that the library has developed into a public library. The small amount now received from membership fees, the possession of a collection of fifty-five thousand volumes so well selected that comparison with the great Eastern libraries is not to be feared, the strong and growing sentiment in favor of a public library, all render it probable that in the near future the library will undergo its last transformation, and wheel into line with the free libraries of Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco, and other large cities. The items of general interest are appended as copied from the last annual report:

During the year ending July 31, 1882, 84,380 volumes were drawn for home reading, 51,687 volumes were consulted in the library, 56,946 periodicals were read in the reading-room.

Besides the total issue of 193,013 books and periodicals, hundreds came daily to read the newspapers on file from the principal points of the United States and Europe.

The average week-day issue was 542 volumes; Sunday, 345 volumes. The librarian is Frederick M. Crunden.

Among those who assisted in the organization of the Public School Library, and who have since contributed to its successful management, none has been more zealous and efficient than the eminent merchant and philanthropist, James Richardson. Mr. Richardson was born in Hopkinton, N. H., July 14, 1817,

the son of a thrifty, well-to-do farmer. His father was a direct descendant of Ezekiel Richardson who came from the south of England, and who belonged to the celebrated "Winthrop Colony" which landed at Boston, Mass., in 1630, and who, as the country was sub-divided, became one of the original incorporators of Woburn, near Boston. James Richardson was the eighth in descent from Ezekiel Richardson.

James received a good district school education and enjoyed the advantages of an academy, one of the first in the whole country having been established in his neighborhood, which was attended by pupils from far and near. When about eighteen his school privileges terminated, and from eighteen to twenty-one he worked on the farm in summer and taught school in winter, faithfully bringing his wages home to his father in the spring. When he became of age, he continued to teach in the winter, while he worked at some mechanical employment in the summer; for his father, although in good circumstances, seems to have deemed it best that the boy should provide for himself, which, indeed, he appears to have been fully capable of doing. In 1843, James was married to Miss Laura Clifford, of New Hampshire, and in 1845 he removed to Pittsburgh, Pa., after the great fire there, with just one thousand dollars in his pocket, solely the fruit of his earnings since becoming of age. He was then twenty-eight years old. He successfully managed a grocery-store there for twelve years, which he sold for thirty thousand dollars, and in 1857 removed to St. Louis, where he engaged in the wholesale drug business, under the style of Richardson, Mellier & Co. Soon, however, Mr. Mellier withdrew, and the business was conducted by Richardson & Sons, the partners being his sons.

The establishment occupied a small store at 704 North Main Street, but the business rapidly increased and more room was from time to time taken, until at present the house of Richardson & Co. occupies six numbers on North Main Street and three large warehouses on Front Street, on the Levee, besides conducting a large chemical and pharmaceutical laboratory, embracing Nos. 1121, 1123, 1125, and 1127 North Second Street, and employing one hundred and twenty-five hands. In the aggregate the house employs over one hundred and fifty hands. It keeps stock on hand amounting to half a million dollars, and its yearly sales are in proportion. It enjoys the reputation of being the largest importing and jobbing drug house in the West, and there is but one in the country that does a larger business. Indeed, its reputation is world-wide, for there is hardly a quarter of the globe where it does not have correspondents, from whence it does not import goods, and whither it does not send its manufactured products. It everywhere enjoys the highest reputation, and in St. Louis, where it is thoroughly known, its founder and head possesses the fullest confidence and esteem of his fellow business men, who have watched the unvarying progress of his house, and have noted on what a solid foundation of integrity, prudence, and sagacity this immense business has been built up.

Mr. Richardson's success in the management of his growing and intricate affairs attracted the attention of his friends, and he was repeatedly solicited to take part in other enterprises, but being conservative, he usually declined. However, he has been a director in several banks, but recently has severed all connections of this kind, and has persistently refused to make new ones. He has been led to this course through no lack of public spirit, and whenever solicited to serve the public in a useful capacity he has seldom refused. Thus for many years he was a member of the board of education, and for some time was president of the body, but ultimately declined a re-election. During his administration the school system was placed on a more efficient basis, involving radical and extensive reforms; and in advocating and securing these Mr. Richardson was foremost as an inspiring and shaping mind. His name has long been associated in the public mind with that of the lamented Ira Divoll as one of the founders of the present excellent school system of St. Louis.

Upon retiring from the school board he was brought, as we have seen, into very close relations with the Public School Library, "an institution," he has been heard to say, "which I regard as of more wide-spread influence than anything in St. Louis except the public schools themselves." Again he is seen working with Divoll for the establishment of this great enterprise on a sure footing; and among the noble men whom Divoll gathered around him, none were more zealous than James Richardson. They labored during the war and amid many and peculiar embarrassments, yet Mr. Richardson and his brave associates never wavered in their expressions of courage and confidence, and finally succeeded in placing the enterprise upon its present substantial footing. Without disparagement to others who assisted in this enlightened work, it may be said that the chief burdens were borne by Mr. Divoll and Mr. Richardson. Their inspiring confidence and energy carried the cause along, and when Divoll died his mantle fell on Richardson, who pushed the work unflinchingly until success was accomplished.

In recognition of his share in this great educational



the son of a thrifty, well-to-do farmer. His father was

does not import goods, and whither it does not send



James S. Richardson

work, and as a further token of personal esteem, a large number of his friends joined in 1881 in presenting the library with a fine portrait of Mr. Richardson, painted by George Eichbaum, of St. Louis. The picture was presented to the board of managers of the library March 15, 1881, by the Hon. S. D. Barlow, in a felicitous address, and he was followed by others who appealed strongly to men of wealth and public spirit to follow Mr. Richardson's example and identify themselves with this great and useful institution.

Mr. Richardson is a prominent member of the First Presbyterian Church, and has been for many years president of that corporation and of its board of trustees. The church has frequently been in financial trouble, and it has been Mr. Richardson's privilege to render important and greatly-needed assistance on several occasions, and the congregation is now completely free from debt. Mr. Richardson is also director for two theological schools, Drury College, Springfield, Mo., and Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Mo. Both these institutions look up to him as a generous patron and sagacious counselor.

Mr. Richardson has four children,—two daughters (one married and one single) and two sons, J. Clifford Richardson and James Richardson, who are partners in the house, and have shown such business capacity that for some years Mr. Richardson has been relieved almost wholly of the active management of the firm's affairs, and has enjoyed his well-earned rest with a quiet and befitting dignity. Mr. Richardson has traveled extensively, and has made several trips to Europe, thus adding by observation to the stores of a well-stocked mind; for notwithstanding the fact that he has until late years been engrossed with business cares, he was always a student, and few business men of St. Louis possess a better fund of general information than he does, or can more readily or more interestingly impart it to others. He frequently writes for the press, especially on matters connected with his business, and is held by the trade in the highest esteem. When the Western Wholesale Drug Association was formed, he was made the first president.

Such is a brief outline of Mr. Richardson's active and highly successful career, which is full of instruction not only to the young and struggling, but also to those who have become rich and prosperous and yet have not learned what the poet declares to be the highest of pleasures, "the luxury of doing good."

Missouri Historical Society.—From an able and very interesting address delivered by Col. James O. Broadhead before the Missouri Historical Society we learn that the first effort looking towards the formation of a historical society in the State was made at Jefferson City in 1844. On the 18th of December of that year a meeting was held in the Senate chamber at Jefferson City, at which measures were taken to organize the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society. A constitution was adopted for its government, fourteen gentlemen enrolled their names as members, and a committee was appointed to apply to the General Assembly for an act of incorporation. On the 27th of February, 1845, an act of the General Assembly was passed incorporating the society, and the following were named as incorporators, with such other persons as might afterwards be associated with them, viz.: George W. Hough, William Claude Jones, William M. Campbell, James L. Minor, Hiram B. Goodrich, George W. Waters, John I. Campbell, John H. Watson, Adam B. Chambers, John McNeil, Samuel Treat, Robert I. Boas, Erich Plump, John G. Walker, George W. Huston, Hiram H. Baber, John C. Edwards (then Governor of the State), Benjamin F. Stringfellow (then attorney-general), B. M. Hughes, Trusten Polk, Robert Wilson, John D. Colter, William Carson, George A. Carrell, Thomas G. Allen, William G. Eliot, William G. Minor, R. G. Smart, Mann Butler, S. H. Whipple, Robert T. Brown, and Harrison Hough.

At the first meeting the following were elected honorary members: Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts; Albert Gallatin, of New York; Jared Sparks, of Massachusetts; P. A. Brown, of Philadelphia; Judge Hall, of Cincinnati; W. Gilmore Simms, of South Carolina; and Lewis Cass, of Michigan. Correspondence was afterwards kept up by the president with several of these honorary members.

At the first meeting the Rev. Dr. Goodrich presented to the society a volume entitled "Travels in North America in the Years 1780, '81, '82," by the Marquis de Chastelux, and also a *fac-simile* engraving of six brass plates found in a mound in the State of Illinois in the year 1843. These constituted the beginning of the library and cabinet of the society.

On the 6th of January, 1847, the General Assembly passed an act giving to the society the use and control of the semicircular room on the first floor of the capitol, afterwards occupied by the Governor as his office, for the purpose of keeping therein their library, museum, and cabinet, and providing that the Secretary of State should furnish the society with a copy of all publications that should be made by authority of the State. On the 16th of February following the General Assembly by a joint resolution directed the Secretary of State to have the room furnished

with shelves and other furniture suitable for the reception of books and specimens, and made an appropriation for putting the room in repair.

William M. Campbell, of St. Charles, was elected the first president of the society, James L. Minor, of Cole, secretary, and George W. Hough, treasurer. Mr. Campbell was re-elected president at every annual meeting thereafter until his death, which occurred Dec. 31, 1849.[1]

At the meeting at which Mr. Campbell was first elected the treasurer presented his annual report, showing the balance in the treasury on the 18th of January, 1847, to have been $6.90; amount received from members during and since that time $8.95, making a total of $15.85. Of this sum $1.05 was paid for the use of the society, showing a balance in the treasury of $14.80. At the same meeting a resolution was passed providing for the appointment of a committee to petition the General Assembly to provide by law for a thorough geological survey of the State. The following gentlemen were appointed on the committee: Falkland H. Martin, then Secretary of State, city of Jefferson; S. T. Glover, Marion County; Edward Bates, St. Louis; D. E. Ballou, Benton County; S. D. Caruthers, Madison County; John F. Ryland, Lafayette County; William G. Minor, city of Jefferson. Mr. Glover prepared the memorial to the Legislature on the subject, and this was the first step taken towards the passage of the law providing for a geological survey of the State, which has developed and brought to the knowledge of the world the inexhaustible mineral resources of Missouri.

At the annual meeting on the 15th of January, 1850, David Todd, of Columbia, was elected president, and Austin A. King, then Governor of the State, E. L. Edwards, James L. Minor, Robert W. Wells, E. B. Cordell, James Lusk, and S. D. Caruthers vice-presidents, and Ephraim B. Ewing secretary.

After the death of William M. Campbell, who may be considered the founder of the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society, but little was done to preserve its organization or to continue its labors. It may be said to have died with him. The last meeting held was a called meeting, late in the winter of 1851, on the occasion of the death of its secretary, William G. Minor, at which Col. James O. Broadhead presided.

Col. Broadhead learned in 1878 that after the society ceased to hold its meetings, its books and other property had been removed into the basement of the capitol, where they remained uninjured until the late war, when, the capitol being occupied by a military force, the basement was used as a military prison, and during that time most of the records and property were destroyed. Col. Broadhead, however, found a collection of books and pamphlets, which were afterwards presented to the Missouri Historical Society.

The latter organization was formed in 1866, the initial movement being the following address, which was issued on the 1st of August of that year:

"The undersigned, old residents of St. Louis, who have spent the flower of their lives in advancing its interests, and still bear a conspicuous part in promoting its future greatness, respectfully address you on a subject of lasting interest to us and posterity.

"An authentic history of the city from its first settlement, written under the supervision of a directory selected from the best scholars, is a desideratum which should be immediately supplied.

"This would insure a carefully prepared record of its founding, progress, institutions, benefactors, prominent men, and events that mark its different epochs.

"We now have the means, the talent, and the time to secure

[1] Mr. Campbell was born at Lexington, Va., in the year 1804, and was a graduate of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University), and was licensed to practice law in 1827. He came to Missouri in 1829, and settled in the city and county of St. Charles, where he engaged in the practice of his profession. In 1830 he was elected to the lower branch of the Legislature from the county of St. Charles, which office he continued to hold until 1836, when he was elected to the Senate. From that time he held the office of senator till 1845. About the spring of 1845 he removed to St. Louis, and in August, 1845, was elected one of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention which assembled at Jefferson City in the winter of 1845–46 and framed a new Constitution for the State.

In many respects Mr. Campbell was one of the most remarkable men who have figured in the history of Missouri. His mind was well stored with knowledge upon all subjects. He was a man of great research and untiring energy, and had more to do with the legislation of the State from 1830 to 1849 than any other man in Missouri. He prepared a revised edition of the laws of Missouri of 1835. Perhaps no man in the State was more familiar with her early history than Mr. Campbell. He had collected many interesting facts in connection with the early French and Spanish settlements, voyageurs, Indian wars, alarms, and traditions, the ranging service, the Santa Fé and Rocky Mountain trade, incidents of heroism in the lives of the pioneers, and the minutest details of Territorial history. He had all the qualities of a historian,—love of truth, a discriminating mind, devotion to his subject, and a vigorous and graceful pen. He kept up a regular correspondence with scientific and professional men of other States, and had collected a vast amount of historical and scientific information. Mr. Campbell was prominent as a lawyer, and continued in the practice of his profession up to the time of his death. For a period of nearly twenty years, during which he was a member of one or the other branch of the State Legislature, it is said he drafted more than one-half of all the bills introduced into the Legislature. When he removed to St. Louis in 1845 he engaged with Charles G. Ramsey in the publication of *The New Era*. In politics he was a Whig, but so popular that no party discipline could defeat him when a candidate for office.

plish it, and we must improve the opportunity before it passes away.

"A century will elapse on the 11th day of August next (1866) since the first grant of land was made in St. Louis.

"We propose to celebrate the centenary anniversary of that event by meeting on that day at the court-house at two o'clock P.M., and forming a historical society worthy of our age.

"We cordially invite all who feel interested in the enterprise to attend and participate with their old friends in forming a society that, we flatter ourselves, will be more lasting and useful than any other we are now acquainted with, and most likely to do justice to the subjects on which they write.

"St. Louis, Aug. 1, 1866."

Among the signers were N. Paschall, James G. Soulard, William L. Ewing, Henry Shaw, Henry Von Phul, John D. Daggett, Frederick L. Billon, James H. Lucas, Pierre A. Berthold, Edward Bates, Daniel Hough, L. A. Benoist, John F. Darby, Sullivan Blood, Joseph H. Locke, J. Ridgely, Samuel Gaty, Charles D. Drake, Samuel B. Wiggins, John How, Elihu B. Shepard, John Withnell, M. Brotherton, George K. Budd, Daniel B. Gale, Charles P. Chouteau, Napoleon Mulliken, ex-Governor Archibald Gamble, Judge Primm, ex-Mayor James S. Thomas, Amedee Vallé, Nathan Ranney, James Clemens, Benjamin Stickney, Austin Piggot, D. B. Hill, Andrew Christy, E. Carter Hutchinson, Lewis Bissell, William M. McPherson, Samuel Willi, Hudson E. Bridge, James Smith, Richard Dowling, Daniel H. Donovan, Lewis V. Bogy, Henry C. Lynch, John Biggin, Joshua Cheever, Sol. Smith, Peter E. Blow.

On August 11th a number of the old residents met pursuant to this call at the court-house, in Circuit Court Room No. 1. Hon. John F. Darby called the meeting to order, and moved the appointment of James H. Lucas as chairman of the meeting. Mr. Lucas having been unanimously chosen, Hon. John F. Darby then proposed the following list of officers for the permanent organization of the society, which was unanimously agreed to: President, James H. Lucas; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Edward Bates, Hon. John F. Darby, J. C. Barlow, Henry Von Phul, George H. Kennerly, Daniel D. Page, Dr. Robert Simpson, Archibald Gamble, Daniel Hough, Lewis Bissell, James Clemens, Jr., Louis A. Benoist, James B. Thomas, James G. Barry, Edward Dobyns, William K. Rule, John D. Daggett, Bernard Pratte, John B. Hortiz, Henry Shaw, David B. Hill, James G. Soulard, Elkanah English, Nathan Ranney, Frederick L. Billon, A. Vallé, A. Christy; Secretaries, Elihu Shepard, William H. Cozens, George Knapp; Committee to Draft the Constitution and By-Laws, Rev. William G. Eliot, Hon. John F. Darby, Elihu H. Shepard, Capt. Edmund Paul, Wilson Primm, Charles P. Chouteau.

A second meeting was held October 27th at the same place, at which Hon. John F. Darby, on behalf of the committee, reported the draft of a constitution for the association, which after careful revision was accepted by the gentlemen present, and ordered to be submitted to the members for final adoption at a meeting to be held Saturday, November 3d, at the room corner of Fifth and Olive, proffered for the use of the society by Hon. J. F. Darby. The names of Henry O'Reilly, Dr. William Dickinson, and Frederick L. Billon were presented for membership and accepted.

James L. Butler moved that all those present come forward and enroll their names as members of the association, in order that a beginning might be made. The following names were then enrolled: James H. Lucas, Edward Bates, J. C. Barlow, E. Dobyns, J. F. Darby, W. G. Eliot, James B. Eads, George Knapp, William Lingo, John D. Daggett, Samuel Willi, Nathan Cole, R. Dowling, Robert P. Todd, Nicholas D. E. Menil, Austin Piggot, L. M. Kennett, Joseph C. Edgar, Howard Gray, D. B. Hilt, William K. Page, Elkanah English, William Fayet, Wilson Primm, Daniel H. Donovan, James G. Barry, T. A. Buckland, John D. Mackay, Bernard J. Riley, David Shepard, John J. Middleton, Charles F. Moeller, R. Beauvais, Adolph Paul, Joseph S. Pease, B. B. Minor, John Lee, H. D. Minor, James L. Butler, Elihu H. Shepard, W. H. Cozens, James S. Thomas, V. Hoeffner, Thomas Hopkins West, Gustavus W. Dryer, Peter Guerette, Abdiel Sherwood.

The society met again in its rooms in Darby's buildings, corner Fifth and Olive, Nov. 3, 1866.

In the absence of the president, Hon. James H. Lucas, on motion of Dr. W. G. Eliot, Hon. John F. Darby was elected to preside. Gen. N. Ranney moved that the constitution as accepted at the meeting held on Saturday, October 27th, should now be adopted in full.

The constitution was then read by Henry B. O'Reilly, after which, on motion of William W. Green, it was adopted. The society then proceeded to the election of officers to hold their positions until the annual meeting, Aug. 11, 1867, and Maj. Edward Dobyns and Gen. Nathan Ranney were appointed tellers.

The following officers were elected: James H. Lucas, president; W. G. Eliot, first vice-president; Wilson Primm, second vice-president; W. H. Cozens, corresponding secretary; Elihu H. Shepard, recording secretary; John F. Darby, treasurer.

The society did not, however, prosper. In 1872 a new act of incorporation was effected. In 1873, Albert Todd was elected president, and the association took

a fresh start, but matters dropped back into the old groove in 1874, and in 1875 a new constitution and set of rules were adopted, and a reincorporation effected. But it was not until 1878 that the society began to fulfill the objects for which it was created. At the beginning of that year it had no furniture, library, or cabinets, and scarcely any collections. The money value of its personal property was estimated at five hundred dollars, with debts amounting to one hundred and eighty dollars.

On the 13th of September, 1878, a meeting was held to merge the society into the older organization, founded at Jefferson City in 1844. Hon. Samuel T. Glover, vice-president, called the meeting to order. On motion, Hon. W. F. Switzler, of Boone, was appointed secretary. There were also present Col. Robert Campbell, Hon. James O. Broadhead, Capt. George C. Pratt, Andrew King, and Hon. Samuel Treat.

Judge Treat moved the adoption of the following as a by-law:

"*Resolved*, That five members shall constitute a quorum to elect members and transact any business of the corporation," which, being seconded by Capt. Pratt, was adopted.

Col. Broadhead proposed the following persons for membership: P. L. Foy, Albert Todd, O. W. Collett, John H. Terry, Silas Bent, Richard Dowling, M. L. Gray, and J. W. Herthel, all of whom, on motion of Andrew King, were admitted.

Judge Treat moved that the meeting proceed to elect officers, and the motion being carried, Judge Treat nominated Peter L. Foy for president, who was duly elected. William F. Switzler nominated Oscar W. Collett for secretary, and Mr. Collett was elected.

On motion of Judge Treat, the election of the other officers was adjourned to the next meeting. Judge Treat then moved the appointment of a committee of seven on membership, and the motion having been carried, the chair appointed W. F. Switzler, Albert Todd, O. W. Collett, J. H. Terry, Silas Bent, Capt. Pratt, and Andrew King.

Col. Broadhead moved the appointment of a committee of three to revise the constitution and by-laws, and the motion having been adopted, Messrs. Todd, Switzler, and Collett were appointed the committee.

After the reorganization of the society there was a large influx of new members. Among them it would seem were some capable and earnest workers. The new management had large and decided views, and resolved that the past should not be the measure for the future. It was soon perceived that the entire organization needed to be remodeled and placed upon a permanent basis, and its acquisitions guarded beyond peradventure. The reform was begun, and carried out in an earnest spirit. It was thorough and effective, and was finally consummated by a charter of incorporation. By this charter, and by the State law, the society has no further control over its possessions than is necessary in order to manage them. It cannot sell, it cannot mortgage, it cannot give away anything it acquires, nor can it contract a dollar of debt. Whatever it obtains, whether by gift, devise, or purchase, must be held by it simply as a trustee for the public. All other organizations are the real owners of their possessions, and can sell them if they wish. The Historical Society cannot, so that if some one gives it a lot of ground or a sum of money, the same cannot be alienated, but must be held for the purpose for which it was given.

The tree thus planted has continued to exhibit a vigor that betokens permanent vitality. In the field of local history it has done much good work, and in archæology has made substantial progress. Its accumulations towards the creation of a museum are already considerable. In 1880 it had in its library between four thousand and five thousand volumes, and possessed some six or seven cabinets, a large number of pictures, relics, and other objects classed under the general head of curiosities, and over eleven hundred archæological specimens.

Peter L. Foy was succeeded in the presidency by Edwin Harrison, who retained the position until 1883, when Col. George E. Leighton was elected. The secretary is Oscar W. Collett. It has been mainly through the earnest and unflagging zeal of Mr. Collett that the Historical Society has been kept alive during the last few years. Mr. Collett, at great personal sacrifice, has made for the society one of the finest collections of prehistoric remains—relics of the mound-builders and the ancient Indian tribes of the Mississippi Valley—to be found in the United States. Some of his specimens are unique, and the collection is highly valued by distinguished archæologists both in this country and in Europe.

The Western Academy of Natural Science was incorporated in 1837, the charter members being H. King, M.D., George Engelmann, M.D., B. [illegible] Brown, D.D.S., P. A. Pulte, M.D., and William Weber, Theodore Engelmann, and G. Schuetze. Of these, Dr. George Engelmann and Theodore Engelmann are the only ones now (1883) living. The society held regular semi-monthly meetings for about six years. A small library which had been gathered during these years is now held by the St. Louis Academy of Natural Science. This latter society also has such of the specimens from the museum

had not been lost or scattered in the period intervening between the discontinuance of the old academy and the organization of the new.

Of the twenty-four members who were received into the society during the period of its existence, only six are now (1883) living. These are, besides the two charter members already mentioned, Rev. W. G. Eliot, C. J. Carpenter, Hon. D. A. Armstrong, and Dr. A. Wislizenus.

The St. Louis Academy of Science was organized March 10, 1856, and incorporated Jan. 17, 1857. The original members were Drs. George Engelmann, H. A. Prout, M. M. Pallen, Benjamin F. Shumard, Charles A. Pope, William H. Tingley, William M. McPheeters, J. Pollak, C. W. Stevens, A. Wislizenus, M. L. Linton, and J. H. Walters, and Messrs. James B. Eads, N. Holmes, and Charles P. Chouteau. The officers for the first year were Dr. George Engelmann, president; Dr. H. A. Prout and N. Holmes, vice-presidents; Drs. B. F. Shumard and William H. Tingley, secretaries; and James B. Eads, treasurer. There was also a board of curators and a board of council.

In April, 1856, Dr. C. A. Pope offered "the free use of the cabinet hall and other rooms suitable for the purposes of the academy in the dispensary building of the St. Louis Medical College," which offer was accepted. The academy was incorporated by an act of the Legislature, Jan. 17, 1857. Through the exertions of its early presidents and secretaries it was soon placed on a prosperous footing, and valuable donations of books and transactions of other societies, together with gifts and exchanges of specimens, were secured.

In May, 1869, the library and museum were almost totally destroyed by fire. The library, which was said to be the most extensive of its kind west of the Alleghenies, comprised about three thousand two hundred volumes and pamphlets, and was particularly rich in the proceedings of foreign and home societies, as the academy was receiving regularly the transactions of one hundred and seventy foreign societies and seventy-five home societies. The library was saved, but in a very damaged condition, the books being saturated with water. They were afterwards removed to the adjoining room in Pope's College proper, under the superintendence of Dr. T. C. Baumgarten, the librarian. In the room next to the library were the publications of the society and a number of maps, which, together with the furniture, were destroyed. The records of the academy happening at the time to be in the possession of the secretary, Professor Spencer Smith, escaped injury. The museum, which occupied the third floor of the building, was destroyed. It contained Dr. Prout's collection of fossils, as originally arranged by Dr. B. F. Shumard, and a large collection of mammals, part of which belonged to the old Western Academy of Natural Sciences, which was dissolved about 1843. The collection embraced originally the mastodon bones discovered in Missouri, and the bones of the *elephas primœvensis*. Among the mammals destroyed were also the stuffed skin of a grizzly bear, the head of a buffalo, and specimens of deer from the Rocky Mountains, presented by Charles P. Chouteau, Col. Vaughn, and Dr. Stevens. The skull of the caviformis, an extinct race of the ox, found in Chouteau's Pond when the excavations for the gasometer were made and abandoned on account of the unfitness of the soil, was saved in a damaged condition. A fine collection of stuffed birds, amounting to several hundred, presented by the Smithsonian Institute and the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, were consumed, as were also specimens of meteoric iron, representing thirteen different localities, but the largest meteorite, from Dakota, twelve miles west of Fort Pierre, presented by Charles P. Chouteau, was saved, being among Dr. Shumard's mineralogical specimens at the Bonham Female Seminary. A number of valuable specimens were also saved, owing to the fact that at the time they were at the Washington University, having been used in illustrating Dr. Shumard's lectures before that institution. Six hundred specimens of marine shells, presented by the Smithsonian Institute, were consumed.

The museum was unusually rich in crania and skeletons of birds and reptiles, which were destroyed, together with Dr. Pope's mounted skeletons of mammals, about twelve hundred specimens of minerals, embracing a full suite of Missouri minerals and ores, a collection of the bones and teeth of extinct animals and fossil turtles, prepared by Professor Hayden, specimens of rock, illustrating various geological periods, Indian relics and curiosities, and specimens of porcelain from a porcelain tower in China, presented to the academy by Lieut. Clarke, U.S.A.

Shortly after the fire an agreement was entered into between the academy and the board of public schools, by which the former was permitted to hold its semi-monthly meetings in the session-room of the latter, and the library and remains of the academy were placed in the Public School Library. The cabinet of the academy was located in the reading-room of the library, and its library occupied an alcove in the same library-room, being accessible to users of the Public School Library for purposes of reference.

The academy holds regular semi-monthly meetings, and has published four large volumes of transactions (the first number having been issued in 1857), including a number of very valuable reports and papers on various scientific subjects.

The academy now has rooms and holds its meetings in the Washington University, where it is accumulating a large and valuable library. Correspondence is maintained and literary exchanges are made of transactions and other books between the academy and the scientific societies of all parts of the globe, some three hundred or more in number.

The present membership numbers over one hundred, and the present board of officers comprises Dr. George Engelmann, president, who has held that office during more than half of the academy's existence; Dr. James M. Lute, vice-president; Professor F. Nipher, recording secretary; Professor Pritchett, corresponding secretary; Enno Sander, treasurer.

The St. Louis University Library contains over seventeen thousand volumes, exclusive of students' society libraries, which number eight thousand volumes. The main library, which is intended for the use of the professors, but to which any inquirer is always made welcome, contains very complete collections of the early writings of the Catholic Church, such as the works of the Fathers, treatises on the canon law and ecclesiastical history. Several works in the collection are unique in our country. The library possesses some illuminated mediæval manuscripts, numerous rare and original editions of the Bible, and fine collections of the classic writers, as well as of the modern historians and theologians. It was begun in 1829 by the priests from Belgium who founded the university, and who brought a small collection of books with them, to which additions have been made from year to year from the funds of the university.

Washington University Libraries.—There are four distinct collections of books at Washington University,—the general library, containing four thousand five hundred volumes, chiefly books of reference; the scientific department library; the law library, of three thousand volumes; and the Mary Institute library, of five hundred reference books.

Gifts from prominent citizens have assisted in their increase. The professors of the law department gave their salaries for one year to add books to the law library, and Hudson E. Bridge bequeathed to the university the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, the interest on which is to be divided between the chancellorship and the libraries. The income of the latter is about fifteen hundred dollars a year. With the exception of the law library, no great effort has been made to build up the university's collections, the Mercantile Library and the Public School Library supplying to a great extent the wants of the university.

St. Louis Lyceum.—This organization was established in St. Louis in 1831 as a branch of the American Lyceum, which was instituted in New York in May of the same year, for "the advancement of education, especially in public schools, and the general diffusion of knowledge." The objects of the St. Louis branch were "the mutual improvement of its members and the general diffusion of knowledge." Its officers were: President, Beverly Allen; Vice-President, Joseph C. Laveille; Treasurer, A. Gamble; Corresponding Secretary, James A. Murray; Recording Secretary, J. C. Dennies; Curators, R. K. Richards, John F. Darby, Peter Ferguson.

In 1839 the following were elected officers of the St. Louis Lyceum for the ensuing year: President, Andrew J. Davis; Vice-President, Dr. J. N. McDowell; Second Vice-President, Philip Reilly; Recording Secretary, George W. Dent; Corresponding Secretary, Samuel Knox; Treasurer, Charles F. Henry; Directors, W. P. Darnes, J. H. Bayfield, J. B. Walker, Dr. T. J. White, Dr. E. T. Watson. The last-named lyceum we find, however, was not an outgrowth of the former, but was an association of young men formed for the purpose of mental culture. It was incorporated, and in 1844 had a membership of about one hundred and fifty, a library of two thousand volumes, and a lecture-room on the second floor of the building corner of Third and Pine Streets.

Library of the Academy of the Visitation.—This library was organized in 1832, by the Sisters of the Visitation. It contains over four thousand volumes, including every variety of literature. It is supported by the pupils, who pay a yearly fee of two dollars for the privilege of its use.

The Library of the Ursuline Academy was begun by the sisters in 1840, and now numbers about two thousand volumes. The pupils pay a fee of two dollars per annum, by means of which the library is sustained.

The Young Men's Sodality Library and Reading-Room, Ninth Street and Christy Avenue, dates from the commencement of the Sodality building which was erected under the directorship of the Rev. A. Damen, S.J., about the year 1855. Its object is to furnish sound moral literature in its various branches to the members of the sodality. About 1876, however, it became accessible to the friends of the society, who can become members by paying an initiation fee of one dollar, and afterwards fifty cents a quarter. The library and reading-rooms are

ported out of the general funds of the sodality. There are about fifteen hundred books in the library, and twenty-seven periodicals in the reading-room. The number of members is three hundred.

The Library of the College of the Christian Brothers was founded in 1860, and contains over twenty thousand volumes and about one hundred and fifty-six manuscripts. Its income is about sufficient for its support, and is derived from membership fees paid by pupils.

The German Evangelical Lutheran Concordia College Library was begun in 1840, and now numbers about five thousand volumes.

Missouri Medical College Library dates back from 1840, and contains one thousand volumes.

St. Louis Medical College Library numbers eleven hundred volumes. It was founded in 1844, is restricted in use to the faculty and students, and is maintained and increased solely by voluntary contributions. The library of Dr. Charles A. Pope (five hundred volumes) passed, in 1875, into the possession of the college, one-half by purchase, the other half being given by his widow.

The St. Louis Turnverein Library, located in Turner's Hall, Tenth Street between Market and Walnut, was begun in 1855. It contains over two thousand volumes, of which two hundred and fifty are in English, the remainder chiefly in German. The Turnverein appropriates twenty dollars per month for library purposes, and the fines collected amount to about ten dollars more. The reading-room is open two nights during the week, and is supplied with a number of newspapers and magazines.

Independent Order of Odd-Fellows' Library.—The order of Odd-Fellows in St. Louis has a library numbering four thousand volumes, which was begun in 1868. For its support ten lodges contribute twenty-five cents semi-annually for each of their members, and fifty cents for each new member initiated. This gives the library a yearly income of about fifteen hundred dollars. It subscribes to the leading popular American magazines, and has about six hundred volumes of German works, popular and standard. The room, located at Fourth and Locust Streets, is open daily from Monday until Friday, from seven to ten P.M., and on Saturday from two to ten P.M. It is accessible only to members of the contributing lodges and their families.

The St. Louis Law Library was founded in 1838, and incorporated in 1839, with Edward Bates, Josiah Spalding, John F. Darby, Montgomery Blair, Hamilton R. Gamble, Beverly Allen, Warwick Tunstall, Trusten Polk, and others as incorporators. At the time of its formation the bar of St. Louis numbered less than forty, and the population was about fifteen thousand.

The original number of members was twenty, each of whom agreed to pay twenty dollars on the 1st day of May, 1838, and five dollars every three months thereafter. Nothing was done towards the purchase of books until the following September, when a constitution and by-laws were adopted, officers elected, and the first order for books, principally standard treatises, forwarded to Boston. In forming its constitution the association took no model; there was no "stock" system, and the members acquired no individual property in the books or other effects of the association. In one particular the original by-laws were less fortunate,—in providing that no new member could be admitted except upon the payment of as great an amount as had been assessed upon the original members, including their first contribution. At the end of the first year, therefore, the cost of admission was forty dollars, and at the end of the second, sixty. Such a disproportion between the admission fee and the then advantages of the library was a serious barrier to an increase of members, without which vigorous growth or permanency could not be expected. The quarterly assessment of five dollars was likewise deemed unnecessarily large, particularly for the young members. It was, therefore, in 1840 resolved to substitute a semi-annual assessment of that sum; but how to establish the admission fee was, at various times during ten years, the subject of controversy and vacillating action. An effort was made in 1840 to fix it at twenty dollars, but without success. As a measure of compromise, an upward sliding scale was adopted, by which members admitted within the year ending the 1st of November, 1841, should pay twenty dollars, those admitted during the next year twenty-five dollars, and so on, adding five dollars each succeeding year. This rule continued until January, 1845, when it gave place to one fixing the fee at twenty dollars. This, in its turn, was supplanted in February, 1846, and a fee of forty dollars established. This had a brief existence of less than one month, and was superseded by a resort again to the upward sliding scale, fixing the fee at twenty dollars until Dec. 31, 1846, and thenceforward adding five dollars each year until it should reach forty dollars, at which it should be stationary. This held its place until December, 1850, when it gave way to the unanimous adoption at a large meeting of the association of a fee of twenty dollars. As an immediate result of the action of December, 1850, forty new members were admitted.

In November, 1842, the number of volumes was

only six hundred and forty. This is the earliest date at which reliable information on that point can be obtained. From that time until May, 1847, the progress made is indicated by the following statement of the number of volumes at different periods:

January, 1845	717	volumes.
February, 1846	932	"
November, 1846	1132	"
May, 1847	1285	"

Between 1851 and 1859 the progress of the library was as follows:

October, 1851	1957	volumes.
" 1852	2366	"
" 1853	2634	"
" 1854	3000	"
December, 1855	3211	"
" 1856	3664	"
" 1857	4125	"
" 1858	4457	"

The expenditures of the association during these years were as follows:

Years.	For Books.	Other Expenses.
1851–52	$1229.90	$374.18
1852–53	785.45	481.67
1853–54	760.62	351.76
1854–55	894.23	544.83
1855–56	1144.59	410.90
1856–57	1307.70	638.59
1857–58	1414.72	739.24
	$7537.21	$3541.17

From 1842 to 1857 the library was kept in a small room in the court-house, which for several years before its abandonment afforded very insufficient accommodations. It was the best, however, that could be obtained until October, 1857, when, by the liberality of the St. Louis County Court, a new and elegant room, fifty feet in length, and partly thirty-three and partly thirty-six feet in width, was assigned to the association, and handsomely and conveniently fitted up with shelving, furniture, and gas fixtures by the county.

The benefits of the library are not confined to the members of the association. Any member of the legal profession residing anywhere outside of St. Louis County has the privilege of using the books. The library is much resorted to by members of the bar from the interior of the State during the sessions of the Supreme Court at St. Louis, and frequently professional gentlemen from Illinois, and sometimes from Iowa, visit St. Louis for the purpose of consulting it.

The books are not allowed to leave the room, except to be taken to some court of record for use in lawsuits. Without endowment or support from any public fund, this library has become one of great value. In 1876 it contained about eight thousand volumes, of which fifteen hundred were text-books, the best having been selected, fifteen hundred reports and digests of foreign cases, and five thousand reports and digests of United States courts, and was used by three hundred and eighty members. The library now contains ten thousand volumes, and is still located in the county court-house. The presidents of the association since its organization have been Josiah Spalding, 1838–40; Henry S. Geyer, 1840–41; Hamilton R. Gamble, 1841–43; Beverly Allen, 1843–46; Edward Bates, 1846; Joseph B. Crockett, 1846–47; Hamilton R. Gamble, 1849–50; Trusten Polk, 1847–49; Fletcher M. Haight, 1850–51; Benjamin B. Dayton, 1851–55; Samuel Reber, 1855–57; Charles D. Drake, 1857–66; Charles C. Whittlesey, 1866–67; John R. Shepley, 1867–70; Roderick E. Rombauer, 1870–73; Alexander Martin, 1873–74; Albert Todd, 1874–77; George A. Madill, 1877–78; John R. Shepley, 1878–79; Alonzo W. Slayback, 1879–81; Arba N. Crane, 1881–82. Frank W. Peebles is the librarian.

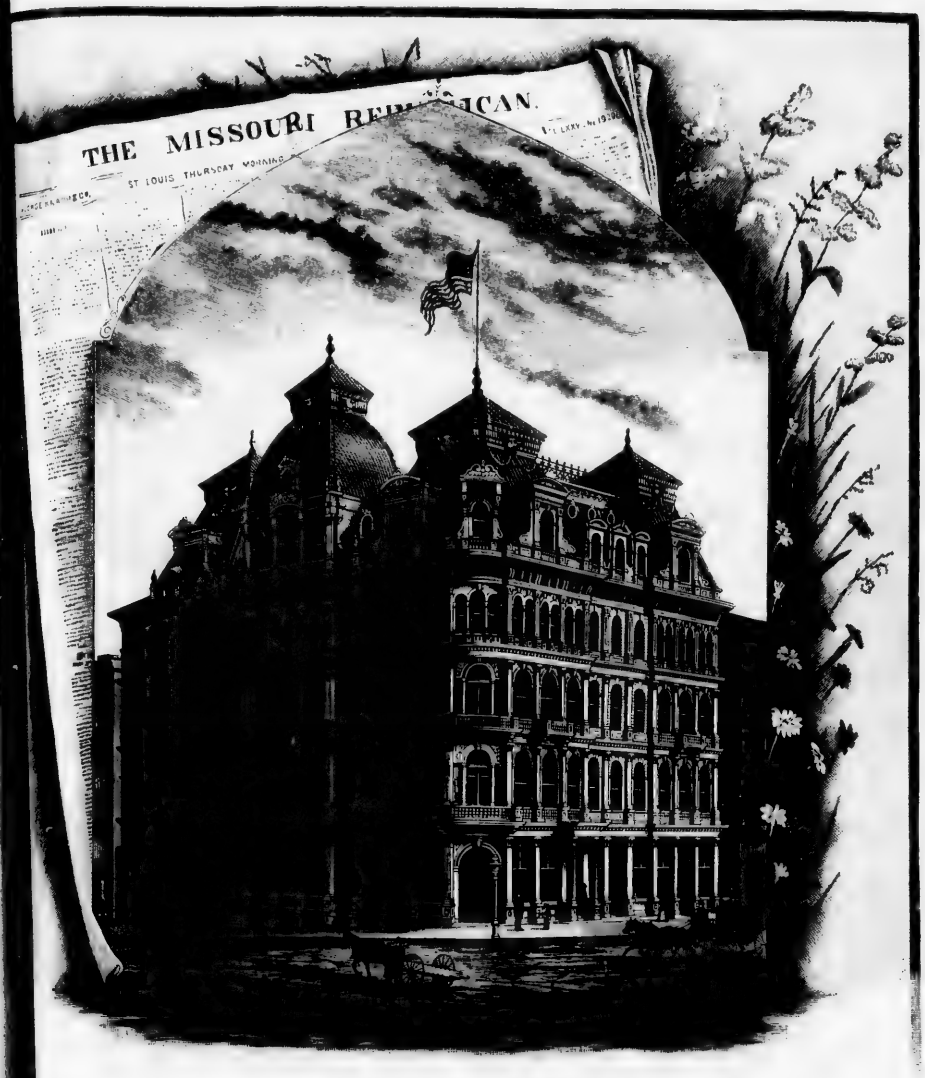
CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PRESS.

Missouri Republican.[1]—The history of the *Missouri Republican* is coincident with that of St. Louis from a period anterior to the creation of the Territory of Missouri down to the present day, and in its files is found a wonderfully full and accurate record of the growth of St. Louis from the proportions of an insignificant town to those of a great and commanding metropolis. The *Republican* was established with the name of the *Missouri Gazette*, by Joseph Charless in 1808. Mr. Charless was a native of Westmeath, Ireland, and was born on the 16th of July, 1772. He was the only son of Capt. Edward Charles, whose paternal ancestor, John Charles, was born in Wales, and emigrated to Ireland in 1663. Joseph Charles having been implicated in the Irish rebellion of 1795, fled from Ireland to France, and after remaining a short time in the latter country sailed for the United States, arriving at New York in 1796. On reaching this country he added

[1] The author is greatly indebted to the present proprietors of the *Republican*, Messrs. George Knapp & Co., for having generously placed at his disposal the files of the paper from its establishment to the present time. It is scarcely necessary to add that he found them of incalculable value in preparing this work, and that they furnished an immense mass of historical material much of which it would have been impossible to obtain from any other source.





S. E. COR. OF CHESTNUT AND THIRD STS.

the letter *s* to his name, making it Charless, in order to secure the Irish pronunciation of Charles. He settled in Philadelphia, where, being a printer by trade, he secured a situation with Matthew Carey, who at that time was the leading publisher of the town. Mr. Charless prided himself on having assisted in printing the first quarto edition of the Bible that was issued in the United States.[1] In 1800, accompanied by his family, he removed from Philadelphia to Lexington, Ky., and thence in 1806 to Louisville, from which place he proceeded in 1808 to St. Louis. Here he established the first newspaper printed west of the Mississippi, and continued in active charge until 1820. Subsequently he engaged in the drug business, and died in 1834, at the age of sixty-two years. Mr. Charless was a man of indomitable energy and courage, and labored for many years in the face of opposition and embarrassments which must have proved fatal to his enterprise—an undertaking audacious in the highest degree when we consider the fact that St. Louis was then a small frontier town with a population largely composed of French-speaking people—but for his wonderful tenacity of purpose, untiring industry, consummate ability and tact as an editor, and a strength of will which no disasters nor threats could shake. Personally, he is described by a member of his family as having been "a noble specimen of the Irish gentleman, impulsive warm-heartedness being his most characteristic trait. He was polite and hospitable, his countenance cheerful, his conversation sprightly and humorous. Sweet is the memory of the times when his children and friends gathered around his plentiful board."

The first number of the *Missouri Gazette*, published weekly, was issued on the 12th of July, 1808, and was gotten out by two men, one of whom presumably was Mr. Charless, and the other Jacob Hinkle, a printer, who had come at Mr. Charless' request from Louisville, Ky., to assist in establishing the *Gazette*. The publication office at first and for some years was situated on the east side of South Main Street, in the northern portion of the old Robidoux house of posts on Block 5, between the present Elm and Myrtle Streets, and next, on the south, to the old stone house on the same lot which was occupied subsequently (in 1817) by the old Territorial Bank of St. Louis. Mr. Charless afterwards removed the establishment to the southeast corner of Second and Walnut Streets, to a two-story frame house which he purchased from Abram Gallatin in 1816, and where his family had resided for some years. In 1820 he removed to the "hill" at the southeast corner of Fifth and Market Streets, where the paper continued to be published until several years later.

The first number was printed upon a sheet of foolscap paper, twelve and one-half inches by seven and three-fourths inches, in small pica type, and was worked off on an old-fashioned Ramage press, which is described as having been "a rude diminutive machine, made mostly of wood with a stone bed, and worked by hand."

At this time Missouri was still part of the Territory of Louisiana, and St. Louis was a village of about one thousand inhabitants, with a post-office, but a mail only once a week to Cahokia, on the Illinois side of the river, with no brick house, and a trade consisting only of "lead, furs, and peltries." The embargo act of 1807 and the non-intercourse act of 1809 "had produced a withering influence upon the prosperity of St. Louis," and it was under these discouraging circumstances that Mr. Charless commenced the publication of his newspaper. The subscription price was fixed at three dollars per annum, "paid in advance," while "advertisements not exceeding a square will be inserted one week for one dollar, and fifty cents for every continuance, those of a greater length in proportion." The first two numbers are missing, but the third number, published Tuesday, July 26, 1808, "by Joseph Charless, printer to the Territory," is extant. It was printed on fair white paper, and is of four pages, with three columns to a page. The first page is filled with foreign news under date of London, April 22d, descriptive of Admiral Duckworth's cruise after the French fleet in the West Indies, which is continued on the fourth page, and is followed by news from Amsterdam, Ramsgate, and Harwich. The second page contains news from Paris dated April 12th, Boston, June 16th; Baltimore, June 18th; Philadelphia, June 16th; and Norfolk, June 13th. In the foreign news mention is made of the case of the "Edward Madison," a Charleston packet, and another American vessel "boarded by British cruisers." The

[1] In 1798, Mr. Charless married Mrs. Sarah McCloud (a widow with one child), whose maiden name was Jordan. She was born Jan. 28, 1771, near Wilmington, Del., but during the Revolutionary war her parents, with their family, were driven by the Hessians from their home in Delaware, and thenceforward resided in Philadelphia. She accompanied her husband to Lexington and Louisville, Ky., and finally to St. Louis, where she continued to reside until her death, which occurred on the 3d of March, 1852. Mrs. Charless took a prominent part in the organization of the first Presbyterian Church established in St. Louis, and greatly assisted the pastor, Rev. Salmon Giddings, in that work. She was a woman of fervent piety, a generous friend to the needy, and a devoted wife and mother.

editorial and local departments are made up of seven short paragraphs, one of which is a notice of the election of Auguste Chouteau, Edward Hempstead, Bernard Pratte, Pierre Chouteau, and Alexander McNair as trustees for the town of St. Louis "on Saturday last." The paper contains but four advertisements. On the third page, under the heading "St. Louis," the *Gazette* announced that Samuel Solomon would "receive subscriptions and advertisements for this *Gazette* during the editor's absence to Kentucky." In August the day of publication was changed from Tuesday to Wednesday, the paper appearing for the first time after the change on Wednesday, August 10th. On the 21st of September, which would in the ordinary course have been the day of publication, no paper was issued owing to the illness of the editor, but in the following week, September 28th, the *Gazette* appeared in a slightly enlarged form, being two inches wider. Other improvements were added from time to time by the enterprising publisher, among which was a "Poet's Corner." In the issue of August 17th a poetical tale was printed entitled "Leonard and Rosa," and signed by E. S. J., which was two columns and a half in length. Advertisements were often printed in French. Among the many vexations with which Mr. Charless had to contend was the uncertainty of the mails. Thus, for instance, on the 25th of January, 1809, the *Gazette* announced that there had been no mails from the East, on which, of course, the editor depended for the greater portion of his news, for two months. On the 29th of March, 1809, the paper appeared in an enlarged form, four columns to a page, sixteen inches long by eleven inches broad, and printed on one sheet of two pages. Owing to the failure of the publisher to procure news paper, it was printed on letter-paper. A further increase was made in May, the paper appearing on the 24th of that month with four pages, eighteen by eleven inches, with four columns without rules to a page. In the issue of July 19th, Mr. Charless addressed his patrons, felicitating himself on the completion of the *Gazette's* first year, but regretting that his paper, under the untoward circumstances under which he had labored, had not "come up to his own calculations, and perhaps to the expectations" of the subscribers. He added, however, that having disposed of his office in Lexington, Ky., and brought his family to St. Louis, together with a supply of good paper, he trusted that he would "henceforth meet the expectations of his friends." Owing to the change of time in the arrival of the mail, the day of publication was changed Oct. 12, 1809, to Thursday.

The *Gazette* continued to thrive and prosper, and among the features introduced during the summer of 1809 was correspondence from Baltimore, then an important point for the distribution of news. The circulation of the paper was not restricted to St. Louis, for we find that in July of this year the following agents at other points had been selected: St. Charles, Capt. M. Wherry; Ste. Genevieve, Mr. Elliot; Cape Girardeau, Mr. McPherson; Cahokia, Mr. Hays; Kaskaskia, Mr. Finney; Harrisonville, Jacob A. Boyes; New Madrid, Mr. Michel.

In November, 1809, subscriptions to the *Gazette* were paid in flour, and on the 7th of December, 1809, the paper appeared as the *Louisiana* (instead of *Missouri*) *Gazette*, in order "to change the title from a local to a more general one," Missouri being then a part of the Territory of Louisiana. When, however, Missouri was erected into a Territory, the paper (July 11, 1812) resumed its original appellation of the *Missouri Gazette*. On the 19th of July, 1810, the completion of the second year of the *Gazette* was announced by the editor, who, on the 3d of October, gave notice that the day of publication had been changed to Saturday, and on the 9th of November called upon those of his subscribers who had given their notes or word of honor to pay in flour or corn "to bring it in directly," and upon others who had promised to pay in beef or pork to deliver it as soon as possible, or their accounts would be placed in the magistrate's hands. The responses would not appear to have been very prompt or liberal, for on the 19th of December, Mr. Charless made the following significant announcement:

"*To our Patrons:* The weekly expense of publishing the *Louisiana Gazette* is upwards of twenty dollars. When this is duly considered, our subscribers will see the propriety of our requiring of them payment in advance. Neither paper, types, nor ink can be had without cash, and that, too, before a single paper can be issued."

On Saturday, Oct. 9, 1813, the *Gazette* appeared on paper of a smaller size, measuring thirteen and a half by eight and a half inches, the reduction being caused, probably, not by any lack of support, but by the scarcity of suitable paper, as we find in the issue of December 17th a notice from the editor that "by the most cruel and unfortunate disappointment in the receipt of paper" he would be compelled to suspend the publication of the *Gazette* for a few weeks. He added that every Saturday a handbill would be printed and sent to the subscribers gratis, giving a summary of the news received by the mail. Mr. Charless was subjected to serious embarrassment for more than a month at least, for on the 22d

January, 1814, he was still without a supply of paper. In the issue of that date he said,—

"Although cut off by an immense space of country from a source of supply, the printer has hitherto been fortunate enough to procure a sufficiency of paper. In this instance he is blameless, inasmuch as ample funds were forwarded to Lexington; but in consequence of no regular trade being carried on with that place, his paper waits for an accidental trader coming this way."

In the conduct of his paper, Mr. Charless appears to have been outspoken, fearless, and aggressive from the start. He supported the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, and gave and took no quarter in dealing with his political antagonists. Early in 1814 an acrimonious controversy arose between Mr. Charless and certain leading citizens of St. Louis (among whom were Wm. C. Carr, C. B. Penrose, Maj. Wm. Christy, Robert Wash, and David V. Walker), growing out of communications published in the *Gazette* criticising Gen. (formerly Governor) Howard, and accompanied by editorial comments from Mr. Charless. The authorship of the original communication, which was signed "Q," was attributed by some to J. B. C. Lucas, and by others to Mr. Charless himself. In order to break down Charless, Messrs. Carr, Christy, Penrose, etc., raised one thousand dollars for the purpose of establishing a paper in opposition to the *Gazette*, and advertised in the *Lexington* (Ky.) *Reporter* as follows:

"*To Printers:* The people of St. Louis are desirous of procuring a printer at that place. A man of correct Republican principles with even moderate abilities would satisfy them, though it is unquestionable that the profits of a well-directed press would richly reward the labors of a man of genius and acquirements."

The attempt to procure a printer was not successful until May, 1815, when Joshua Norvell, from Nashville, Tenn., issued the *Western Journal*. He was succeeded in the management by Sergeant Hall, of Cincinnati, who issued the first number of his paper, the name having been changed to the *Western Emigrant*, May 17, 1817. In the summer of 1819 its proprietors were Isaac N. Henry and Evarist Maury, from Nashville, with Col. Thomas H. Benton as editor, and it was then known as the *St. Louis Enquirer*.

In the mean time the controversy between Mr. Charless and his opponents waxed more and more bitter, and seems to have been conducted with intense acrimony and extreme personalities by both parties.[1]

At length the feeling became so intense that it culminated on the 21st of July, 1814, in a personal encounter between Mr. Charless and W. C. Carr. The version of this affair published by Mr. Charless in the *Gazette* of July 22d is as follows:

"A medal for the brave: Yesterday evening, when I was conversing with some gentlemen near the post-office of St. Louis, William C. Carr approached close to me, without my observing him, and spit in my face, and at the same instant drew a pistol and presented it towards me. Being altogether unarmed, not even a stick in my hand, I had no other resort but stoning him, from which I was soon prevented by individuals, who interfered and laid hold of me, which gave Carr an opportunity of retreating to his house, no doubt exulting at his own brave and manly management of the affair, and at the strong proof he had given of his being a gentleman."

The efforts of Mr. Carr and his friends to conquer Charless with his own weapons by establishing a rival newspaper in St. Louis having thus far proved ineffectual, they seem to have determined to try intimidation, and waited upon him at his office in a body. Mr. Charless gives the following account of the interview:

"As soon as the *Gazette* was published containing the above criminal matter, William C. Carr called a cabinet meeting, where it was debated what kind of punishment the printer should receive for this offense to their High Mightinesses. After mature deliberation it was resolved that Maj. William C. Carr, Maj. Clement B. Penrose, Maj. William Christy, Dr. Farrar, and Dr. Walker should call on Charless and demand the author of 'Q.' Next morning, Sunday, the party opened the door and rudely entered the office, Christy armed with a large club and Penrose with a sword. Judge Christy, in an angry style, demanded (in behalf of a meeting held the evening before) the author of 'Q.,' to which I answered I was well informed that the meeting had denounced me as the author, and therefore I would give them no satisfaction on the subject; that if they had applied in a proper manner every satisfaction in my power would be given. Christy then said with much warmth and agitation that the paragraph was a lie, that they considered me as the author, and would publish me as a liar throughout the State of Kentucky, to which Penrose and Carr assented. I then ordered Christy out of the office, but as he declined to go I pushed him out of the door, when he raised his club to strike, and proposed to drag me into the street, and there perhaps assassinate me. At the same moment Penrose shifted his sword

[1] As a specimen of the political journalism of the day we append the following extract from the *Republican* of July 16, 1814:

"It is rumored that Robert Wash, Esq., is a *candidate* to represent his county in the General Assembly.

"Says Bob to Dave, as they bounced up,
Midst din of clitter-clatter,
'I feel so like a mongrel pup
My jaws goes chitter-chatter.'

"Dave answered Bob, 'Shake off base fear,
I'll lead you on to battle.'
Says Bob, 'Oh, dear, what's that I hear,
I—I—I augur things most fatal.'"

Robert Wash and David V. Walker, referred to above as 'Bob and 'Dave,' were afterwards sons-in-law of William Christy.

in the attitude of drawing it, and in a high tone of anger they told me they would not go out; that it was not my house, but a public office, in which they had a right to stay. Thus situated and unarmed, I directed my son to go for the constable, intending to collect a force to commit them to prison. However, before the constable came, or a sufficient force was collected, they retreated, bestowing upon me a torrent of abuse.

"The next week was spent by these great men in trotting up and down our streets to obtain signatures to an address to the printer, disapprobating the little paragraph, and after much labor and fatigue twelve names, including their own, were all that could be obtained."

The *Gazette* appears to have thriven on persecution, for on the 24th of June, 1815, it announced that it had "upwards of five hundred genuine patrons, who receive it regularly every week," the original number of subscribers having been one hundred and seventy-four. In the same issue it was stated that a new press of the largest size was "expected shortly by Mr. Moses Scott from Pittsburgh," and that when it arrived the *Gazette* would assume the "size of the Kentucky papers, super-royal."

In 1816 the *Gazette* published a number of paragraphs which proved offensive to John Scott, a leading citizen of St. Louis, who demanded the name of the author from Mr. Charless. A belligerent correspondence ensued, but oil was finally poured upon the troubled waters and a compromise effected. In his reply to Mr. Scott's warlike note, Mr. Charless said, with characteristic vigor, "I may be threatened, but I will continue an independent course. If I am attacked for exercising the honest duties of my profession, I know how to repel injury."

On the 19th of April, 1817, the *Gazette* appeared in "a new and beautiful" dress of type of American manufacture, an evidence of prosperity which must have been very irritating to its enemies. The day of publication was changed on the 9th of January to Friday, and on the 3d of July the paper was enlarged to such proportions as to be "equal in size and type to any six-column paper in the Union." In August, 1818, while Mr. Charless was walking in his garden, he was fired upon by some one unknown, "who had concealed himself in or behind the lot south of the garden," but he escaped unhurt. He was also threatened with incendiarism, for we find in the *Gazette* of Jan. 1, 1819, that "D. Kimball requests the incendiaries of St. Louis to defer burning Mr. Charless' establishment until his removal, which will be on the 20th of April next." The subscribers to the *Gazette* continued to increase in number, and on the 20th of October the editor announced that "the number of our patrons from one hundred and seventy-four has nearly reached one thousand actual subscribers." During the same year (January 27th) the publication-day was changed back to Wednesday, and it was announced September 11th that an extra half-sheet would be issued every Saturday without additional charge. The half-sheet was known as the *Mercantile Paper, or Gazette* extra, and contained "advertisements, prices current, marine memoranda, and commercial news." The subscription price was one dollar and a half per annum. On the 19th of January, 1820, the *Gazette* stated that "the commercial paper hitherto published on Saturday is discontinued until a supply of paper is obtained, when the *Gazette* will (if required) be published semi-weekly."

On the 13th of September, 1820, Joseph Charless retired from the editorship, having sold the paper to James C. Cummins. The latter retained the proprietorship until March 13, 1822, and during his control of the paper removed the office to the Sanguinet House, at the northeast corner of Main and Elm Streets. In March, 1822, Mr. Cummins sold the paper to Edward Charless, who engaged Josiah Spalding as editor, changed the name to the *Missouri Republican*, and issued his first number on the 20th of March, 1822, from the old location, his father's frame building at Walnut and Second Streets. The publishing firm was known as Edward Charless & Co., Josiah Spalding being the company. This style of partnership continued until Feb. 16, 1826, when Edward Charless became the sole proprietor, Mr. Spalding having retired.

The liberty of the press and its right to freely criticise the official acts of public officers was the subject of a long and earnest discussion in Congress, resulting from a publication in the *Republican* in 1826 relating to Judge James H. Peck, United States district judge for Missouri, who was afterwards impeached. The causes which led to this impeachment grew out of the trial of an action brought by the widow and heirs-at-law of Antoine Soulard against the United States concerning an old Spanish land grant. In December, 1825, the judge decided against the heirs, and they appealed. In March, 1826, Judge Peck printed in the *Republican* an elaborate opinion on the case, to which Luke Edward Lawless, the attorney for the heirs, published a respectful reply over the signature of "Citizen." Judge Peck considered this reply an act of contempt of his court. Mr. Lawless admitted the authorship of the article, and after various proceedings he was sentenced to twenty-four hours' imprisonment and suspended from practice as an attorney for eighteen months. For this the judge was impeached by the House of Representatives in May, 1830, and the trial commenced before the Senate in December. Judge Peck was defended by Mr. Mer-

dith, of Philadelphia, and William Wirt, of Virginia, the managers on the part of the House being McDuffie, of South Carolina, Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Spencer, Storrs, and Wickliffe. It was shown that the opinion of the judge was published at the request of the members of the bar and of those persons who were interested in the case, and that such publications were usual in both England and the United States; that the case before Judge Peck was a select and test cause, and an adverse decision would produce dissatisfaction in all other claimants; that the respondent considered the publication by Lawless a gross and palpable misrepresentation of the opinion of the court; that Lawless had an opportunity offered him, on his defense, of clearing himself of intentional disrespect, but had refused to answer the interrogatories of the judge, and reasserted the allegations of his publication. At the close of the trial William Wirt delivered one of the most brilliant and eloquent arguments of his whole legal career, in which he defined with great force and clearness the distinction between the liberty and license of the press. The case, which attracted national attention, resulted in the acquittal of Judge Peck by a vote of twenty-four against impeachment and twenty-one in favor of it; but Congress at the same session passed a law limiting the authority of judges, in accordance with English common law doctrine, in punishing for contempt, to cases of misbehavior in the presence of courts, or so near them as to obstruct the administration of justice, and to the official misbehavior of officers of the courts. In 1836, Luke Edward Lawless himself appeared as plaintiff in a libel suit against the *Republican*. He was then judge of the Second Judicial Circuit of Missouri, and brought suit for ten thousand dollars damages against the *Republican* for defamation of character in publishing a communication which complained of the short sittings of the court over which Judge Lawless presided. A verdict was rendered in favor of the *Republican*.

In the mean time the paper had continued to prosper and to grow in character and influence. On the 8th of January, 1827, George Knapp, who was destined to become the head of the establishment, and one of the leading citizens of St. Louis, entered the office as an apprentice to learn the trade of printing.

George Knapp was born in Montgomery, Orange Co., N. Y., on the 25th of September, 1814. In 1820 his father, accompanied by his family, removed to St. Louis, and when twelve years of age George was, as previously indicated, bound to Edward Charless, proprietor of the *Missouri Republican*, as an apprentice "to learn the art and mystery of printing." At that time Elihu H. Shepard was his guardian, and the indentures were prepared with the conditions that he was to be taught the trade of a printer, to receive "three months' day schooling or nine months' night schooling," and at the end of his apprenticeship to be given a Bible and a new suit of clothes. His apprenticeship terminated in 1834, after which he worked as a journeyman printer for nearly two years, part of the time at nine dollars per week and part at ten dollars. For many years Mr. Knapp also served as carrier of the paper, delivering it weekly and afterwards semi-weekly to the subscribers in the town, and at different periods worked as pressman and general manager of the printing department. In 1836 he was made part proprietor of the book and jobbing department, and in 1837, on the purchase of the *Republican* from Charless & Paschall, became one of the proprietors of the paper, as a member of the firm of Chambers, Harris & Knapp. In 1854, on the death of Col. Chambers, he was associated with Mrs. Chambers in the publication of the *Republican*, but in the following year purchased her interest, and having taken his brother, John Knapp, and Nathaniel Paschall into partnership, established the firm of George Knapp & Co., which still continues to publish the *Republican*.

In 1835, Col. Knapp entered the volunteer military service, in which he took a prominent part, and on the breaking out of the war with Mexico was among the first to offer his services to the government. As a lieutenant in the St. Louis Grays of the St. Louis Legion, he went to Mexico in 1846, and upon the return of the regiment to St. Louis was promoted to a captaincy, and subsequently was made lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion of the St. Louis Legion. During the civil war (in 1862) he organized the Missouri Republican Guards, composed of *Republican* employés, and became their captain.

In December, 1840, he was married to Miss Eleanor McCartan, daughter of Thomas McCartan, of St. Louis. In 1867, 1870, and 1879, Col. Knapp and family visited Europe and spent several years in foreign travel. On the occasion of the opening of the new *Republican* building, Jan. 8, 1873, Col. Knapp delivered an address, in which he briefly reviewed the forty-six years of his connection with the paper, and received the cordial congratulations of his friends. The fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into the *Republican* office (up to 1822 the *Missouri Gazette*) was celebrated on the 8th of January, 1877, by a meeting of the Merchants' Exchange, at which a portrait of Col. Knapp, painted by Maj. Conant, was presented to the Exchange. On this occasion addresses were delivered by Col. Broadhead, Governor

Stanard, Capt. Eads, and others. In the course of his address, Col. Broadhead said,—

"The career of the distinguished citizen whose portrait is before us presents an appropriate example of what may be achieved by honest industry under the benign influence of our institutions. It is a career of which any one might be proud. I have known Col. George Knapp and have enjoyed his intimate friendship for more than twenty years, and it may not be inappropriate on such an occasion as this to refer briefly to his early history. Without any adventitious aid he has attained the exalted position he now holds in this community. . . . To his ability and energy is mainly to be attributed the fact that the *Missouri Republican* is one of the best and most influential papers in America. . . . That he should take a just pride in its growing popularity and influence is not at all astonishing, and belonging as it does to the highest type of American journalism, it is a fitting monument to his ability and energy. But his connection with this journal and the signal ability he has displayed in its management does not by any means constitute the only title he has to our respect and admiration. From his early boyhood he has grown up with this city of his adoption, and there was scarcely one single enterprise which was calculated to expand her growth, to add to her wealth, to spread her commerce, which has not received an impetus from his indomitable energy in its support. He was one of those who aided more than all others in the erection of the magnificent building in which we now stand, and he has been ever ready to give a helping hand to every work which was calculated to advance the interests of this great city. Such men are public benefactors, and it is to such that the imperishable finger of art should point for the admiration and emulation of the generations that are to come after us. To say that this has been done with a master's skill in the work of genius which has just been presented to the Merchants' Exchange, is but doing simple justice to the eminent artist who produced it. As a likeness it is perfect, as a work of art it is unsurpassed, worthy alike of the author and the subject."

To Col. Broadhead's eulogium Governor Stanard added a warm indorsement of the public and private career of Col. Knapp.

"That gentleman," he said, "had been connected with the leading interests of the city for more than fifty years. For forty years he had been in a position to do as much for the weal or woe of the city as any other man. His influence as the manager of a great newspaper had always been in the right direction. He could think of no great enterprise that had not had the influence of his great newspaper and business tact. This grand Merchants' Exchange would have been ten years later in its construction had it not been for the energy and patriotism of Col. George Knapp. The construction of the great hotels had been assisted by Col. Knapp with voice and purse. He was glad that it had been in the mind of the unknown donor of this picture to make such a present during the life of Col. Knapp."

The columns of the *Republican* have been controlled by Col. Knapp, in association with Col. Chambers, Mr. Paschall, his brother Col. John Knapp, and others, since 1837, a period of more than forty-five years, and the uniform prosperity of that great journal and the steady expansion of its influence for good have been in large measure due to the wisdom and energy of the man who entered the office an humble printer-lad in January, 182[illegible]. As apprentice, compositor, carrier, editor, and proprietor, Mr. Knapp displayed an industry and a versatility of talent which must have won success in any walk of business life. In the political management of the paper his course has been marked by a manly independence and just moderation which have kept the *Republican* free from those "entangling alliances" which invariably precede the creation of a servile party or "personal" organ. Positive in his convictions, and emphatic in their expression, he thinks for himself, and never hesitates to utter his thoughts, but at the same time he always exhibits a respectful consideration for the honest opinions of others, and practices the liberal views which he has always inculcated. His almost judicial equipoise in dealing with the great questions of the day was never better illustrated than in his course during the civil war; for, while strenuously opposing the march of secession and supporting the Union with all his strength, he was none the less pronounced in his hostility to every measure which he considered an encroachment on the reserved rights of the States or the political liberties of his countrymen. The interests of St. Louis and of the State at large—material, moral, social, and educational—have uniformly commanded his earnest and enthusiastic support, and during the long period of his incumbency as senior proprietor of the *Republican*, no public enterprise that seemed worthy of it has failed to receive his liberal encouragement and aid. His large fortune, the result of many years of honest toil in various capacities, has been freely used for the promotion of the business and other interests and for the adornment of St. Louis; and now in his ripe old age, in the cheering presence of the multiplied evidences and memorials of a well-spent life, Col. Knapp continues to watch over the destinies of the great journal whose fortunes he has shared from its early youth.

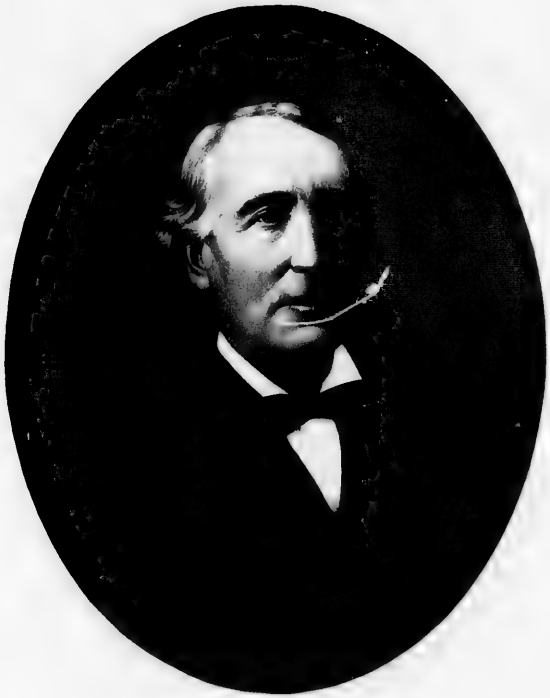
On the 28th of March, 1828, the *Republican* appeared in an enlarged form, and during the same month Nathaniel Paschall was associated with Edward Charless, the firm-name being Charless & Paschall.

The spirit of modern journalistic enterprise had existed in the office, as we have shown, from the establishment of the paper by Joseph Charless, who would have proved a formidable rival for the most energetic and aggressive editors of our own day. A strong within him was the eagerness to secure the fullest and freshest news, which is the first requisite to success in journalism. His successors, one of whom,



Stanard, Cap
his address,

"The caree
before us p
achieved by
institution
I have kn
mate frie
inappro
early hi
the exa
his ab
the *M*
pape
grov
bel
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George Peabody

own son, Edward Charless, had been trained by himself, were no less enterprising, as appears from the celerity with which President Jackson's message to Congress in 1829 was received and printed. On the 15th of December the *Republican* said,—

"Through the unexampled exertions of Messrs. Mills & Wetzell and other contractors on the route from Washington, the public have been put in possession of the President's message. It was conveyed from Washington to Cincinnati in less than fifty hours, and from Louisville to this place in forty-eight hours."

The establishment of the opposition paper had naturally caused a keen journalistic rivalry, and as Senator Benton was for some time editor of the *Enquirer*, the vials of the *Republican's* wrath were poured upon him. In February, 1828, the paper charged him with having deserted Henry Clay, for whom he had professed the warmest friendship and admiration, and with having from motives of self-interest transferred his allegiance to Gen. Jackson, of whom he had previously been "the bitter, eternal, and avowed enemy," and whom he had traduced "on every occasion, both as a gentleman and a public man." Subsequently it denounced "Benton, Birch & Co." as "vile excrescences upon the community."

No essential change was made in the paper from March, 1828, to April, 1833. On the 9th of the latter month it was announced that the *Republican* would henceforth be issued twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays, at five dollars per annum. In May, 1835, the paper was enlarged to a sheet measuring twenty-four by thirty-four inches, and on the 18th of August, 1836, it was announced that as soon as the requisite arrangements could be made the *Republican* would be issued daily except Sunday. The first number of the *Daily Republican* made its appearance on the 20th of September following. It was the same size as the tri-weekly, and the subscription price was ten dollars per annum. The publication of the tri-weekly and weekly were still continued, the subscription price of the former being five dollars, and of the latter three dollars. Of the twenty-eight columns of the daily on its first appearance twenty-five were filled with advertisements. Fortunately for the success of the experiment, the Harrison Presidential campaign of that year created a ferment of popular excitement, causing a constant demand for political news, and consequently steady sales of the *Daily Republican* for a considerable period. The paper thus became rooted in the confidence and support of the St. Louis public, and from that day to this has continued to enjoy a career of uninterrupted prosperity.

In the winter of 1837 negotiations were opened with Col. A. B. Chambers, proprietor of the *Salt River Journal*, published at Bowling Green, Mo., for the sale of the *Republican*, and soon afterwards the sale was consummated, the purchasers being A. B. Chambers, Oliver Harris, and George Knapp. The new proprietors, however, did not take charge until the 1st of July, and in the mean time (Thursday, April 20th) a new "power press" had been received. The first issue of the paper under the new management (the firm being known as Chambers, Harris & Knapp) appeared on the 3d of July, 1837. In the same number of the paper Edward Charless announced his retirement from editorial life.

"We appear before the public," wrote Charless and Paschall, "in a new character, that of visitors making a morning call, to shake hands with our friends and bid them 'good-by.' The proprietorship of this journal, and of course all interest or concern in it, passed from us, in accordance with an arrangement some time since announced, on the 1st of July. Now that we have nothing to do but to make our bow and retire, it were useless to say in parting with the tried and valued friends who have sustained and cherished us through so many years of labor and in a time of excited and tumultuous political feeling that we do so with regret." The announcement was signed by both Mr. Charless and Mr. Paschall, but the latter subsequently renewed his connection with the paper.[1]

Under the direction of the new proprietors, all three of whom were trained and practiced journalists, the *Republican* continued to thrive, and on the 2d of October an advertisement for a "local editor" appeared, indicating an expansion of editorial labor which is significant not only of the paper's growth, but of a marked development of journalistic enterprise in St. Louis. The desired local editor appears to have been secured, for on the following day were printed the

[1] Edward Charless was the son of Joseph Charless, founder of the *Republican*, and was born about 1799, in Philadelphia. He served an apprenticeship as printer in the office of the *Missouri Gazette*, and was subsequently associated with his father in the management of that paper. In March, 1822, he purchased the *Gazette* from the then proprietor, James C. Cummins, and changed the name to the *Missouri Republican*, continuing as proprietor (in company with Nathaniel Paschall from March, 1828) until July 1, 1837, when he transferred it to Chambers, Harris & Knapp. It was during Mr. Charless' management that the *Republican* became a daily, and his course as editor was uniformly marked by sagacity, enterprise, and vigor. He filled several municipal offices with credit, and was in his day one of the leading men among the public-spirited citizens of St. Louis, contributing largely, not only by the influence of his newspaper, but also by his personal exertions, to the city's industrial, social, and moral development. He died in the latter part of July, 1848, in the fiftieth year of his age.

first regular report of the proceedings of the St. Louis Court, and a full account of the running races on the previous day at the St. Louis race-course. On the 23d of December following the paper stated that "the newspaper and the book and job office of the *Missouri Republican* have been removed to the rooms over the store of Mr. P. E. Blow, 45 Main Street, adjoining the drug-store of Messrs. Charless & Blow."

The partnership of Chambers, Harris & Knapp was dissolved on the 9th of August, 1839, Oliver Harris withdrawing, and it was announced that the business would be continued by A. B. Chambers and George Knapp, under the firm-name of Chambers & Knapp.[1] This partnership continued until the 1st of January, 1840, when it was announced that Joseph W. Dougherty having become a member of the firm, the business would in future be conducted under the name and style of Chambers, Knapp & Co. At the same time the sheet was enlarged to twenty-six by thirty-eight inches. Mr. Dougherty did not long remain in the firm, and upon his retirement the name reverted to that of Chambers & Knapp.

The proprietors of the *Republican* announced on the 24th of November, 1841, that in connection with A. J. Noble, they were preparing "a complete directory of the city of St. Louis." On the 20th of November, 1843, the paper was again enlarged, its dimensions being twenty-seven by forty-six inches.

Nathaniel Paschall, who for four years had been editing the *New Era*, renewed his connection with the *Republican*, Jan. 1, 1844, and continued in charge of the editorial management until his death in 1866.

Nathaniel Paschall was born at Knoxville, Tenn., on the 4th of April, 1802. His father removed to St. Louis when Nathaniel was not quite twelve years of age, and being poor apprenticed his son to Joseph Charless, of the *Missouri Gazette*, to learn the trade of a printer. The lad applied himself to his new occupation with great industry and perseverance, and with a determination not merely to excel in the mechanical details of his craft, but to educate himself for the higher walks of journalistic life. He had attended the village school at Ste. Genevieve, where his father had been located prior to his removal to St. Louis, but his opportunities for acquiring knowledge had been very limited. To remedy this deficiency he devoted all his spare time to study, and gradually acquired such proficiency in writing that he was enabled to furnish contributions for the *Gazette*, which were accepted and printed by Mr. Charless. Before his apprenticeship had expired he had become a valued coadjutor in the general management of the paper. Gradually, step by step, he rose to the journalistic level of the proprietor, Edward Charless, who in March, 1828, associated him with himself in the ownership of the paper, the firm-name being Charless & Paschall. Besides working as a compositor and writing for the paper, Mr. Paschall operated the hand-press on which the *Republican* was printed, being assisted in his labors by George Knapp, now the senior proprietor, part of whose duty it was to ink the forms.

With practice Mr. Paschall developed into an easy and forcible writer, and the burden of his editorials was the development of the natural resources of St. Louis and the surrounding country. With an accurate perception of the conditions which are necessary to the expansion of a community in commerce and manufactures, he foresaw at a very early period that the city of his adoption was destined to become a great centre of industrial activity, and labored strenuously to impress the readers of the *Republican* with the vastness of the opportunities before them. In 1837, having secured a pecuniary competence, Mr. Paschall sold his interest in the *Republican* to Chambers, Harris & Knapp, who also purchased that of the senior partner, Edward Charless, and the firm of Charless & Paschall ceased to exist. Some years later, however, having met with pecuniary reverses, he again entered the field of journalism, and in company with Charles G. Ramsey commenced, in 1840, the publication of the *New Era*, the firm being known as Paschall & Ramsey. In 1842, Mr. Paschall, having been urged by his friends, consented to become a candidate for clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, and was elected. This was the only public office which he ever held, and it was only after much persuasion that he was induced to appear before the public as a candidate for the clerkship. In 1843 he was invited by the proprietors to return to the *Republican*, and on the 1st of January, 1844, it was announced by that paper that he had assumed the duties of associate editor; Col. A. B. Chambers being the editor-in-chief. His relations with Col. Chambers were of the most cordial and intimate character, and as an evidence of the respect which the senior editor entertained for his judgment, it is stated that Col.

[1] Oliver Harris was one of the leading journalists of St. Louis. In 1837 he removed to St. Louis from Pike County, and was associated for two years with A. B. Chambers and George Knapp in the management of the *Republican*. Subsequently he became interested in various newspaper enterprises in St. Louis, and filled the positions of clerk of one of the St. Louis courts, justice of the peace, and other offices. He then removed to Ste. Genevieve, where he published a paper and served as postmaster and magistrate. He died at Ste. Genevieve in the latter part of August, 1863.

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Nathaniel Paschall

Chambers was always in the habit of submitting his articles for the revision of his associate before putting them in type. Upon the death of Col. Chambers, in May, 1854, Mr. Paschall became chief editor, and in 1855 was admitted by the surviving partner, George Knapp, to an interest in the business, the firm becoming George Knapp & Co. Until 1866, Mr. Paschall continued to direct the columns of the *Republican*, and much of the paper's great success and popularity were due to his energetic management of its affairs, and to the wise discretion which he exhibited not only in admitting but in omitting matter. One of the chief qualities of a successful editor is the power of discriminating between what should and what should not be published, and this quality was possessed by Mr. Paschall to a pre-eminent degree. He was a born editor, keen in his appreciation of the relative value of news, and nearly always correct in his judgment as to the wisdom of a contemplated line of policy. His memory was extraordinarily retentive, and was stored with an inexhaustible fund of information. He was regarded as a living chronological table, and was consulted in the office as an index to everything that had been published in the paper. It has been asserted of him that "he was not only accurate as to dates but in respect to particular articles, whether communicated or selected, and frequently could tell not only the page and column wherein they were printed, but the kind of type they were in." There were weeks together, it is said, when he "wrote all the editorials, read, paragraphed, and punctuated the correspondence, made all the selections from the exchanges, and read the proof of his own articles." He never used spectacles, and it was only after his health had begun to fail that he could be induced to wear an overcoat.

In politics, Mr. Paschall was an earnest Whig, but never an extreme partisan, and after the dissolution of the Whig party in 1856 he supported James Buchanan, the Democratic candidate for the presidency. During the troublous period of the civil war he guided the fortunes of the *Republican* safely through the storm of internecine strife, and with a firm and unerring hand steered clear of the Scylla of extreme anti-Southern views on one side and the Charybdis of secessionist partisanship on the other. As an editor, he was the relentless foe of corruption, demagogism, and trickery in every form, and scorned to countenance, much less to advocate, a mean or ignoble act. He hated scandal, and never indulged in personalities, except where he considered it imperatively necessary. "In argument," says the *Republican* of Dec. 13, 1866, in an obituary notice of Mr. Paschall, "he hewed his path through with heavy, ponderous blows, without stopping to cull the flower of language by the wayside. He always plunged at once into the heart of the subject, and the keen blade struck home. Eminently practical in his views, he habitually looked to results. In politics he may have occasionally varied from his chosen line as the front of his antagonists changed, but this was incidental, for he was consistent as to the point aimed at and entirely faithful as to principle."

Personally, Mr. Paschall was of a kind and genial temperament, devoted to his family and friends, lenient to his subordinates, and generous to the poor. In 1864 his health began to fail, and by the advice of his friends he sought relief at different periods in visits to more Northern climates. He returned greatly benefited on every occasion, but in the autumn of 1866 he contracted a serious dropsical affection, which resulted in his death on the 12th of December, 1866. At a meeting of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, held for the purpose of taking suitable action with reference to the death of Mr. Paschall, an eminent member of the bar paid the following eloquent tribute to his character:

"It is eminently fit that the merchants and others engaged in the commerce and other business centred in this city should pay a proper tribute of respect to the worth and memory of Nathaniel Paschall, a citizen of the Territory and State of Missouri for a half-century, and during nearly forty years of that time associated in the management and editorial conduct of one of the oldest and most widely circulated newspapers in the city and the great West. Mr. Paschall early became intimately and closely identified with all the great interests of commerce, manufactures, and other enterprises in which the people of this city and State have been concerned. His career of manhood, it may be said, commenced about the time of the organization of our State government. Possessed of a vigorous and active intellect, with habits of rare industry and stubborn perseverance, he seemed to have nerved himself in early life to the task of developing by his pen the material resources and wealth of the great West, and of pointing out in particular the advantages of the local situation and commercial facilities of St. Louis. In all that tended to promote the growth and prosperity of his adopted State, in all that tended to enlighten and elevate the character and promote the interests of its people, in all that tended to inculcate learning and to extend its influence to the masses, in all that tended to improve and strengthen the moral and social condition of his fellow-citizens, and especially in all that tended to promote the immediate interests, whether of trade, manufactures, or what not, of the people of St. Louis, Nathaniel Paschall, 'in season and out of season,' was, during nearly the whole of his active life, an earnest, enlightened, diligent, and faithful worker; therefore the tribute of respect, the expression of regard, and the words of sympathy and consolation expressed in your resolutions emanate with peculiar fitness from this chamber.

"Thirty-two years since I became acquainted with Mr. Paschall, and in those thirty years I learned much of his character, of his principles, and of his habits of thought; in short, we often came in contact in the political strifes of the day, as well as in the social circle, in such a way as to become well acquainted with each other.

"The respect which I entertained for the deceased, which grew up and strengthened as time passed on, prompts me on this occasion to unite my personal tribute with yours to his memory. There are others surviving Mr. Paschall in this city who knew him longer and more intimately than myself. There are a few—alas! how small the number—venerable men in our midst, some of these merchants who have lived in St. Louis during the whole period that the deceased made this city his home and field of duty. To such of my fellow-citizens, and to others who have been residents here even twenty or twenty-five years, many pleasant memories will spring up in connection with your acquaintance with the deceased, and your sympathies and sorrows, I feel assured, are this day in unison. Doubtless in due time the life and character of the deceased will by fit eulogy be carried down to posterity. This duty will not be expected of me on this occasion, nor am I competent for it. I may, however, with propriety speak of some few of the prominent characteristics of our deceased friend. To say he was a remarkable man is but a feeble expression, and no expression at all of his real character and merit. The mention of the prominent traits of his character, of his habits of thought, and of his practical life will develop the thought to which, in a few words, I desire to direct your attention. I think I do not misstate the fact when I say that Mr. Paschall did not in early life have the advantage of academical and collegiate study and discipline, but he supplied the place of these by an assiduous, earnest, and patient self-culture. He was truly a student, and a faithful one, from early youth to old age. Few men there are within the circle of my acquaintance who have studied and read books to better or as good profit and advantage as he. But with him it was not much reading that he sought to accomplish. He reflected upon and mastered his reading, and treasured up in memory the rich fruits of his study and labor. His memory was a vast store-house, not of frivolous or useless lumber, but of substantial, useful, and valuable facts, gathered from books, newspapers, and from observation. As a writer, and especially as a writer for a leading business as well as political news journal, Mr. Paschall had few equals and probably no superior in this country. The evidence of this was seen in the editorial columns of the *Missouri Republican* during the last quarter of a century. To the business men of this community I need not say that whenever he discussed any question touching the commerce, the manufacturing interests, or any subject connected with the prosperity or material interests of this city, Mr. Paschall was always comprehensive, clear, vigorous, and pointed. He was never misinterpreted, but always understood. He possessed peculiar aptness to grasp subjects connected with the business interests of the community. So too it was in his discussions of political topics. Though an earnest partisan the greater portion of his editorial life, he was nevertheless capable of sinking the mere partisan and dealing with political subjects with the open dignity of a far-seeing statesman. This made him, as he undoubtedly was during the last twenty-five years, a leader in political journalism. His varied resources, garnered in his vast store-house of memory, enabled him to take the lead in the discussion of subjects, and to develop and illustrate them before his readers with rare ability, and the productions from his pen rarely failed to command the attention of the reading public. Passing from these considerations, I desire, in conclusion, to say a word in respect to the social qualities and relations of the deceased. That he was unselfish, generous, and magnanimous all will bear witness who knew him well and had intercourse with him. Unostentatious in his demeanor, retired and domestic in his habits, he moved evenly and quietly in his course of life, and day after day and year after year he returned to his accustomed task and labored with untiring zeal that never flagged, not to enrich himself, not for personal aggrandizement, not for political emoluments or the honors of office, but for the great industries of the State of Missouri, for the advancement of commerce, of science and literature, and above all for the great interests and good of his fellow-citizens of St. Louis."

In 1832, Mr. Paschall was married at Springfield, Ill., to Mrs. Martha E. Edgar (widow of Gen. Edgar), who died about 1859, leaving a family of four daughters and two sons.

At the time of Mr. Paschall's return to the office the paper was increased in size to twenty-eight by forty-eight inches.

Another signal exhibition of the *Republican*'s enterprise was given in December, 1844, in printing the President's message. In its issue of December 10th it stated that the message was delivered on Tuesday, reached Cincinnati on Friday afternoon by special express to the *Cincinnati Gazette*, was put in type there, and copies dispatched to Louisville by steamboat. Thence it was conveyed to St. Louis "by Mr. Frost, of the Eastern Stage-Coach Line, by express," and delivered at one o'clock Monday, the whole distance between Washington and St. Louis being performed, including stoppages, in a little over six days. Taking into consideration the difficulties and uncertainties of Western travel at that time, the feat was one on which the *Republican* might well congratulate those who were concerned in its execution. The first number of the twenty fourth volume of the daily issue appeared on the 1st of July, 1845, on which occasion the editors remarked with pardonable pride that "it" (the *Republican*) "may claim to be one of the monuments of the past, as it has 'grown with the growth and strengthened with the strength' of the city, and is in every way identified with its history." It also congratulated itself upon the fact that for nearly twenty years it had been neither the recipient of the patronage nor the favorite of the United States government, yet nevertheless had won its way "to a position which we have no disposition to exchange or relinquish for any other." On the 26th of January, 1846, the public was informed that the *Republican* printing-office had been removed to "Chestnut Street, No. 16, southwest corner of the alley between Main and Second," and that the counting-room was situated on the ground-floor fronting on Chestnut Street.

Steam was introduced as the motive-power of the *Republican* press in February, 1846. In the issue of the 9th the editors said, "We present the readers of this morning's *Republican* a paper printed by the agency of the steam-engine," and added, "This is the first instance in the city, and we believe the first

west of the Mississippi, of the application of the steam-engine to printing purposes."

By means of a "special and extraordinary express for the *St. Louis Republican*," the President's message of December, 1846, was received in four days from Baltimore, and printed in the issue of December 14th, the time consumed being less by half a day than that of any previous performance of the kind. This feat, however, on which the *Republican* plumed itself at the time, was cast into the shade by the transmission and publication of the message in December of the following year. The message was telegraphed from Philadelphia (whither it had been conveyed by government express) to Vincennes, Ind., and was conveyed from that point to St. Louis by express, specially arranged for by the *Republican* with Eastman's line of stages. The time occupied in its transmission from Washington to St. Louis was three days, and the *Republican* declared the performance to be "the most magnificent enterprise of the age." On its arrival in St. Louis the message was placed in the hands of the compositors, and in two hours and a half was in type. A few minutes later it was printed and in circulation. On the same night it was "forwarded to subscribers all over Missouri and Illinois, and extras were printed for offices in both States, and sent off in like manner during the night." The *Republican's* success naturally aroused the jealousy of its contemporaries, and compliments of a doubtful character were promptly exchanged between the rival journals. The completion of the telegraph to the east bank of the Mississippi, in the latter part of December, 1847, did away with the advantage secured by organizing special expresses, and placed the newspapers of St. Louis more nearly on a par with respect to the facilities for procuring news. The competition between the *Republican* and its rivals was very keen about this time, and the *Union* having claimed a larger circulation, the proprietors of the former paper offered (in March, 1847) bets of fifty dollars each that the daily, tri-weekly, weekly, and combined subscriptions of the *Republican* were greater respectively than those of the *Union;* also fifty dollars more that the *Republican* subscription doubled that of the *Union*. Three days later the *Republican* demanded the verdict of the public in its favor, as "our neighbors of the *Union* have very handsomely backed out from our proposed bet as to the circulation of our respective papers."

The first regular issue of the *Sunday Republican* appeared on the 3d of September, 1848. It was "sent forth as a sample, without charge, and as only an imperfect earnest of what the Sunday morning edition will be." The subscription price was two dollars per annum, and single copies were sold for five cents. The publication of the Sunday edition elicited an earnest protest addressed to the publishers against its continuance, in which the subscribers expressed their deep regret "that a journal of such deservedly high standing should lend its influence, not by arguments, but something far more powerful, its example, against the proper keeping of that holy day," and requested a discontinuance of the Sunday paper. The protest was signed by "Very respectfully, your friends and patrons," John Simonds, John S. Thomson, T. B. Butcher, D. J. Hancock, Burtis & Brother, G. A. Humrickhouse, William Finney, Archibald Gamble, J. S. McCune, J. Spalding, R. P. Perry, George Myers, S. M. Tibbits, J. W. Hall, D. T. Wheeler, Sinclair Curtley, James E. Yeatman, Doan, King & Co., Edward J. Gay, George K. Budd, B. B. Hanenkamp, Asa Wilgus, H. D. Bacon, B. H. Randolph, E. F. Pittman, A. M. Rucker, William T. Christy.

Messrs. Chambers & Knapp replied, thanking them "for the kindness manifested" in their communication, but declining to comply with their request.

On the 17th of May, 1849, the office and fixtures of the *Republican* were destroyed in the great conflagration of that year, but on the 21st a sheet somewhat reduced in size was printed, and on the 10th of June the paper reappeared in its former shape. The building thus destroyed occupied a front of eighteen feet on Chestnut Street, with a depth of one hundred and twenty-seven feet. The front or corner room on the ground-floor was occupied as the counting-room, in which were kept the files of the paper. The latter, fortunately, were rescued from the flames, together with the books and accounts of the firm. The office of the *Republican*, after the fire, was temporarily established in the buildings afterwards occupied by the *Leader*, "where the cholera shortly after raging, our editor was forced to remove his desk to the adjoining billiard saloon." On the 5th of August the *Republican* announced that its office had been removed to the new four-story building on the corner of Chestnut and Third Streets, the counting-room being "the first door on Chestnut below the corner," and the editor's quarters "the corner room up-stairs." Immediately after the fire, one of the proprietors being in the East at the time, a new press from the manufactory of R. Hoe & Co. was purchased and shipped to St. Louis, where it arrived on the 5th of June. Owing to the derangement of the new machinery, no paper was issued for city circulation on the 9th, but on the 10th the *Republican* appeared, as stated, in an enlarged form, with new type from the St. Louis foundry of A. P. Ladew & Co.

At different periods the *Republican* published evening editions. On the 15th of April, 1849, it informed its readers that "on Monday evening, and thereafter so long as the river remains open," it would issue an evening edition, which would contain, in addition to the news published in the morning, all the important news that might arrive by mail or otherwise up to the hour of publication. Similar notice was given March 16, 1851, the *Republican* stating that it would issue an evening edition every day in the week, Sundays excepted, during the season of navigation, "in time for the packet and other boats leaving for the upper and lower river." On the 16th of July, 1861, the *Republican*, to satisfy the popular thirst for war news, announced that it would thenceforward issue an afternoon edition.

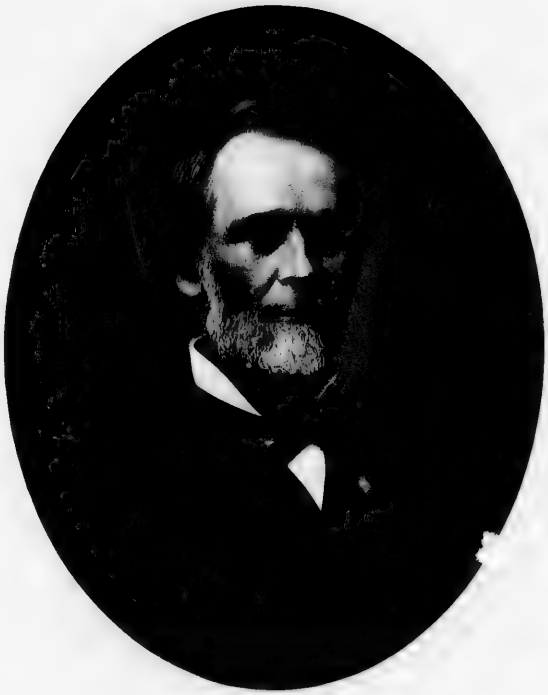
A new building five stories high was erected on the site of the burned structure, "on Chestnut Street between Main and Second, on the alley," and was occupied on the 1st of January, 1851. Its dimensions were forty-six feet eleven inches front on Chestnut Street by seventy feet deep on a twenty-foot alley. The basement was occupied as a press-room, and contained two Hoe presses, and the ground-floor was used for a store and the counting-room of the paper, business offices, etc. The second story was used, the eastern half for law offices, and the western half for editors and reporters and for an engraving establishment. On the third floor were the *Republican* bindery and composition-rooms, and the fourth and fifth floors were devoted to the *Republican* book and job office. The building, which was a very handsome and imposing edifice, was designed by Brewster & Hart, architects, and the contractor was Lloyd Jeter. After its removal into the new building the paper continued to flourish, and from time to time additional enlargements were rendered necessary. In January, 1854, the size of the sheet was thirty-three by fifty-six inches. The paper remained in the hands of Chambers & Knapp until the latter part of May, 1854, when the partnership was dissolved by the death of Col. Chambers.

A. B. Chambers was born in Mercer County, Pa., on the 9th of January, 1808, and settled at Bowling Green, Pike Co., Mo., in 1829, with but seventy-five cents in his pocket. He had studied law, and in order to obtain a license it was necessary that he should attend court at Fayette. One friend loaned him a horse and another the money needed to defray the expenses of his journey. He was admitted to the bar, and very soon took rank as a lawyer, both in civil and criminal cases. His success was very rapid, and while still a young man he contributed largely to the growth of the town in which he had located, "building good houses, encouraging schools, aiding worthy young mechanics, counseling students, etc." He also devoted much of his time to agricultural pursuits, especially the rearing of good stock. In 1832 he volunteered as a member of the company from Pike for the Black Hawk war, and served during the expedition to the Des Moines as quartermaster. On returning home he was elected to the Legislature, and soon afterward was appointed prosecuting attorney for the county, retaining the position until 1836, when he was again elected a member of the State Legislature. In 1833, in conjunction with Oliver Harris, he had established the *Journal* newspaper at Bowling Green, and conducted it successfully until 1837, when he removed to St. Louis, and with Mr. Harris and George Knapp assumed the management of the *Republican*. As an editor, Col. Chambers displayed qualities of a high order. He was a man of deep and strong convictions, and fearless in the expression of them; but his impulses were kindly and generous, and in all the various relations of public and private life he steadily maintained the character of a pure and thoroughly honorable man. He was untiring in the discharge of his journalistic duties, and in the trying crises of pestilence, fire, and flood with which St. Louis was visited during the period of his editorial management he exhibited conspicuous courage and lofty devotion to duty. During the cholera epidemic he served as a member of the St. Louis Board of Health, and was unremitting in his labors throughout that frightful period. As part proprietor of the *Republican*, he was closely and prominently identified with all the projects which arose from time to time for the improvement of St. Louis in commerce and manufactures, and everything calculated to add to her wealth and population and the intelligence and refinement of her inhabitants. He died on the 22d of May, 1854.

The interest of Mr. Chambers in the *Republican* became after his death the property of his widow, who with the surviving partner, George Knapp, conducted it until the 19th of May, 1855, when she sold her interest to George Knapp, who assumed all the liabilities of the establishment under the firm-name of George Knapp. On the 7th of August following George Knapp announced that he had admitted his brother, John Knapp, and Nathaniel Paschall "as partners in the publication of the *Missouri Republican*," and that thenceforth the business would be conducted under the style of George Knapp & Co.

Col. John Knapp, who thus became a member of the firm, and is now one of the principal owners as





John Knapp

the active business manager of the *Republican*, has been in charge of the business department of the paper for nearly twenty-nine years, covering the period within which the greatest development of the paper and of the city of St. Louis has occurred. Although not a native of St. Louis, he is among the oldest residents, not more than a dozen others having lived in St. Louis for a longer period.

Born in the city of New York, June 20, 1816, he arrived in St. Louis early in 1820, his father and mother removing to the city in that year, when it was little more than a country village. Within the sixty-three years of Col. Knapp's residence, St. Louis has increased its population fully a hundredfold, and during this period, which comprises the entire history of St. Louis as a city, the name of John Knapp has been intimately associated with nearly every enterprise that has contributed to its development. For fully half a century he has borne an influential and busy part in all the projects which have combined to make the city what it is. His father dying in 1823, Col. Knapp was at an early age thrust single-handed into the battle of life, and in 1825, when he was only nine years old, went to a farm near Bluffdale, Ill., to do what a boy could to earn his living. Remaining there nearly six years, he returned to St. Louis in March, 1831, and was apprenticed to Samuel Willi to learn the tailoring business, in which he continued until May 17, 1849, eighteen years in all. During the year 1837 he traveled through Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee, teaching an improved system of cutting. Stopping at Jackson, Tenn., in January, 1838, he purchased a tailoring establishment in that place, and remained there until February, 1839, when he returned to St. Louis, and formed a partnership with James Shea, which lasted until the great fire of 1849, which destroyed the greater portion of the business district of St. Louis, including the establishment of Knapp & Shea. Col. Knapp then sold his interest to Mr. Shea, and soon after established himself in the wholesale grocery business in partnership with William Low. In December, 1852, he purchased the interest of Mr. Low, and continued the business until October, 1854, when he purchased an interest in the *Republican* newspaper, to the business of which he has given his exclusive attention since that date.

Col. Knapp owes his military title to long and active service in the militia of Missouri, in the course of which he has had a great deal that has been more than mere holiday duty to perform. Starting as a private in 1840, he remained in the military service of the State for more than a quarter of a century, passing through every grade up to that of regimental commander, to which he was twice commissioned. His connection with the service did not terminate until the disbanding of the volunteer militia during the war. He was among the volunteers who formed the St. Louis Legion at the breaking out of the Mexican war, and went to Mexico as captain of Company C of the First Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, leaving St. Louis May 23, 1846. He was also in command of the First Regiment of Missouri Militia, which formed the bulk of the battalion sent to the southwest frontier of Missouri in the fall of 1860, at the time of the Kansas "Jay-hawk" troubles, and again in 1861 had command of the same regiment as lieutenant-colonel at Camp Jackson, Col. A. R. Easton, the colonel of the regiment, not being present at the camp. Col. Knapp was among the prisoners taken when the camp was seized by Capt. Lyon, and after the disbanding of the old volunteer militia, which resulted from this seizure, he was appointed colonel of the Eighth Regiment of Enrolled Missouri Militia by Governor Gamble, and later colonel of the Thirteenth Provisional Regiment by Governor Hall. Still later he was appointed aid on the staff of Governor Hall, whom he accompanied, with the brigade of enrolled Missouri militia, in pursuit of Gen. Sterling Price, at the time of the famous raid through Missouri in 1864.

Col. Knapp married Miss Virginia Wright, a native of St. Louis, April 22, 1844. His wife, three sons, and three daughters are all living.

The year 1856 was the most prosperous the paper had known thus far, the advertising patronage being double that of 1854, and the circulation much larger than ever before. In 1857 the chief editor was Mr. Paschall, who was assisted by nine persons, being the associated editor, one commercial editor, one monetary editor, a river reporter, two local reporters, one stenographer, and two assistants. The paper also employed reporters and correspondents stationed at London, England, New York, Springfield, Ill., Independence, Mo., San Francisco, and other points. The press-room was supplied with two power-presses,—Taylor's double cylinder and Hoe's single cylinder,—the two being capable of printing at least six thousand copies per hour. On the 12th of July, 1858, the *Republican* recorded the fact that it had completed half a century of existence. During this period it had successively advocated the Republicanism of Jefferson and the Whig doctrines of Henry Clay, but it now floated the Democratic flag, with J. Richard Barret for Congress.

In 1862 the military spirit invaded the *Republican* office, and a company of militia known as the Missouri Republican Guards was formed on the 5th of Sep-

tember of that year. It was composed of the employés of the various departments, and numbered one hundred and ten men. The officers were:

George Knapp, captain; George W. Gilson, first lieutenant; George W. Purnell, second lieutenant. Non-commissioned officers: William H. Wells, first sergeant; Robert E. Craig, second sergeant; Aubert H. Haggerty, third sergeant; Philip F. Coghlan, fourth sergeant; Robert McKenna, fifth sergeant; George Clark, first corporal; Frank Glickert, second corporal; W. H. Woodward, third corporal; John F. Fraser, fourth corporal.

In April, 1864, a new "No. 3 eight-cylinder rotary fast printing machine," manufactured by R. Hoe & Co., and capable of printing twenty thousand copies an hour, was placed in the *Republican* press-room. It was thought at the time to be the climax of printing machinery, but in 1872 it was found inadequate to the demands of the *Republican's* vast circulation, and an improved Bullock and a Walter press, the latter then recently invented, were purchased and used for the first time on the 27th of October. Their capacity together was about twenty-seven thousand copies an hour. In May, 1879, a new machine, manufactured by R. Hoe & Co., and capable of printing, folding, pasting the backs, and cutting the ends of thirty thousand eight-page papers in one hour, was set up in the press-room.[1]

Mr. Paschall, who had so long been the guiding head of the editorial department, died, as previously stated, on the 12th of December, 1866, and William Hyde, who had joined the staff as a reporter, was promoted to the chief editorship.

Previous to the death of Mr. Paschall, the owners of the *Republican*—George Knapp, Nathaniel Paschall, and John Knapp—had formed a joint-stock company for convenience in the transaction of business. After Mr. Paschall's death his son, Henry G. Paschall, took his place as director, and soon afterwards Mr. Hyde, the chief editor, was admitted to an interest in the company. On the 19th of January, 1869, William Homes, of the editorial staff, died in New Haven, Conn.[2]

On the evening of May 24, 1870, the *Republican* office on Chestnut Street, between Main and Second, was again destroyed by fire, the loss being estimated at one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, of which one hundred and six thousand five hundred dollars was covered by insurance. For the second time the files of the paper from 1808 were saved. The eight-cylinder Hoe press was destroyed, together with the type and fixtures, but a four-cylinder Hoe press was protected in a fire-proof vault and saved, so that the paper was only forced to suspend publication for a single day. A temporary two-story brick building was erected on the site of the burned structure, and on the 30th of May an office was opened at 319 Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth. The size of the paper was curtailed for some days, but on the 1st of June it reappeared in its old shape, being printed on the four-cylinder press on the site of the old building.

About the same time the proprietors effected the purchase from James Archer, through Messrs. Belt & Priest, of a lot on the southeast corner of Chestnut and Third Streets, upon which they determined to erect a fire-proof building.[3]

On the 9th of December, 1872, the *Republican* announced the removal of its business office to the new building, which had not then been completed, nor were the arrangements of the establishment "fully made in any department." The paper, however, had been issued from the new structure for about six weeks previous, the first publication having been made on the 27th of October. The appearance of this

[1] In its issue of May 7, 1879, announcing the arrival of the new Hoe press, the *Republican* gives an extended account of the presses used at different periods in printing the paper from its foundation. Its description of the earlier presses may be summarized as follows: The press used in printing the old *Missouri Gazette* from 1808 to 1822 was the first press built west of the Mississippi River, and was one of the kind then known as the Ramage press. It was hard work for two men to print seventy-five copies on one side in an hour. The next press was the Stansberry patent lever, with a capacity for printing two hundred and forty papers an hour on one side. It was followed by the Washington press, with which a good workman could print three hundred sheets in an hour, and in 1837 by an Adams power press, capable of printing eight hundred sheets, one side, an hour. To this succeeded in 1843 a single-cylinder Hoe, in 1853 a double-cylinder Hoe, and in 1858 a four-cylinder Hoe. In 1864 an eight-cylinder Hoe was purchased, as stated above.

[2] Mr. Homes was born in Boston on the 6th of February, 1820, and removed in 1843 to St. Louis, where he labored for several years as a Presbyterian minister. In 1856 he joined the editorial staff of the *Republican*, remaining about a year and a half, when he resigned to accept the position of attorney for the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Company, having in the mean time studied law. In 1864 he went to California, Arizona, and Mexico on mining business, and supplied the *Republican* with letters descriptive of the customs, life, and resources of those regions. After an absence of two years he returned to St. Louis and resumed his editorial connection with the *Republican*. In 1868, however, failing health compelled him to withdraw from journalistic labor, and his death resulted in January of the following year. He was a graceful, scholarly, and forcible writer, and one of the ablest of the many brilliant journalists who have been employed by the *Republican*.

[3] On the 27th of July, 1870, occurred the death of William Fowler, who had been connected with the paper for twenty-three years as foreman of the composing-room. He was a native of Staffordshire, England, fifty-seven years of age, and had worked at the "case" with Horace Greeley.

number was signalized by a change from the folio or blanket sheet to the quarto form. The quarto sheet then had six columns to a page, but in 1874 its size was increased by the addition of one column to the page, making an eight-page paper with seven columns to the page. The new building was completed and regularly occupied for the first time on the 8th of January, 1873.

The new building thus "inaugurated" is one of the largest and finest newspaper establishments in the United States, and, in fact, in the world. It stands on a lot fronting eighty feet on Third Street, and extending back one hundred and ten feet on Chestnut Street. It is five stories high above the pavement, the distance from the sidewalk to the crest of the dome being one hundred and twenty-five feet, and is in the Renaissance style of architecture. Both fronts are of Missouri iron manufactured in St. Louis, and the sides are of hydraulic-pressed brick, the walls being of great thickness. The basement walls are of heavy stone, and the lathing used for the ceilings and inside finish of the walls and partitions is of iron. The main stairway ascending from Third Street to the fifth story is also of iron, and the floors are of hard pine laid on fire-proof cement, thus making the whole structure as nearly as possible fire-proof. The building is lighted by handsome windows of plate-glass, and the interior finish and fittings of the establishment are of a superior character. The basement, which covers the entire lot, is twenty feet in height, and is roofed with brick arches sustained by iron girders. It is occupied by the engine and presses used in printing the *Republican*, the paper store-rooms, and the mail department. The first floor is used for offices and for the counting-room and private apartments of the proprietors, George Knapp & Co. The second, third, and fourth floors are rented for offices, with the exception of one room on the fourth floor, which contains a large and carefully selected library for the use of the editorial staff of the paper. The fifth floor is monopolized by the various departments of the paper, including the editors' rooms, composition-room, proof-room, etc., and the communication between this portion of the building and the ground-floor and basement is by means of both stairways and elevators. Notwithstanding the fact that the building is regarded as fire-proof, an iron tank, capable of holding twenty-six thousand gallons of water, has been placed on the roof, and is kept constantly full in case of sudden emergency, the supply being obtained from a spring in the basement by means of pumps. The water thus obtained is conducted by pipes to every story in the building. The interior finish is all of hard wood, nearly all of black-walnut and white-ash, and the building is complete in all its appointments. The architects were Walsh, Smith & Jungenfeld.

In addition to this magnificent edifice, the *Republican* has an office on the grounds of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association, where it keeps open house every year during the fair season. Perched upon the top of the flag-staff is the armorial emblem "which the *Republican* was assigned by the universal voice of the Whig party in the existing Presidential election of 1840," a coon *couchant*, which since the days of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" has been the central figure of the *Republican's* escutcheon. The figure was wont to adorn the top of the lofty smoke-stack that towered above the old *Republican* building, destroyed by the fire of 1870. Though temporarily cast down by that event, it was not long before the "old coon" occupied the accustomed place on the smoke-stack at the temporary building which was speedily raised above the old.

After a career of more than seventy years the *Republican* is as lusty and vigorous as when in its early youth it was guided by the keen eye and steady arm of Joseph Charless, the pioneer of American journalism west of the Mississippi, while its circulation, prosperity, and influence have increased to enormous proportions. It is now one of the leading journals of the country, and in the intelligent treatment of contemporaneous topics, in the collection and handling of news, and in the advocacy of great enterprises affecting the growth and well-being of the United States, especially those which immediately concern St. Louis, it is always to be found in the foremost rank, but always controlled by that spirit of conservatism and prudence, united with great energy and lofty courage, which has been the guiding star of its course from the very beginning, on the turbulent currents and over the dangerous rapids of its infancy as well as on the smoother waters of its green old age.

In politics the *Republican* has always been a recognized power, not only in St. Louis and Missouri, but throughout the West. In its earlier days it was the consistent and fearless exponent of the principles of Thomas Jefferson, but when the Whig party became prominent before the country it transferred its allegiance to Henry Clay, and was the pronounced and unequivocal antagonist of Thomas H. Benton and his following. From 1830 to 1855 it ranked among the most influential organs of the Whig party, but repudiated Locofocoism and Know-Nothingism, and in the disintegration of parties caused by the slavery agitation the *Republican* gravitated towards Democracy. In 1856 its vast political influence in the

West was given to Buchanan, but during the Presidential struggle of 1860 it espoused the cause of Stephen A. Douglas, and notwithstanding the opposing influence of the Buchanan administration and the efforts of Senator Green, Missouri, largely through the untiring exertions of the *Republican*, was carried for the "Little Giant of the West." During the civil war, while opposing all secession tendencies, the *Republican* consistently antagonized all measures of doubtful constitutionality on the part of the Lincoln administration, and it was owing chiefly to its utterances and influence, steadily and persistently exerted, that the "bolt" in the Republican party which led to the election of B. Gratz Brown as Governor was organized and consummated. In 1872, the year made memorable in political annals by the Greeley fiasco, it advocated a passive policy on the part of the Democratic party, and since that disastrous campaign, while adhering to the principles of the national Democracy, it has practiced entire independence of party control, approaching more nearly to the ideal of a liberal and honest party journal than almost any other newspaper in the country. Its identification with the development of St. Louis and Missouri has from its earliest days been so thorough and so complete that many years ago the *Gazette* and *Republican* came to be household words, and its own prosperity and growth represent step by step the prosperity and growth of the great city whose interests it cherishes and promotes to the fullest extent of its influence and power. The publishers are still the venerable firm of George Knapp & Co., with Henry G. Paschall, son of Nathaniel Paschall, so long the editor and part proprietor of the *Republican*, as cashier, and William Hyde as editor-in-chief.

Mr. Hyde's full name is William Elisha Hyde, but thirty years ago, preferring a single patronymic, he dropped the middle name, and has since been known as William Hyde. He was born at Lima, near Rochester, N. Y., Aug. 27, 1836. His father was Elisha Hyde, at that time a teacher in Genesee College or Seminary, a native of Connecticut, and a lineal descendant of William Hyde, of Norwich. His mother's maiden name was Amanda N. Gregory, of Ithaca, N. Y., where she was born. She is now Mrs. Edward W. West, and resides at Belleville, Ill. William Hyde was the eldest son. Two of his brothers are dead and one living, and his elder sister is the wife of William H. Barnum, one of the judges of the Chicago Circuit bench. The other sister is single. He has also a half-brother and a half-sister, the latter married.

Mr. Hyde's father was an educator by profession, and never followed any other pursuit. He was a classical scholar, and very proficient in the higher branches of mathematics. His mother was also for a long time a teacher, a woman of extraordinary mental vigor and acquirements. His education, therefore, was largely obtained from his parents. His father, always of a restless nature, caught the California fever of 1849, and soon after his mother resumed teaching in Belleville, where the family then resided. William, though a mere youth, undertook to learn the drug business, in which he remained for a year or more, when he obtained a situation as teacher of a country district school. Afterwards he attended McKendree College, where he remained two years. Subsequently, in 1853–54, he attended law lectures at Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., under Marshall, Robertson, and Wickliffe, noted jurists of those days, his license to practice being granted by Judge Marshall. He never practiced law, however, or established an office for that purpose. The Kansas-Nebraska excitement arising, Mr. Hyde, who was an ardent admirer of Stephen A. Douglas, wrote editorial articles for the *Belleville Tribune*, and finally took a partnership in the concern. During the Presidential campaign of 1856 he conducted the *Sterling* (Ill.) *Times*, and in November of that year cast his first vote for the Democratic nominee, James Buchanan. Leaving the *Times* he went to the State capital, with the view of becoming a candidate for clerk of the House of Representatives, the Democrats being in the majority, but instead accepted the offer of the *St. Louis Republican* to make him its Springfield correspondent during the session. He also enjoyed the emoluments of a committee clerkship. This was in 1857. In the fall of that year he was employed by Mr. Paschall to conduct the city department of the *Republican*. Having a strong liking for political writing, and the *Republican* being then an enthusiastic supporter of Stephen A. Douglas, he frequently contributed editorial articles, in addition to his duties as local reporter. It was in this way that in 1860 he became an assistant editor, taking charge of the exchanges, doing the clippings, and writing editorial paragraphs. The war revolutionized the newspaper business; more help was needed. Mr. Paschall, who had led a very active life from boyhood, was gradually declining in health. He liked Mr. Hyde, who was devoted to him and to the interests of the paper, and who studied his methods and tried to become the practical editor that he was. From about 1865 the details of the editorial management have been under Mr. Hyde's supervision, subject to the directions of Col. George Knapp, and on

the death of Mr. Paschall, in 1866, Mr. Hyde succeeded to the chief editorship.

On the 4th of June, 1866, Mr. Hyde married Miss Hallie Benson, then residing with her family in Toronto, Canada. She is a native of Missouri, born in 1847, and with the exception of a few years, when she was a child, and a few months when she lived in Canada, St. Louis has always been her home. Her father is James L. Benson, who has for many years been engaged in the official inspection of flour in St. Louis. Her mother is the daughter of Col. Blakey, formerly a prominent Democratic politician of northern Missouri.

Mr. Hyde is a Master Mason and a member of "the Elks," the only two secret societies he ever belonged to, and is connected with several social clubs. He has never been a candidate for any political office, and never desired to hold one. He has served as delegate at large from Missouri to two National Democratic Conventions and as a member of several State Democratic Conventions. He took a prominent part in what is known as the Missouri passive policy, by which the State was restored to the Democracy, was a pronounced Tilden man in the canvass preceding the nomination in 1876, and as the champion of Tilden for 1880, received one hundred more votes in the State Convention for delegate at large than Senator Vest, one of the most popular men in Missouri.

Perhaps the most romantic incident of Mr. Hyde's life was the balloon voyage with Professors Wise and Lamountain and O. A. Gager, on the 1st and 2d of July, 1859, from St. Louis to Henderson, Jefferson Co., N. Y., which voyage was made between seven o'clock in the evening and two o'clock next day, the balloon passing over the whole length of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario.

Mr. Hyde is still in the full vigor of his powers, and is justly regarded as one of the ablest journalists in the country. Added to a ripe experience in the service of the *Republican*, he possesses a clear analytical judgment, a rich store of general information, exhaustless energy, and intense devotion to the interests of the paper. Under his able management the *Republican* continues to enjoy undiminished the respect and confidence of the community, and its columns daily bear witness to the fact that Nathaniel Paschall has found a worthy successor in William Hyde.

The Western Journal was the second newspaper established in St. Louis, and had its origin in a movement headed by Maj. William Christy, William C. Carr, and others who were dissatisfied with the political course of the *Missouri Gazette*, then edited by its founder, Joseph Charless. A fund of one thousand dollars was raised for the purpose by these gentlemen, and the publication of the *Journal* was commenced in 1815, with Joshua Norvell as editor. In 1816 its name was changed to the *Emigrant*, and Sergeant Hall became the editor. In 1818 the *Emigrant* was purchased by Isaac N. Henry, Evarist Maury, and Col. Thomas H. Benton, the firm being Isaac N. Henry & Co., and the name was changed to the *St. Louis Enquirer*. For some years Col. Benton was the chief editor. In 1820, William Henry died and Mr. Maury withdrew, whereupon Patrick H. Ford took possession of the office for Col. Benton, the surviving proprietor. Mr. Ford retired in October, 1824, and died in January, 1826. He was succeeded by Gen. Duff Green, afterwards editor of the *United States Telegraph*, who purchased the establishment. In 1825, Gen. Green retired, and the paper was transferred to Charles Keemle and S. W. Foreman, the latter of whom had removed a small printing-office from St. Charles to St. Louis. In February, 1826, Mr. Keemle withdrew, and Mr. Foreman then associated James E. Birch with himself in the management of the *Enquirer*. During the same year the material of the *Enquirer* was sold under a deed of trust from Duff Green to Col. Benton, and was purchased by L. E. Lawless. Mr. Lawless then became the editor, and Charles Keemle the printer of the paper. In 1827 the establishment again became the property of Charles Keemle, who, with Charles Orr, transformed the paper into the *Beacon*, which expired in 1832.

Col. Charles Keemle, for many years a prominent journalist of St. Louis, was born in October, 1800, in the city of Philadelphia. His grandfather was a physician, who had emigrated from Amsterdam and settled in Pennsylvania. His father was a skillful mechanic, yet devoted only a small portion of his life to that pursuit, but as a commander of trading vessels spent most of his time upon the rivers and the ocean. His mother died in the city of Norfolk, Va., when he was but six years of age, and he was placed in charge of an uncle until he was nine years of age, and then was put to learn the printing business in the office of the *Norfolk Herald*, where he remained until 1816.

On leaving the office of the *Norfolk Herald*, at the suggestion of Dr. Jennings, of Norfolk, who had a brother residing in Indiana, he determined to go to Vincennes, Ind., and there establish a paper. Accompanied by a fellow-printer, he started for his future destination, where he arrived March, 1817, having performed that portion of the journey between Baltimore and Pittsburgh on foot. On March 14th the first number of the *Indiana Sentinel* was issued by Dillworth & Keemle.

Subsequently young Keemle removed to St. Louis, and entered the office of the *Emigrant*, afterwards merged into the *St. Louis Enquirer*. The continued confinement beginning to tell on his constitution, he gave up the printing business in August, 1820, and engaged as clerk to the American Fur Company. The company started from St. Louis, September, 1820, and spent the winter in trading successfully with the Kansas tribe of Indians. In 1821, Mr. Keemle was selected by Maj. Joshua Pilcher to make one of a company of fifty-four, carefully picked for the occasion, to penetrate to the Rocky Mountains, to trade with the Indians who inhabited those wilds. The party started from Fort Lisa, in the vicinity of Council Bluff, and after some perilous adventures arrived at the mouth of the Yellowstone. Here they commenced trading with the Crows, who inhabited that country, sending out in all directions experienced hunters and trappers, that they might obtain as large a quantity of beaver-skins as possible. Mr. Keemle acted as agent and clerk of the expedition, and for three years suffered the hardships incident to living and trading in the remote wilderness.

While in these remote regions he narrowly escaped a murderous attack by an overwhelming number of Indians. The two leaders of the expedition, Immell and Jones, fell early in the engagement, and the command devolved upon Mr. Keemle, who ordered the men to fight while retreating from ravine to ravine. After a conflict of eight hours, they succeeded in driving off their enemies with considerable loss. The little party suffered severely, having had ten killed, nine wounded, and one missing. They afterwards reached a Crow village, and having constructed boats, arrived safely at the mouth of the Yellowstone.

Col. Keemle remained connected with the company until 1825, when he returned to St. Louis, and again engaged in the printing business. He was associated with five or six newspaper enterprises, none of which had a permanent existence, but during their time were the organs of the Democratic party.

In 1839, Col. Keemle was married to the only daughter of Thomas P. Oliver, and had a family of three children. He possessed in a high degree the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and was offered several honorable positions. In 1839 he was nominated for mayor, but declined running, and when Gen. Harrison became President he received the first appointment made by him in Missouri, that of superintendent of Indian affairs for Missouri. In 1840 he received the appointment of Secretary of the Interior, and under Gen. Taylor's administration that of Indian agent for the entire Platte River district, both of which he declined.

His last newspaper connection was with the *Reveille*, which at one time was a bright and flourishing journal. Col. Keemle was elected recorder of deeds for St. Louis County in 1855, and retained that position for six years. The last years of his life were spent in the quiet of his home on Compton Hill, St. Louis, where he died on the 28th of September, 1865, mourned by a host of friends as a man of rare and genial qualities, and by the community at large as a useful and public-spirited citizen.

St. Louis Herald.—A paper called the *Herald* was established in 1820, but had a brief existence, and in 1834 another paper of the same name—the first daily issued in St. Louis—was published by Treadway & Holbrook, but soon suspended.[1] Another *Herald* was established by Warren Woodson in 1840, and still another by Russell S. Higgins and Philip G. Ferguson in 1852. Mr. Higgins had already become well known as the editor of the *People's Organ*, but had sold his interest in that journal to Anderson & Staley. Subsequently Staley disposed of his interest to Edmund Flagg, and the firm became known as Anderson & Flagg. The latter finally retired, and the paper was managed by Anderson alone, who merged it into the *Price Current*. The first number of the new *St. Louis Herald* made its appearance on the morning of Dec. 20, 1852. It was sixteen and one-half by twenty-three inches in size, was conducted with ability and spirit, and was published at five cents per week. On the 4th of July, 1854, it was enlarged to a sheet of twenty by twenty-seven inches, and the price of subscription was increased to ten cents per week. Among the regular contributors to the paper were Mr. Allen, the well-known financial editor of the *St. Louis Republican*, and Thomas Gales Forster, a spiritualist, and afterwards editor of the *Boston Banner of Light*. On the 18th of November, 1853, James L. Faucett joined the staff of the *Herald*, and some nine months later purchased the interest of Mr. Higgins. The paper was now published by Ferguson & Faucett. The change of proprietorship was signalized by another enlargement of the sheet, which was increased to twenty-one and one-half by thirty inches. The publication of a Sunday edition of the *Herald* was also commenced. On the 11th of April, 1855, the fifth volume was [illegible] and on this occasion the

[1] Richard M. Treadway, one of the firm had been foreman of the *Republican* composing-room. After the suspension of the *Herald* he went to Alton, Ill., where he published the *Alton Telegraph*. He died in Alton in 1837, at the age of thirty-three years.

paper appeared for the third time in an enlarged form. It continued to grow until on the 31st of March, 1857, its size was increased to twenty-four by thirty-six inches. On the 3d of July of this year, Mr. Faucett purchased Mr. Ferguson's interest, and thus became the sole proprietor and editor. In 1858 the *Herald* was printed at No. 24 Market Street, between Main and Second Streets. Attached to the regular publishing establishment was a job office under the charge of E. H. A. Habicht.

The St. Louis Leader was a daily, tri-weekly, and weekly Democratic journal, which was published at No. 48 Third Street, corner of Pine. It had its origin in a religious paper of the same name published in the interest of the Catholic Church, and which had been established early in 1855. The founders of this journal had made proposals to Dr. J. V. Huntington, then editor of the *Baltimore Metropolitan Magazine*, who was visiting St. Louis by invitation of the Catholic Institute as a lecturer, to aid them in establishing a Catholic journal. Satisfactory arrangements having been effected, subscriptions were raised and paid over to Dr. Huntington, who was recognized as both proprietor and editor of the new journal. The first number of the *Leader* appeared on the 10th of March, 1855, and the publication was continued regularly until the summer of 1856, when Dr. Huntington determined to take part in the political campaign of that year. In order to do this more effectively he established, on the 1st of July, 1856, the *Daily Evening Leader*, which warmly espoused the Democratic cause. The weekly was also continued in its original form. At that time the *Evening Pilot*, established June 25, 1854, was the recognized Democratic organ of the city; but such was the success of the *Leader* that early in the fall Charles L. Hunt entered into an arrangement with the proprietors of the *Leader* and *Pilot*, which resulted in the purchase of the *Pilot*, the consolidation of the two interests, and the establishment of a new daily morning paper, which retained the name of the *Leader*, John V. Huntington and Charles L. Hunt becoming its joint proprietors. The first number of the new daily was issued on the 13th of October, 1856. It was recognized at once as the regular organ of the Democratic party. The editors were Dr. Huntington and William Seay. The *Sunday Leader*, a literary edition of the paper, was established in the spring of 1857, under the editorial charge of Donald McLeod. In the fall of this year, Mr. Hunt having purchased the interest of his partner, Dr. Huntington, became sole proprietor, and in February, 1858, placed the *Leader* under the charge of Edward W. Johnston; Mr. Seay retaining his post as political editor. Mr. Johnston had previously been connected with the *National Intelligencer*, the *Richmond Whig*, and the *New Orleans Crescent*. The paper, which had been a quarto, was transformed into a folio, and in its new shape enjoyed a greatly increased prosperity. Four editions were published,—daily, Sunday, tri-weekly, and weekly. In 1858, Mr. Johnston bought the paper, and Messrs. Hunt and Seay withdrew. The *Leader* then became independent in politics, and about two months after its purchase by Mr. Johnston suspended publication. Johnston was one of the most brilliant and effective writers ever employed on the St. Louis press, and for some years was prominently connected with the Mercantile Library. He was highly educated, and died in 1867, deeply regretted.

The St. Louis Times.—There have been four newspapers established in St. Louis with the name of *Times*. The earliest of these was founded in June, 1829, by Stine & Miller. While Democratic in tone, the paper was violently opposed to Senator Thomas H. Benton, then the acknowledged leader of the Missouri Democracy. S. W. Foreman was the editor. In 1830, Mr. Stine retired, and the paper passed into the hands of T. J. Miller & Co., the "company" being Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, better known as "the Alton martyr," who withdrew from the paper in February, 1831. Mr. Lovejoy's interest was purchased by J. L. Murray and R. K. Richards. Finally, in 1832, the paper was sold under legal process. Charles Keemle purchased the plant, but allowed the paper to expire.

The Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, owing to his extreme abolition principles, passed through a stormy career, ending in death at the hands of the Alton mob. During his connection with the *Times* he gave the paper a strong abolition bias. He was of the Presbyterian faith, and in 1833 or 1834 started a religious paper in St. Louis, called the *St. Louis Observer*. This journal was so strongly tinctured with the editor's political views that both he and his paper became exceedingly obnoxious to the people, and in June, 1836, a small mob visited the office of the *Observer*, upset the press, and threw the type into the street. Subsequently Rev. Mr. Lovejoy took his press and type and went to Alton, Ill., but his character as an agitator having preceded him, a party of Alton citizens on his arrival cast both press and type into the Mississippi. On giving a pledge that he would confine his journalistic work exclusively to religion, Mr. Lovejoy was permitted to revive his paper and publish it there under the title of the *Alton Observer*. For a while he kept his pledge, but finally disregarded it and renewed the publication of aboli-

tionist arguments. Again his office was raided, and the press and type thrown into the Mississippi. A new press was ordered, and on the citizens of Alton declaring it could not be landed, some of Mr. Lovejoy's political friends armed themselves and attempted to guard it. A riot ensued, in which a citizen and Lovejoy were killed and others wounded.

Another paper appeared April 3, 1850, under the title of the *St. Louis Times*. It was Democratic, and was published daily, weekly, and tri-weekly. Judge Walker, formerly of the *New Orleans Delta*, was editor, and Mr. McFarland, also a journalist, was associated with him. During the first month of its existence A. H. Buckner became the editor. In a few months, however, the paper became embarrassed, and was purchased by W. B. Foster, and John Loughborough became editor, *vice* Buckner, retired. In January, 1852, Mr. Foster associated with him William R. Price. In October of the same year the *Union* was absorbed, and the two were published as the *St. Louis Times*, by Philips, Price & Norris. Mr. Foster having previously sold his interest to Mr. Price. This is the last account we find of it.

In September, 1858, still another *St. Louis Times* was started, but seems to have had a very brief existence.

The fourth and last *St. Louis Times* was established in July, 1866, and its career affords one of the most interesting chapters in the history of St. Louis journalism. Its founders were D. H. Mahoney, Stilson Hutchins, and John Hodnett, all of Iowa, where Hutchins had made a notable record as a State-rights Democratic editor. The design was to establish a paper more aggressively Democratic than the *Republican* was supposed to be. The paper was intensely Southern in tone. Under the management of Hutchins, who was the editor, it soon became an influence, and was recognized as one of the most sprightly papers St. Louis had ever had. Still it suffered from the lack of sufficient funds (the original capital was only six thousand dollars), and the early files show a good deal of crudeness. In December, 1867, Mahoney withdrew and returned to Iowa, and in 1869 Maj. Henry Ewing, of Tennessee, bought a third interest. His money put the paper fairly on its feet, and it prospered to such an extent that in July, 1872, Hutchins sold Ewing his interest for the handsome sum of one hundred thousand dollars. Ewing died in 1873, and a new management succeeded, with C. A. Mantz as president. Prominent in the combination was also John Hodnett and the Hon. G. B. Clark, who, however, soon retired. Maj. C. C. Rainwater then went into the company. In June, 1874, Frank J. Bowman and the Hon. Celsus Price obtained a controlling interest, and put Col. E. H. E. Jamieson in charge. Col. Jameson was soon afterwards succeeded by Mr. Hutchins.

On the 5th of June, 1875, Senator Celsus Price entered the *Times* office and took possession of its entire management, conferred upon him by a vote of the directory, Charles A. Mantz and Estill McHenry having voted to remove Mr. Hutchins and place Mr. Price in control. The finances of the paper went on from bad to worse, and ultimately, in July, 1875, D. C. Stone sold out the concern on a deed of trust for one hundred and thirty-one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars to Col. John T. Crisp, a well-known politician, who reinstated Hutchins, under whose management affairs revived. Among those associated with him were R. H. Sylvester, a forcible writer; Maj. John N. Edwards, now of the *Sedalia* (Mo.) *Democrat*; and Walter B. Stevens, now the capable city editor of the *Globe-Democrat*. J. H. Lambert, formerly of the *New York Sun*, was also a writer on the paper. The *Times* was distinguished for its clear and forcible utterances, and it performed especially able work during the Presidential campaign of 1876; but various circumstances conspired to prevent a repetition of the early financial success. The concern was continually embarrassed, and in May, 1877, B. M. Chambers, a banker, having purchased the property at public sale for fifty thousand dollars, assumed control, and displaced Mr. Hutchins, who announced his intention of commencing the practice of law.

Mr. Chambers appointed R. H. Sylvester managing editor, Edward Willet political editor, W. B. Stevens city editor, J. H. Carlin assistant city editor, and C. S. Fisher business manager. Chambers' money kept the paper afloat until November, 1878, when a partnership was formed with Walcott & Hume, who were then conducting the *Journal*, and from Nov. 16, 1878, to Oct. 23, 1879, the paper appeared as the *Times-Journal*. Hume became the editor of the combination, and Walcott the business manager.

The *Journal* originated with the *Handles-Zeitung* (progenitor of the *Age of Steel*, as mentioned in the history of that paper), which was established in 1858. It became the property of Walcott & Hume, who called it the *Journal of Commerce*, and projected a daily evening edition. The *Daily Journal*, thus established, was under the management of Mr. Hume, a forcible writer.

In 1879 the *Journal* was sold, subject to a first mortgage of fifteen thousand six hundred dollars, which was given June 1, 1877, bearing interest at the rate of nine per cent., with H. L. Sutton as trustee

to John E. Lawton, representing Williamson, Stewart & Co., wholesale paper dealers. Previous to this transaction the *Journal* had been published in connection with the *Dispatch*, and subsequently it was incorporated with the *Times*, and the paper was known as the *Times-Journal*, as stated above. In politics it was independent.

In July, 1879, Chambers, who owned three-fifths of the stock (then rated at one hundred thousand dollars), placed A. S. Mitchell, formerly of the *News* and *Intelligencer*, etc., in charge of the *Times-Journal*, and advertised the paper for sale. Walcott & Hume took legal steps against Chambers' proceedings.

In August, 1879, Chambers sold the paper to Dr. James P. Beck, of St. Louis, who assumed the indebtedness and mortgages, some fifty thousand dollars in all, and continued Mitchell as manager and editor, but Walcott & Hume's vigorous opposition disheartened him, and he threw the paper back on Chambers' hands. The *Times-Journal* was then in debt to the extent of fifty thousand dollars.

Finally, in October, 1879, Chambers disposed of the paper to J. H. R. Cundiff, then a resident of St. Joseph, Mo., but now of the editorial staff of the *St. Louis Republican*, who dropped *Journal* from the title and made the paper unequivocally Democratic, and so conducted it through the Presidential campaign of 1880, when, becoming persuaded that he could not longer sustain the paper, he made arrangements with the *Republican* to print it, his intention being to fulfill his contracts and discontinue the enterprise.

John Hampton Roads Cundiff was born in Hampshire County, Va., Nov. 20, 1832. His parents, Layton S. and Hannah Cundiff, emigrated west, and settled in Buchanan County, Mo., in 1840. When James was fourteen years of age his father returned on a business trip to the East, where he died. His paternal grandfather was a descendant of a French Huguenot family, and his grandfathers on both sides served in the Revolutionary army. His early educational advantages were limited, owing to the lack of proper facilities in the neighborhood, and at the age of fifteen he apprenticed himself to the printing business. On reaching his majority he began the publication of a country newspaper at Parkville, Mo. He was moderately successful, but disposed of the property in 1854. During the same year, in conjunction with P. S. Pfouts, he purchased the *St. Joseph Gazette*, which was then a weekly paper. In 1857 they began the publication of a daily journal, the first in St. Joseph and the first in Northwestern Missouri. In June, 1861, he joined the Confederate army under Gen. Sterling Price, and served throughout the war, beginning as a private and advancing by successive promotions to the rank of colonel, and taking part in a number of battles in Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri. In 1865 he went to Mexico, and was occupied some time in farming in the State of San Luis Potosi. In 1866 he obtained a position with the Imperial Railway Company, operating a road between the cities of Mexico and Vera Cruz. He remained in this capacity until August, 1867. In June of the following year he returned to St. Joseph, and revived the *St. Joseph Gazette* where it had been left in 1861. Although the enterprise was undertaken without capital, it proved so successful as to make the paper worth twenty-five thousand dollars, for which it was sold in 1873. Mr. Cundiff was elected clerk of Buchanan County Circuit Court in 1874, and served a number of times on the Democratic State Central Committee. On the 11th of October, 1855, he married Miss Cecilia E. Keedy, daughter of Dr. Daniel G. Keedy. He is now one of the valued members of the *Republican's* staff, and is widely recognized as a vigorous and brilliant writer.

Under the agreement made between Mr. Cundiff and the proprietors of the *Republican* in 1879, the *Times* was printed with the *Republican's* forms, and was in fact the *Republican*, except in name. Chambers objected to this proceeding and sought to enjoin, but the application was refused by the court, and Frank J. Bowman, the lawyer, who owned twenty-eight thousand dollars of Chambers' notes, secured by mortgage on the paper, placed a trustee in possession of the concern, had a receiver appointed (Charles Green), and procured an order for a sale of the paper under foreclosure. The sale took place Feb. 8, 1881, and the paper was struck off to Mr. Bowman for twenty-four thousand five hundred and fifty dollars. The check for the purchase-money was given by George Knapp & Co., proprietors of the *Republican*, for which paper the sale was a decided victory, as it removed effectually from competition the only important Democratic rival it ever had.

Thus ended the checkered career of the *Times*. The amount of money lost in conducting it has never been definitely ascertained, but it must have been a very large sum. Stilson Hutchins was practically the creator of the *Times*. He was born in New Hampshire in 1838, was partially educated at Boston, and attended Harvard University for a season, but did not complete the course. When but sixteen years of age he contributed to the *Boston Post*, *Boston Herald*, and other journals. In 1855 he went West, and conducted the *North Iowan* with such ability that in

1859 he was induced to take charge of the *Journal* at Des Moines, but public sentiment induced by the war rendered his State-rights views unpopular, and he was forced to dispose of his interest in that paper. Soon afterwards he assumed the control of the *Dubuque Herald*, the oldest and most influential Democratic paper in the State, and his vigilance and courage during the crucial years of the war made him nationally famous. In 1865 he retired from this paper, and the next year assisted in establishing the *St. Louis Times*. The paper, as already stated, had not much money, but Hutchins' energy and ability made up for the lack of it. For months his labors were of the most exhausting character, for much of the time he was editor, business manager, pressman, solicitor, and reporter, but his ability and untiring energy soon met with proper appreciation, and the *Times* made money very fast. In 1872 he was elected to represent the Sixth District of St. Louis in the Legislature, and was prominent as a debater in that body. In January, 1873, he bought a controlling interest in the *St. Louis Dispatch*, but it was not a paying investment. In the winter of 1875 he resumed control of the *Times* again, and for some months managed both the papers personally. Finally he sold the *Dispatch*, and concentrated his efforts on the *Times*. In 1874 he was again elected to the Legislature. In 1877 he left St. Louis to assume the editorship of the *Washington Post*, which position he now occupies.

As a writer, Mr. Hutchins is clear, humorous, and incisive, with a tendency to irony and sarcasm of the keenest sort. He is rapid and fecund in composition, and his energy and versatility are shown in his labors during the early years of the *Times*. He possesses social qualities of a high order, and he has many devoted friends in St. Louis, but his aggressiveness made him many enemies, and to this fact must probably be attributed much of his want of success during the later years of his residence in that city.

Maj. Henry Ewing, proprietor of the *Times* after the first withdrawal of Stilson Hutchins from the management, died on the 13th of June, 1873. He was born in Nashville, Tenn., in 1841, and was the son of Orville Ewing. The family was one of the most influential in Tennessee. In 1863 he was married to Emma, daughter of E. T. Burr, of Batesville, Ark. When the war broke out Maj. Ewing espoused the side of the South, and served with gallantry and distinction during the war. He was a member of Gen. Zollicoffer's staff, and was by the side of that officer when he was killed at the battle of Mill Springs. He also took part in the battles of Shiloh and Corinth, and was afterwards assigned to duty on the staff of Gen. John S. Marmaduke, and participated in all the important engagements in the Trans-Mississippi department until the close of the war.

After the capture of Gen. Marmaduke he became Gen. Fagin's chief of staff, which was the last position he held in the army. At the close of the war he returned to Nashville and established the wholesale grocery-house of Ewing & Co., which is now one of the most extensive in the South. In the fall of 1869 he removed to St. Louis and bought a third interest in the *Times*, Stilson Hutchins and John Hodnett owning the other two-thirds. In August, 1872, he bought Mr. Hutchins' interest, and subsequently held the controlling interest in that paper.

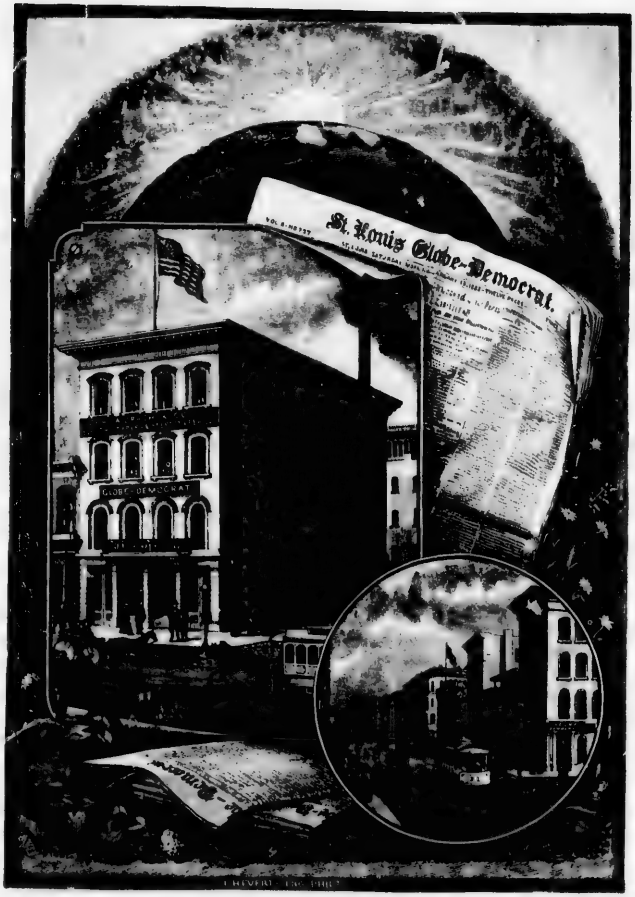
The Globe-Democrat originated with the *Democrat*, which, in turn, was the descendant of the old *Argus* and the *Signal*, both of which were conducted by William McKee. The *Argus* was originally the *Workingman's Advocate*, a Democratic paper established in 1831 and afterwards sold to Bowlin & Mayfield, who transformed it into the *Argus*.

Mr. Bowlin was for a long time judge of the Criminal Court of St. Louis County, and was also minister to Paraguay. Early in 1838 the *Argus* became a daily, having passed through the hands of Messrs. Mayfield, Lawhead & Corbin. It was now the property of the Messrs. Watson, who were compelled to suspend in November, 1839. On the next day Andrew Jackson Davis became the proprietor, and made William Gilpin editor. In June, 1840, Mr. Davis was killed in a street encounter with W. P. Darnes. An article reflecting on young Darnes had appeared in the *Argus*. It was written by Gilpin, the editor, and Darnes informed Davis that he would hold him personally responsible in the future for like publications. He was also severe in his strictures on Gilpin, and the latter wrote an even more bitter article, which was published; whereupon Darnes, having purchased a small iron cane, hunted up Davis, and assaulted him in such a manner that he died a day or two later. Darnes was tried, convicted of manslaughter, and fined five hundred dollars. A. R. Corbin succeeded Davis as proprietor, and associated with him R. S. Higgins, John Quigley, and William Corse. In December, 1841, Mr. Corbin announced the failure of the *Argus*, which passed into the hands of Shadrach Penn,[1] a prominent Louis-

[1] Shadrach Penn, Jr., was born in Maryland, near Frederi[ck]. While he was quite young his parents removed to a farm i[n] the interior of Kentucky. When he became of suitable age h[e] commenced learning the art of printing, showing as an appre[n]tice that remarkable vigor of style and fondness for politi[cs] writing for which he was afterwards distinguished. He w[as]



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ville journalist, who revived it as the *Missouri Reporter*, which soon became an influential journal. Samuel Treat, afterwards the well-known jurist, was one of its editors.

Mr. Penn died June 16, 1846, and the paper was then sold to L. Pickering, who changed its name to the *Union*. It finally drifted into the hands of Richard Phillips and then into those of William McKee, then publishing the *Signal*, a Free-Soil paper, who merged both papers into the *Missouri Democrat*, one of the progenitors of the *Globe-Democrat*.

The *Signal* was the successor of the *Barnburner*, the first Free-Soil paper in Missouri, which was established in 1849 by William McKee, Hudson E. Bridge, O. D. Filley, John How, John M. Krum, Alfred Vinton, Edward Walsh, and others who were opposed to the extension of slavery. Its editor was Francis P. Blair. In less than three months its publication was discontinued, but in 1850 it was succeeded by the *Signal*, published by William McKee and William Hill, which advocated the same views. In 1853, Messrs. McKee & Hill, having purchased the *Union*, merged the two papers, as stated above, into the *Missouri Democrat*. The *Democrat* had been established in the interest of Col. Thomas H. Benton and the Free-Soil wing of the Democratic party. It was published from August, 1852, up to March 12, 1853, when it was incorporated with the *Union* and *Signal*, retaining its own name. Francis P. Blair was the chief editor, as well as one of the proprietors, and his principal associates and successors were B. Gratz Brown, afterwards Governor of Missouri, Peter L. Foy, and W. S. McKee, a cousin of William McKee.[1]

Published in a slave State, and antagonized by a powerful and energetic political element, the *Democrat* passed through a long and arduous struggle for existence, but William McKee, to whom the general management of the paper was intrusted, succeeded in keeping it alive and in paying off, in 1859, the last installment of the indebtedness to Richard Phillips, incurred in the purchase of the *Union*. In 1860 the paper was completely out of debt and enjoying a fair measure of prosperity. The *Democrat*, which had been an enthusiastic advocate of Col. Thomas H. Benton for Congress, and had also supported the administration of President Buchanan, gradually drifted into the ranks of Republicanism, and during the campaign of 1860, and throughout the agitated period which succeeded it, up to the breaking out of the civil war, preserved a bold and consistent attitude in opposition to secession and in defense of the Union. Associated with Mr. McKee in the management of the *Democrat* was George W. Fishback, originally its commercial editor and afterwards a general contributor to the editorial columns, who had purchased an interest in the establishment in January, 1857. About the same time B. Gratz Brown became part proprietor, but his interest was subsequently transferred to Mr. Fishback. Mr. Blair and Mr. Brown both severed their connection with the paper in 1865, and Daniel M. Houser purchased a one-sixth interest, the firm becoming McKee, Fishback & Co. During the civil war the *Democrat* was the steady and unequivocal supporter of the administration at Washington, and of its war measures in Missouri and elsewhere.[2]

The *Democrat* had to face not only the rigid surveillance of the military authorities and the hostility

frequently left to manage the editorial department of the paper with which he was connected as an apprentice before he was twenty-one years of age. The Hon. John J. Crittenden and other gentlemen of the legal profession gave him the use of their libraries, from which he stored his mind with useful knowledge, being especially devoted to such as related to the science of government. At last he undertook the editorial management of a political paper in Georgetown, Ky., and soon became celebrated as a political journalist. After the slaughter of the gallant Kentuckians at the river Raisin, he volunteered as a private in common with many of his friends, and was with Governor Shelby during the campaign on the Northwestern frontier, which was terminated by the victory at the river Thames. He was at that battle, being then, however, under the immediate command of Col. Simrall.

At the close of the war he engaged for a short time in mercantile affairs, but soon returned to his favorite pursuit, the management of a Democratic journal. He was the first editor who predicted that Gen. Jackson would be elevated to the Presidency, and as early as 1819 wrote an elaborate article on the subject, urging the claims of the hero of New Orleans. Although there were only a few in Kentucky who were prepared at that time to support Gen. Jackson in preference to Mr. Clay, yet Mr. Penn hesitated not to endanger his private interests and the popularity of his journal by declaring boldly for him and persevering in his support until the close of his administration.

During the violent struggles in Kentucky on the relief questions Mr. Penn opposed the relief party, assailing with great vigor the new court, stay laws, two-thirds laws, replevin laws, the Commonwealth Bank, etc. Eventually he saw the principles for which he contended triumph over his frequently victorious opponents.

During Gen. Jackson's administration, at the earnest solicitation of the then President, he remained at Washington during the famous panic sessions, contributing greatly by his able articles, published in several Democratic papers, to the success of the administration. He was a zealous supporter of President Van Buren's measures of public policy, and labored assiduously for the election of President Polk. Subsequently he removed to St. Louis, established the *Missouri Reporter*, and died while editing it.

[1] William S. McKee died Oct. 13, 1854.

[2] At the beginning of the war one of the principal editors of the *Democrat* was A. H. Lewis, who died Sept. 25, 1862.

of the Southern sympathizers of St. Louis and Missouri, but also the aggressive rivalry of an opposition journal, conducted by persons, some of whom had formerly been members of its own staff. In 1862 the *Union*, a loyal conservative paper, which had its origin in the Blair-Fremont difficulty, was established in opposition to the *Democrat*. Gen. Francis P. Blair having procured the removal of Fremont from the command of the Missouri Department, the anger of the *Democrat* was aroused, and that paper commenced a war on Gen. Blair, who was at the time an owner of some of its stock. The breach that occurred resulted in the establishment of the "Union Newspaper Company," embracing such names as those of Francis P. Blair, O. D. Filley, John How, Barton Able, and other prominent Union men. P. L. Foy was the editor-in-chief, A. W. Alexander was a leading editorial writer, and Col. William Cuddy was managing editor. It subsequently became what was then locally known in Missouri politics as the organ of the "Claybank" party, while the opposition were stigmatized as "Charcoals." The *Union* made an energetic fight against the Fremont Republicans, and was the first paper in the West to advocate Mr. Lincoln for the second term to the Presidency. The *Democrat* kept at its masthead John C. Fremont for the Presidency, in opposition to Lincoln, and affiliated with the Germans in sending delegates to the Cleveland Convention, where Fremont was put in nomination; but subsequently the *Democrat* transferred its allegiance to Lincoln, and was recognized as the leading Lincoln organ, while the *Union* appeared to be ignored. After one or two changes in its struggle for existence, the *Union* was purchased by a company composed of Mr. Colburn, Charles P. Johnson, James Peckham, E. B. Thomas, and others. The name was changed to that of the *Dispatch*, and the time of issuing from morning to the afternoon. After many vicissitudes the paper was absorbed into the present *Post-Dispatch*.

In 1872, Mr. Fishback, having become dissatisfied with the management of the *Democrat*, endeavored to purchase the interest of the other partners, McKee and Houser. At that time one-half of the stock was owned by Mr. McKee, one-third by Mr. Fishback, and one-sixth by Mr. Houser. McKee and Houser refused to sell to Mr. Fishback, nor would they purchase his interest at the price demanded. Thereupon Mr. Fishback, in order to procure a settlement of the matter, took the necessary steps for the appointment of a receiver and the dissolution of the partnership by the Circuit Court. A notice was then served upon McKee and Houser, in which Mr. Fishback declared that the partnership was dissolved. On the 22d of March, 1872, the *Democrat* was sold by order of the court, and a newspaper of the 23d gives the following account of the transaction:

"In compliance with the order of Judge Madill, of the Circuit Court, the *Missouri Democrat* newspaper, together with all its appurtenances, presses, subscription-lists, engine, type, cases, leases of office building, good will, etc., was sold yesterday to George W. Fishback, one of the proprietors, for the sum of $456,100. By the terms of the court's order the bidding was restricted to the partners themselves, viz.: William McKee, owning one-half; George W. Fishback, owning one-third; and D. M. Houser, owning one-sixth. The sale was simply an equitable transaction to adjust and close up a partnership which the partners had failed to settle by their own efforts. The terms of the sale were one-half cash, one-fourth in three months, and one-fourth in six months. The sale took place at the office of Irwin L. Smith, one of the counsel of McKee and Houser. The partners were attended by their counsel,—S. T. Glover and H. N. Hitchcock for Fishback, and Samuel Knox and Irwin L. Smith for McKee and Houser,—together with William E. Burr, president of the St. Louis National Bank; A. G. Edwards, United States assistant treasurer, and Gen. J. S. Fullerton, as friends of Fishback; James Richardson, W. H. Benton, and Henry T. Blow, friends of McKee; and Constantine Maguire, Thomas Walsh, and ex-Collector Harris, friends of Houser. Theophile Papin acted as auctioneer. The first bid was made by Mr. Fishback at $100,000, to which Mr. McKee responded with one for $150,000. The third bid was $175,000, and the fourth $200,000, and then the bids were an increase of $5000 up to $330,000, when they dropped first to $1000, then to $500, and at last to $100. Seventy-five were made at the latter figures, Mr. McKee's last bid being $456,000, and Mr. Fishback's the purchasing price. The sale will be formally completed on Monday, and Mr. Fishback will then take possession of the office and property. This is the first direct public sale of a large and established newspaper that has taken place in this country for many years, and the price paid affords some information of the cash value of such a journal. It has been held a difficult matter to accurately estimate the worth of such an institution, on account of the varied properties that make it up. The actual material in the *Democrat* establishment would be valued at a comparatively small proportion of the price which the journal has just sold for; but this material comprises only a small proportion of the real value of the establishment. The attributes of age, established character, political views, advertising patronage, public influence, and subscription-lists all grouped usually under the head of 'good will,' constitute the substantial elements of value in an established journal. They are of a moral nature, and to a certain extent indestructible. The *Democrat* has its own share of the valuable elements, and they represent a large proportion of the handsome price for which the paper was sold. Notwithstanding rumors to the contrary, we understand that the political complexion of the *Democrat* will remain unchanged, and that it will continue to give a cordial support to the administration of President Grant. Mr. Fishback is an experienced and accomplished journalist, who has had a connection with the *Democrat* for nearly eighteen years; he will therefore be perfectly at home in his position as sole proprietor. Mr. McKee and Mr. Houser, in retiring from the profession, will bear with them the cordial good will and esteem not only of journalists, but of all citizens who have had personal acquaintance with them."

George W. Fishback, who thus became sole proprietor of the *Democrat*, was born at Batavia, Clermont

Co., Ohio, on the 3d of December, 1828. His father emigrated from Virginia to the southern portion of Ohio when it was almost a wilderness, and commenced the practice of the law, which he pursued with success for thirty-five years, being at one time a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. George W. Fishback was educated with a view to becoming a lawyer at College Hill, Ohio, and graduated at that institution. He then removed to St. Louis, where he became successively commercial editor, editor, and joint proprietor, and finally sole proprietor of the *Missouri Democrat*. As a writer, Mr. Fishback was both trenchant and witty, and in the early days of the *Democrat* contributed largely to its success.

After the purchase of the *Democrat* by Mr. Fishback, a stock company, with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars, was formed, Mr. Fishback retaining a controlling interest. The remainder of the stock was distributed among W. P. Fishback and Otto H. Hasselman, previously of the *Indianapolis Journal*, R. Holmes, J. B. McCullagh, and other persons connected with the editorial and business departments of the paper.

Messrs. McKee and Houser, unwilling to remain inactive, determined to establish another daily newspaper in St. Louis, and on the 18th of July, 1872, appeared the first number of the *Globe*, which soon became a formidable rival of the *Democrat*. The publication office of the new paper was on Third Street, between Pine and Chestnut Streets. The political convictions of the *Globe* were expressed in the declaration "that in the prevalence or overthrow of Republican principles is wrapped up the thrift and glory or the ruin and disgrace of the American people."

The paper was conducted with marked ability, and was successful from the start. Its editor was Charles R. Davis, who died on the 20th of July, 1873. Mr. Davis was born Dec. 24, 1826, in New London, Conn. By persistent endeavor he was enabled in 1849 to enter Marietta College, Ohio, and graduated at that institution in 1854. He removed to St. Louis in 1857, and commenced his journalistic career as a reporter on the *Democrat*. Several years later he became one of the editorial writers, and subsequently managing editor of that paper, with which he remained until the *Globe* called him to its editorial chair.

In the fall of 1873, J. B. McCullagh, one of the principal writers for the *Democrat*, left that paper to become the managing editor of the *Globe*, and the competition, which had been close and eager from the outset, was now intensified. In January, 1874, the *Globe* purchased the *Staats-Zeitung* from Joseph Pulitzer, and thus secured valuable press franchises.

It soon became apparent that one of the two papers must succumb unless their interests were united. The latter course was decided upon, and on the 18th of May, 1875, negotiations for their consolidation, which had been pending for some time, were consummated by the purchase of the *Democrat* by McKee & Houser, for three hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. The *Globe* and *Democrat* were then merged into one paper with the name of the *Globe-Democrat*, which was issued in the form of a quarto. The *Globe* had already supplanted the *Democrat* in the favor of the Republicans of Missouri, and had taken a leading position among the journals of the Mississippi Valley. The consolidation, however, greatly strengthened its resources and extended its influence, and the new paper soon acquired a vast circulation. At that time more than one-half the people of Missouri and nearly one-half the people of Illinois differed from it in political sentiment, and its conspicuous success from the beginning and the extensive circulation which it speedily secured in both States are therefore all the more remarkable. Among Mr. McCullagh's early associates in the editorial management of the paper were John A. Dillon (who subsequently established the *Evening Post*), George W. Gilson, Henry McKee, Philip G. Furguson, Capt. John H. Bowen, and others.

William McKee continued to be the chief proprietor and guiding spirit of the *Globe-Democrat* until his death on the 20th of December, 1879. Mr. Kee was born in the city of New York, on the 24th of September, 1815. He was of Irish descent, and his father, after emigrating to the United States, engaged in the lumber business as master of a vessel which plied between Maine and the West Indies. In 1820, Capt. McKee removed to St. Clair County, Ill., and settled with his family about fourteen miles from Kaskaskia, but four years later returned to New York, where William McKee received the rudiments of education at the free schools. He was afterwards sent to the Lafayette Academy, but his father having met with reverses, he obtained employment as a clerk in the office of Maj. M. M. Noah, then publishing the old *Enquirer*. From the *Enquirer* he passed into the office of the *Courier and Enquirer*, under James Watson Webb, and remained with him until 1833. He then went back to the office of Maj. Noah, who at that time was publishing the *Evening Star*, and remained there until the cessation of that journal. Among the employés of the *Evening Star* who were associates of Mr. McKee were Messrs. Simmons and Abell, who afterwards started the *Ledger* in Philadelphia, and subsequently the *Baltimore Sun*.

In the mean time his father and the family had again come West, but he, occupying a fair position and saving money, had remained in New York. At the stoppage of the paper on which he was employed he went out to his grandfather's, in Sullivan County, N. Y., and began to lay plans for the future. He had worked hard and had saved his money, and he finally determined to go West and invest his little capital in some newspaper property. Leaving New York in July, 1841, he made his way to St. Louis, where he spent some time at his father's house, and then entered the employ of Charles G. Ramsey, who was publishing a daily paper called the *New Era*. In 1842, in conjunction with William Ruth, he purchased the *Gazette*. Two years later Mr. Ruth sold his interest, and the entire establishment passed into Mr. McKee's hands. This business prospered very well for a time, but Mr. McKee had made an unfortunate selection of a book-keeper and confidential man, who left without his knowledge, and as he was considerably in debt to his former partner, the half-interest he had purchased of Mr. Ruth became the property of Edmund Flagg. The publication was carried on by McKee & Flagg until Mr. Flagg sold his interest to a Mr. Lord, who had been a professor in Bowdoin College, Maine.

In 1849 some eight or ten prominent and wealthy citizens, opposed to the further extension of slavery, conceived the idea of establishing a daily journal for the promulgation of their views. They selected Mr. McKee as the publisher, and under his immediate control the *Barnburner* was started. The paper created quite a sensation in the political world, and the boldness of its editorials attracted universal attention. It was not a financial success, and in a short time its publication was discontinued. After this, Mr. McKee having saved a little out of the crash of the paper, established a job-office on Second Street, which he continued up to 1850. In the latter year he effected a consolidation with William Hill, who also had a job-office.

In 1850, Messrs. McKee and Hill commenced the publication of the *Signal*, which advocated the same political principles as the *Barnburner*, and in 1852 propositions were made to take hold of a paper called the *Democrat*, which had been started in the interest of Benton and what was called the Free-Soil wing of the Democratic party. This was a crisis in the political career of Benton, and a momentous period in the history of the State. Absolute success was impossible to the Free-Soilers, but they succeeded in organizing a minority, which formed the nucleus around which Union men rallied to save the State from secession in 1861. Messrs. McKee and Hill accepted the proposition to take charge of the *Democrat*, and that paper and its managers, with Mr. McKee at the head, entered earnestly upon the work of freeing the State from slavery. The *Democrat*, after leading a doubtful and precarious existence for some years, was finally established on a permanent basis, and at the beginning of the civil war was a prosperous and influential journal. Mr. McKee had always been a firm and consistent opponent of slavery, and he now took radical ground against secession. The *Democrat* yielded an ardent support to the Lincoln administration, and claimed and received a large share of the credit for having saved Missouri from secession. Subsequently Mr. McKee had the gratification of hearing from Mr. Lincoln these words of commendation: "You have been of more service in saving Missouri from secession than would have been twenty regiments of troops." The expression of the Union soldiers was unanimous and hearty. Every passing regiment made a point of halting in front of the office and giving three cheers.

William McKee was a man of great physical and moral courage, without being in the least ostentatious in the display of this quality. When personal danger threatened him he never shrank. He never sought a quarrel, and never quailed when one was forced upon him. At the beginning of the war, when his office was surrounded by a mob threatening his life and the destruction of his property, he stood manfully at his post, ready to sacrifice all rather than yield to the demands of the multitude. His courage and determination made him a hero in the eyes of even his enemies, and no man in the city was more respected personally by the masses than Mr. McKee. In many other trying political crises he preserved the same calm courage of demeanor, and throughout his career as a journalist invariably "hewed close to the line." While his labors were directed mainly to the advocacy of political principles and ideas, he did not neglect the material interests of the community in which he lived, but was always among the foremost with his influence and personal example, in securing their advancement.

He never sought office, either elective or appointive. When struggling with poverty and all manner of discouragements, he preferred to depend upon his own individual labor and efforts rather than seek the emoluments of office. Freely and cheerfully he gave his influence to secure positions for others, but asked none for himself.

In the management of his journal, he always instructed his subordinates to adhere strictly to the truth

and never garble the facts; and if by chance any one had just cause of complaint against anything that appeared in the paper, he was ever ready to make a satisfactory correction. He fully comprehended the immense power of the engine he controlled, and was careful in wielding its force in such a manner that no charge of willful abuse could be brought against him. He took no pleasure in wounding the feelings of even an enemy, and never did so, except in upholding the truth and vindicating the right.

As a journalist, he thoroughly comprehended the responsibilities of his position and the requirements of the public. He endeavored to keep pace with the progress of events and the spirit of the age, and sought to direct great enterprises by pointing out the advantages. His whole life was passed in the midst of scenes of activity, and his time was constantly occupied. His life would, no doubt, have been considerably prolonged if he had been less assiduous in attending to his business; but he could not endure idleness, and was never more happy than when immersed in the complicated affairs of his journal.

Mr. McKee was not generally known as a writer. His business was to plan and direct, leaving the execution to others. Yet he was well qualified to wield the editorial pen, if he had chosen to do so, for he possessed a ready command of language, a fund of information on all subjects, and a general knowledge of men and measures equaled by few. He had a keen sense of the humorous, and an exhaustless fund of anecdote and reminiscences. He was personally acquainted with a majority of the leading public men of the Union, and knew their strong and weak points as if by intuition. In business matters his judgment was almost infallible. He seldom made a mistake in the direction of his own affairs, and his advice to those who sought it rarely proved erroneous. But it is upon his career as a leader of the Free-Soil movement in Missouri that his reputation chiefly rests. When he came to the State, a young man of slender means, unpretentious and unknown, he warmly espoused the cause, then supported by a mere handful. He resolved to labor for its success, although for a time the undertaking appeared utterly hopless and Utopian. Still he did not despair, but persevered in the face of inconceivable difficulties, and lived to see his most sanguine hopes crowned with success. Missouri became a free State, and slavery was abolished throughout the Union. In achieving this victory many fell in the fight, many grew faint-hearted and discouraged, many deserted to the enemy; but William McKee never faltered for a moment, never doubted the ultimate result. In the course of the long and bitter controversy he made enemies, and dealt and received hard blows, but no one could ever accuse him of malice or personal hatred towards any one. He was always ready to forgive a wrong, and to confer a favor when asked. Personally, Mr. McKee was very popular. Genial and kind-hearted, with a pleasant word for all in whose company he was thrown, he drew around him many warm friends of all political parties. In his manners and habits he was extremely unostentatious, shunning everything that had the appearance of vanity and pride, and avoiding rather than courting the notice of men in high official position. He had an aversion to taking part in public meetings and demonstrations of all kinds, regarding such displays as more pretentious than sincere. He did not seek popularity in any way, but depended upon the merit of his course to commend him to the public. Only once was he known to actively participate in a political convention, and that was in 1870, when the Republican State Convention met at Jefferson City and gave birth to the Liberal movement which resulted in the election of B. Gratz Brown as Governor. He was the ruling spirit of that convention, and to him more than to any one else were the disfranchised Democrats indebted for the early restoration of their political rights. Having accomplished his purpose in that movement, he continued the advocacy of the doctrines of the National Republican party, from which he had never departed in the local schism, and remained until his death a steadfast adherent of Gen. Grant and in favor of the third term.

As previously stated, Mr. McKee's interest in the *Democrat* was purchased by George W. Fishback in 1872, and in July of that year, in conjunction with D. M. Houser, he established the *Globe*. On the consolidation of the two journals in 1875 he became the senior proprietor of the *Globe-Democrat*. For more than a year prior to his death Mr. McKee was afflicted with heart-disease, and his demise was sudden and unexpected. He had been at the office of the *Globe-Democrat* on the morning of Dec. 19, 1879, in his usual health, and went home early in the afternoon. Late that night he rose from bed, complaining to his wife of not being able to sleep, and drawing an easy-chair to the fire, sat down. Soon afterwards he became insensible, and at 12.45 A.M., December 20th, expired. His wife (who was Miss Eliza Hill, daughter of Samuel Hill, of New York, and to whom he was married in July, 1855) and daughter survived him.[1]

[1] In connection with its notice of Mr. McKee's death, the *Globe-Democrat* printed the following reminiscences of personal friends:

The death of Mr. McKee did not in any way affect the publication of the *Globe-Democrat* as a newspaper. The company was a corporation, entirely free from debt, and the stock was owned by a few individuals. Its paid-up capital was $500,000, of which Mr. McKee owned $300,000; D. M. Houser, $160,000; J. B. McCullagh, $20,000; Henry McKee, $10,000; and S. Ray, $10,000. The net revenue in 1878 was $120,000. Besides this stock, Mr. McKee owned real estate worth $150,000, and bonds and other securities to a larger amount, his estate being estimated at $750,000.

The *Globe-Democrat* is now published by the Globe-Democrat Printing Company, of which D. M. Houser is president; Henry McKee, vice-president; and S. Ray, secretary.

Daniel M. Houser was born in Washington County, Md., Dec. 23, 1834, and in 1839 was taken by his parents to Clark County, Mo., where he enjoyed the somewhat limited advantages of the country schools of the period. In 1846 the family removed to St. Louis, and from 1847 to 1850 he attended the public schools of the city. In 1851 he entered the *Union* newspaper establishment as office-boy, and continued with the concern when it was merged into the *Missouri Democrat*, then owned by Messrs. Hill & McKee. His industry and aptness for the business attracted the attention of his employers, and he rose gradually, until in 1855 Hon. Francis P. Blair purchased Mr. Hill's interest, and Mr. Houser assumed the general management of the office, performing also the duties of book-keeper. Subsequently he purchased Gen. Blair's interest, and became a member of the firm of McKee, Fishback & Co., and for ten years conducted the financial department of the establishment, with what success may appear from the fact that, as previously stated, the retirement of Messrs. McKee and Houser having been agreed upon, G. W. Fishback bought the paper for four hundred and fifty-six thousand one hundred dollars.

Messrs. McKee and Houser, as we have seen, afterwards established the *St. Louis Globe*, with Mr. Houser as business manager. They had the hearty indorsement of their friends, who offered to subscribe liberally to the enterprise, but they declined the proffered aid, preferring to take the risk alone. Upon the *Globe* Mr. Houser expended some of the best work of his life, and the new paper immediately sprang into a vigorous existence, assuming a leading position among the journals of the West. Finally, as heretofore stated, Messrs. McKee and Houser repurchased the stock of the *Democrat*, and produced the *Globe-Democrat*, the leading Republican paper of the Southwest.

Upon the death of Mr. McKee in 1879, Mr. Houser became president of the corporation and head of the management, a position which he still occupies. Under his capable direction the business of the paper has grown enormously, its circulation and influence have been widely extended, and its outfit has been greatly enlarged and improved. It is a very valuable property, and is conceded to occupy a foremost position among the newspapers of the United States. The great success which attended the St. Louis *Globe* and that which has marked the career of the *Globe-Democrat* is one of the marvels of modern journalism. Much of it is undoubtedly due to the practiced management of Mr. Houser. To make a newspaper successful requires more than ordinary sagacity, demanding as it does the exercise of keen and ready judgment, great enterprise, and indomitable energy and perseverance.

Although Mr. Houser's business has brought him closely into contact with politics and politicians, he has never sought office, but has contented himself with attending strictly to the duties of his exacting position. He takes, however, a great interest in public affairs, and is interested in several of the most prosperous institutions of the city. As a newspaper manager, he is conceded to be one of the most competent in the country, and his upright and straightforward course in St. Louis (which has been the city

"Mr. Charles G. Ramsey, government appraiser at this port, was publisher of the *New Era* when Mr. McKee came to St. Louis as a journeyman printer in search of employment. He had known Mr. McKee's father in New York, and says he worked under him as a 'sub.' He gave Mr. McKee employment, and the intimacy then established continued unbroken.

"Ex-Judge John M. Krum was a warm personal friend of Mr. McKee, and had been so for over thirty years. He was one of the contributors to the *Barnburner*, and looks back upon that paper as the cradle of the Republican party in Missouri. Mr. Krum was mayor of the city about that time, having previously held the same position at Alton, and passed through the baptism of blood at the killing of Lovejoy. . . . 'William McKee,' he said, 'was a good man, a much better man than nine-tenths of those who maligned him. No one ever asked him for a favor without receiving a courteous reply. He was true to his friends and magnanimous to his enemies. He worked his way up by industry and economy, and he did not become inflated by prosperity, but was the same genial, kind-hearted gentleman all the time. I knew him intimately, and loved and honored him as a friend and associate. His character and his services to the city and State, in fact, to the whole Union and the world, will be better appreciated now that he is gone. The scars of old conflicts will be covered by the wrinkles of time, and he will be remembered as a man who played an important part in the affairs of Missouri, as a man of integrity and sterling worth. He led an active life, and his career was a success, so far as success can be achieved in the brief space allotted to man on earth.'"

of his business career) has earned for him the confidence and esteem of the entire community.

In 1862, Mr. Houser was married to Miss Maggie Ingram, of St. Louis, who died in February, 1880, and has two sons and a daughter.

Mr. McCullagh is still the managing editor of the *Globe-Democrat*, and under his able guidance the paper enjoys an undiminished prosperity and influence.

Joseph Burbridge McCullagh was born at Dublin, Ireland, in November, 1842. At the age of eleven he emigrated to America, arriving in New York in 1853. In the latter city he was apprenticed to learn the trade of printer in the office of the *Freeman's Journal*, and five years later (1858) removed to St. Louis, where he entered the office of the *Christian Advocate* in a similar capacity. Having learned the art of short-hand writing, he procured a position (in 1859) as reporter on the *Democrat*, and developed so much aptitude and talent for his calling that he was selected to represent that paper at Jefferson City during the eventful session of the Legislature in 1859–60. He discharged the duties of this position with an industry, ability, and tact which won him the approval of his employers; but on returning to St. Louis he severed his connection with the *Democrat* and went to Cincinnati, where he speedily secured employment as a writer for the *Gazette*. On the breaking out of the civil war young McCullagh entered the army as lieutenant in the Benton Cadets, Gen. Fremont's body-guard, with whom he served until Fremont was suspended. He was then appointed army correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, and participated in the battle of Fort Donelson, being one of the few who volunteered to go on board the ironclad "St. Louis," the first gunboat that succeeded in passing the fire of the fort. On the following day he participated in the land fight, and then and subsequently, at Shiloh and Vicksburg, proved himself as fearless on the actual field of battle as in the arena of enterprising and aggressive journalism. Upon leaving the army after the surrender of Vicksburg, Mr. McCullagh was tendered and accepted the post of Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial*. He continued to fill this responsible and delicate position from December, 1863, until 1868, when he resigned it to become the editor of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. As war correspondent Mr. McCullagh had especially distinguished himself, his letters rivaling those of the famous "Bull Run" Russell of the *London Times* in brilliancy, picturesqueness, and graphic power; and as Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial* he attained a national celebrity. Among the journalists with whom he was brought into active competition at Washington were Carl Schurz, since then United States senator and Secretary of the Interior, and now one of the principal editors of the *New York Evening Post;* George Alfred Townsend, familiarly known to the newspaper world under the *nom de plume* of "Gath," and Whitelaw Reid, for some years past editor of the *New York Tribune*. Mr. McCullagh at once took a leading rank among the Washington correspondents, and his letters over the signature of "Mack" attracted wide-spread attention. He soon established friendly and even intimate relations with leading public men, and by his skillful manipulation of the art of "interviewing" succeeded in procuring most valuable information for his paper. Mr. McCullagh may, in fact, be said to have introduced the practice of "interviewing," and to have demonstrated its great value and utility from a journalistic point of view. In the spring of 1867 he printed a memorable interview with the late Alexander H. Stephens, in which the latter criticised the conduct of Jefferson Davis, holding him personally responsible for the disastrous downfall of the Confederacy. The interview created a sensation throughout the country, and brought Mr. McCullagh's personality as an enterprising and able journalist into special prominence. An interview with Andrew Johnson on the subject of his impeachment trial was another noteworthy triumph of Mr. McCullagh's skill, and added greatly to his reputation.

In 1870, Mr. McCullagh retired from the editorial management of the *Cincinnati Enquirer* in order to found the *Republican* of Chicago, but in the great fire which devastated that city in the fall of 1871 the establishment was destroyed, and the fruits of the arduous labor of years on the part of Mr. McCullagh, including a valuable library, were swept away. He at once returned to St. Louis, and obtained a position as editor of the *Democrat*, but subsequently assumed editorial charge of the *Globe*, and finally of the *Globe-Democrat*.

There are few members of the journalistic profession who equal or even approach Mr. McCullagh in versatility of talent and capacity for discharging the manifold duties of his laborious and responsible position. The marvelous success of the *Globe-Democrat* has been very largely due to his skillful management of its editorial departments, his untiring industry, and his swift and nearly always unerring judgment. No journalist in the country possesses a keener or juster appreciation of the value of news, or a maturer, more discriminating taste in deciding the mode of its presentation to the public. As an editor he has proven even more successful (if that were possible) than as a

correspondent. His paragraphs have long been famous for their vigor, pungency, and wit, and the editorial columns of the *Globe-Democrat* afford continued and constantly multiplying evidences of his superior ability as a writer. Without having enjoyed the benefits of college training, he possesses nevertheless a ripe acquaintance with the English classics, obtained by close and arduous study. His language is choice and vigorous, and few men know how to employ it in controversial writing with greater skill or to better advantage. In personal journalism he is a master, and there are very few of his fellow-journalists who care to cope with him. Studious and temperate in his habits, Mr. McCullagh is nevertheless a valued acquisition at all social gatherings, his inimitable wit being highly prized on all such occasions. He is still a young man, in the full possession of his remarkable faculties and attainments as one of the leading thinkers and writers of the day.

The Western Examiner.—One of the earliest magazines published in St. Louis (if not the very earliest) was the *Western Examiner*. A specimen number was issued Nov. 19, 1833, and the publication was regularly launched Jan. 1, 1834. Its motto was, "It is error only, and not truth, that shuns investigation;" and its objects were declared to be "the free discussion of subjects connected with morals and the happiness of society, and to oppose the productions of sectarian partisans." It was an eight-page pamphlet, and appeared twice a month. John Robb was its publisher, and it was edited by an association, none of whose names were given; the articles were signed "Veritas," "Plato," "Celsus," "Alpha," "Prometheus," etc. William C. Barrows was traveling agent, and the only other name of a St. Louisian interested in the publication that a search through the first volume discloses was Dr. Joseph R. De Prefontaine.

The *Western Examiner* abounded in the freest of free thinking, and gave much space to the alleged escapades of clergymen. It engaged in frequent warfare with *The Advocate*, the *Shepherd of the Valley*, a Catholic publication, and the *St. Louis Observer*, a Presbyterian paper, edited by the Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, which subsequently, on account of its pronounced abolitionism, fell a victim to mob law. The first volume of the *Western Examiner* is in the Mercantile Library. How long the publication flourished is not known.

Anzeiger des Westens.—On the 31st of October, 1835, appeared the first number of the *Anzeiger des Westens*. Christian Bimpage, a Mecklenburger, who had been managing an "intelligence and commission house" in St. Louis, was the founder; and associated with him as publisher was B. J. Von Festen, who, however, withdrew in less than a month. Bimpage was a cultivated man, but seemed unsuited for journalism. This paper was not generally acceptable, and he soon retired, engaged in land surveying, and died a few years later in South Missouri.

On the 22d of February, 1836, William Weber became editor. He was born in Altenburg, Germany, in 1808, studied law at Jena, and when in 1830 the Polish rebellion broke out started for the front, intending to engage in the conflict. The police, however, would not permit him to cross the frontier, but sent him home. He then made several attempts to resume his studies, but the turn-place and the fencing-school had greater attractions for him than the lecture hall. Accomplished in all the sports of the student, his intellectual gifts were also considerable, and in spite of many extravagances he was popular with his fellows, especially because of his liberty-loving utterances, which led to his imprisonment at Leipsic on a charge of demagogery and talking seditiously. He escaped, came to this country, and finally settled in St. Louis, where he became librarian of the collection of books which was the nucleus of the Mercantile Library.

The *Anzeiger* assumed new life under his management. Owing to his denunciation of the burning of a negro, his office was threatened by a mob, but was not attacked. He protested vigorously against the Native Americanism that broke out periodically in St. Louis from 1835 to 1850, and was equally pronounced in his opposition to slavery. A year or so after taking editorial charge of the *Anzeiger* he became the proprietor of that paper. Among the contributors to his journal were Dr. Engelmann, Frederick Muench, and Gustav Koerner, who subsequently became Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois. From 1842 to 1846 the paper was issued three times a week. In October, 1842, Wilhelm Palm became assistant editor. Palm was educated at the Berlin University, his specialty being the languages and mathematics. When still a very young man he removed to St. Louis, found employment in the bureau of the land survey, and finally established the firm of Palm & Robertson, which conducted a foundry and machine-shop, and built the first locomotive in the West. He supplied the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad with its first ten locomotives. He acquired a fortune, and in 1866 retired from business, and spent many years abroad for his health. He hoped to return to America, but died in 1877 at Dresden. He bequeathed much of his estate to

Washington University. In 1844, Arthur Olshausen became a partner, and freed Weber from many business cares. The publication of a German paper in those days was attended with great financial difficulties, and at the best no great amount of success was attainable. Olshausen's money and labor kept the paper afloat. Mr. Olshausen still lives, and is one of the prominent German citizens of St. Louis. For some years he was a large owner in the *Westliche Post*.

Meanwhile the *Tribune* had been established, and being a daily, became a formidable rival of the *Anzeiger*. In 1846 the *Anzeiger* also appeared as a daily. In 1847, Olshausen became sole owner of the paper. The difficulties attending the publication continued, and in 1850 Weber severed his connection with the paper and was elected justice of the peace, serving with ability until his sudden death in 1852.

Under Weber's management the paper was known throughout the land as scarcely second to any of the German-American press. Weber's style was clear and familiar, yet always strong and dignified, and marked by great originality. He paid great attention to the current German literature, and was a stanch apostle of "Young Germany."

Weber's successor was Henry Boernstein, who was born in Hamburg in 1805, and was reared at Lemberg, Austrian Poland, where he studied medicine. After leaving school he entered the Austrian army, and served five years. He then resigned his commission and went to Vienna, where he became connected with the leading journals. He also wrote several popular plays, and was appointed secretary of the two great theatres of Vienna, under Carl, the celebrated stage manager of Germany. He then became stage manager in several of the leading cities of Germany and Italy, and in 1841, with his wife, entered upon a star engagement in the leading German cities, meeting with great success. In 1842 he was manager of the German opera at Paris, and then of the Italian opera. During all this period he corresponded with the leading journals of the day, but finally directed his attention exclusively to literature. He was an enthusiastic advocate of political freedom, and while in Paris hailed with joy the dethronement of Louis Philippe and the establishment of the French republic; but when the return of a Bonaparte to power as dictator was assured he left for America, and early in 1849 settled at Highland, Ill. His literary abilities becoming known, he was offered the editorship of the *Anzeiger*. He began briskly, and indulged so freely his tendency to sensationalism, assailing people without much judgment, that Olshausen, then the proprietor, was very glad to withdraw from the paper. Boernstein gave the paper a strong "free-soil" bias and in 1854–56 declared himself unequivocally in favor of "free soil" and the Republican party. Meanwhile he had become owner of the paper, and was making it pay handsomely. In addition to his journalistic labors he conducted a theatre, a hotel, and a brewery, together with several saloons.[1]

Mr. Boernstein's influence with his countrymen at one time was very great, and when the war broke out he did much to consolidate the German sentiment of St. Louis in favor of the Union. The *Anzeiger* more than once narrowly escaped being mobbed. He was prominent in organizing the German troops for the defense of the United States arsenal, and went into the field with a colonel's commission. President Lincoln subsequently appointed him consul to Bremen, and he went abroad but at the invitation of Hon. Francis P. Blair returned in 1864 to take part in Mr. Lincoln's second campaign for the Presidency. He then left permanently for Europe, and now lives at Vienna, where he corresponds for several American papers. His "Europaeische Plaudereien" (European Tittle Tattle) is an interesting feature of the *Westliche Post*.

The war seriously deranged the prosperity of the *Anzeiger*, and in February, 1863, its publication was suspended.

One of the most prominent persons connected with the *Anzeiger* was Col. Charles L. Bernays, who for a long time was its editor-in-chief.

Charles Louis Bernays was born at Mentz, in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, in 1815. His early education was received at Oggersheim, near Mannheim, and at the Gymnasiums of Frankfort and Speyer, and he afterwards studied at the Universities of Munich, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. He adopted the profession of the law, but soon drifted into journalism, and after a

[1] A prominent associate of Boernstein in his business enterprises was Frederick Schaefer. He was born in the kingdom of Würtemberg, Germany, in 1812, and previous to his removal to the United States held a position as chief of the mounted police. On reaching this country he settled in St. Louis, and entered into partnership with Boernstein in the brewing business. During the Mexican war he served as a captain in the St. Louis Legion, and after his return to St. Louis continued to manifest an active interest in the welfare of the local militia organizations. He accompanied the expedition sent by Governor Stewart under Gen. Frost to repel the Jennison and Montgomery raids, and on the breaking out of the civil war aided materially in recruiting the Second Regiment of Missouri Volunteers. Henry Boernstein was appointed colonel, and Frederick Schaefer lieutenant-colonel. The latter was present at the battle of Boonville, and when the term of enlistment expired reorganized the regiment and became its colonel. At the fight at Pea Ridge Col. Schaefer was slightly wounded. At the battle of Murfreesboro' he was among the killed.

varied experience as a newspaper writer and editor in Germany and in Paris, where he became acquainted with Karl Marx, Heinrich Heine, and other eminent men, and was associated with Henry Boernstein in the publication of the *Vorwaerts*, he determined to emigrate to America. In the mean time the republic had been declared in France, and Mr. Bernays was sent as *attaché* to the French embassy to Vienna, but on his return to Paris he and Mr. Boernstein decided to carry out their original project of emigrating to the United States. He accordingly sailed from Havre on the 11th of December, 1848, the understanding being that Boernstein should follow him in the spring. Mr. Bernays settled at Highland, Ill., and engaged in trade, at which he prospered for several years, after which he removed to St. Louis to join Boernstein in the publication of the *Anzeiger*. During the administration of President Lincoln, Mr. Bernays was sent as consul, first to Zurich, and afterwards to Helsingor, and on his return to St. Louis assumed the chief editorship of the *Anzeiger*. His services in the cause of the Union, and more especially in behalf of the administration, then meditating the removal of Fremont, were warmly commended in a letter from Montgomery Blair, a member of Lincoln's cabinet. Mr. Bernays entered the Federal army with the rank of paymaster, and at the close of the war received the brevet of colonel. He then became a member of the editorial staff of the *Republican*, and also contributed articles to the *Anzeiger*. After failing health made it necessary for him to relinquish active editorial work, he occupied himself by writing weekly letters for newspapers in Europe and America, especially for the *Staats-Zeitung* of Chicago. He died on the 22d of June, 1879.

On May 31, 1851, Dr. Henry William Gempp, editor of the *German-American*, and co-proprietor of the *Anzeiger*, died in St. Louis, aged fifty-three years.

Dr. H. Meinersshagen, at one time associate editor of the *Anzeiger* (now dead), was born in Bremen, was highly connected, and was a judge of the Lubeck court. After coming to the United States he occupied the position of managing editor of a German daily paper in Pittsburgh, and subsequently removed to St. Louis.

On the 19th of July, 1863, the *Anzeiger* was revived under the title of *Der Neue Anzeiger des Westens*. It was published by the "Independent Press Association," and Carl Daenzer was editor and manager. Eventually the word "new" was dropped from the title, and the paper regarded itself as the successor of the old *Anzeiger*. In a few years the "Independent Press Association" was succeeded by the "Anzeiger Association," comprising essentially the same membership of leading Democratic citizens, who yet own the concern. Carl Daenzer is president of the company, which is managed by a directory composed of Carl Daenzer, the Hon. E. C. Kehr, and Judge Charles Speck. Carl Daenzer is editor-in-chief, and E. D. Kargau city editor.

Carl Daenzer was born in the Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany, and having participated in the revolution of 1848–49, found it desirable to leave his country. He consequently came to America, and soon afterwards settled in St. Louis, which has since been the theatre of his activity. He is distinguished for the clearness and vigor of his style, and the extent and variety of his general information. In these respects he is thought to have no superior on the German press of America. His special strength lies in the discussion of constitutional questions.

St. Louis Tribune.—The first of quite a succession of *Tribunes* appeared July 11, 1838. The Whigs, wanting a campaign paper, sent for Frederick Kretschmar, a capable journalist, and promised him money and support for a journal in their interest. Neither money nor support, however, was forthcoming, and after the election, when publication of the paper ceased, Kretschmar was compelled to pay the bills. The *Tribune* was printed in German and English, and Kretschmar and his wife sat up night after night translating from one language to the other. Kretschmar was the first German justice of the peace in St. Louis, and for several terms was clerk of the Criminal Court, holding that position when he died in 1861. His widow and sons still reside in St. Louis. The latter are interested in a large printing-house, which bears their father's name.

On the 15th of July, 1844, appeared the *Deutsche Tribune*, published by N. R. Cormany, and printed entirely in German. The editor was Charles Jucksh, and the paper was issued every day in the week except Monday, the publication office being on Vine Street, between Main and Second. In March, 1845, Oswald Benckendorf became the editor.[1]

The *Tribune* continued under the management of

[1] Oswald Benckendorf was born near Stettin, Germany, was educated at the Gymnasium at Halle, studied law in Berlin and Breslau, and in 1841 came to America and settled at Warrenton, Mo. He drifted to St. Louis, was a carrier on the *Tribune* for a time, and, his worth becoming known, was offered the editorship. He was honest and industrious, besides being finely gifted, and under his management the *Tribune*, being a daily, soon outstripped the *Anzeiger* (then a tri-weekly). Between him and Mr. Weber, of the *Anzeiger*, there was an earnest rivalry as to which should present the public with the most thoughtful paper.

Cormany and Benckendorf until it was merged into the *Democratic Tribune*, under the management of J. G. Woerner, afterwards judge of the Probate Court of St. Louis. In September, 1851, the office was attacked by a mob, which broke the windows, but was prevented by the police from gaining an entrance to the composing-room. The cause of the attack is said to have been the severity of some remarks in the *Tribune* as to certain conduct on the part of some of the persons implicated. In 1852 the *Tribune* passed into the hands of C. Kribben, and afterwards suspended.

On the 6th of September, 1880, the present *St. Louis Tribune* was established. Its proprietors were William Kaufmann, of the *Anzeiger*, of Cleveland, Ohio, Emil Paetow, assistant editor of the same paper, and Otto Hilpert, traveling agent of the *Westliche Post*. Hilpert was selected as business manager, and has filled that position ever since.

The first editor was Ferdinand Harrsler, previously local editor of the *Amerika*, but Fritz Gloganer succeeded him in March, 1881, and is still editor. Herr Gloganer was born in Silesia in 1857. He received a college education, and when nineteen years of age became associate editor of a daily paper in Breslau, the Silesian capital. He came to America in 1877, and after three years spent in business and in studying the language and institutions of the country, resumed his old profession and became editor of the Cleveland *Anzeiger*, the proprietor of which paper transferred him to St. Louis.

The local editor is William Katzeler, a Prussian, born in 1850, who was a lieutenant in the Prussian army. He immigrated to this country in 1873, and for some time was a reporter on the *Amerika*. He has been on the *Tribune* from the start.

The new paper met with success from the beginning, and has now a large daily circulation, including Sunday. In politics it is independent, favoring, however, the Republican party on national questions, and advocating political, judicial, and economical reforms.

Mr. Paetow, mentioned as one of the founders, is now owner of the *Cincinnati Anzeiger*, the *Tribune* being controlled at present by Messrs. Kaufmann and Hilpert.

The Post-Dispatch enjoys the distinction of being the first really successful venture in afternoon journalism in St. Louis. Previous to its establishment success had attended but two papers of the kind, but even in those cases good fortune was transitory and uncertain, and the history of evening journalism in St. Louis had been a long record of failure and loss.

The *Post-Dispatch* can trace its lineage back to the 3d of July, 1838, when the *St. Louis Evening Gazette* made its appearance, under the management of Holbrook & Allen (David B. Holbrook and G. S. Allen), with W. S. Allen, a brother of one of the proprietors, as editor. In August, 1841, G. S. Allen sold his interest to P. A. Gould, editor of the *Missouri Farmer*, and the paper was continued by the firm of Holbrook & Gould, the editor being Mr. Gould. In the following year Holbrook & Gould sold the *Gazette* to Henry Singleton, who in turn disposed of it one year later to McKee & Ruth,



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during whose proprietorship it was edited by Edmund Flagg. In 1847 it was sold to Mr. Lord, who in less than half a year disposed of the plant and good will to a Mr. Ruggles, who established the *Evening Mirror*. The *Mirror* was not successful, and in 1848 it was sold to Paschall & Ramsey, who established the *New Era*, which in turn was sold in 1849 to Thomas Yeatman and J. B. Crockett. The name of the paper was changed to the *Intelligencer*, which a few months later was purchased by George K. Budd, who conducted it

successfully for nearly three years. In the mean time A. S. Mitchell & Co. had established the *Evening News*, which soon became so successful that the *Intelligencer* was forced to succumb, and in 1857 the two papers were consolidated under the name of the *Evening News and Intelligencer*.

In 1867 the *News*, which had dropped the *Intelligencer* from its name, was sold to the *Dispatch*, which had been established in 1864 by Messrs. Coburn, Johnson & Peckham; the Johnson of the firm being the well-known Governor Charles P. Johnson. The *Dispatch* combination was formed for the purchase of the *Union*, then owned by O. D. Filley, Giles F. Filley, John How, and Peter L. Foy. After the transaction had been consummated the name of the paper, at the suggestion of Governor Johnson, was changed to the *Dispatch*, and a stock company was formed with the name of the "St. Louis Dispatch Printing and Publishing Company," the directors being Josiah Fogg, John S. Cavender, Richard T. Coburn, James Peckham, and C. P. Johnson. Mr. Coburn was the editor, Mr. Johnson assistant editor, and Mr. Peckham was in charge of the business management. After a checkered career of six months the paper reverted to the former proprietors of the *Union*. In April, 1868, it was purchased by Peter L. Foy and William H. McHenry, who conducted it as a Democratic journal. Mr. Foy sold his interest to Mr. Fishback, of the *Democrat*, and in December, 1871, the firm of Foy & McHenry was succeeded by that of William H. McHenry & Co. D. Robert Barclay, who had already bought the interest of Mr. Fishback, then purchased the other two-thirds ownership from McHenry & Co., William H. and Estill McHenry retiring. The *Dispatch* was never very profitable, and Mr. Barclay is said to have lost a fortune in it. In 1873 he sold it to Stilson Hutchins on a valuation of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Maj. John N. Edwards, now of the *Sedalia* (Mo.) *Democrat*, was editor. In 1875, Mr. Hutchins took charge of the *St. Louis Times*, and for a season ran the two papers together. Later in that year he sold the *Dispatch* to Mr. Allison, of Steubenville, Ohio, at a sacrifice. Allison lost all he cared to lose and then sold to Wolcott & Hume, who were publishers of the *Journal*. The next scene of this "strange, eventful history" was the passage of the paper into the hands of a receiver, and its sale on the 10th of December, 1878, to Joseph Pulitzer for two thousand five hundred dollars. It was then in a moribund condition. After its purchase the *Dispatch* was published for two days, and on the 12th it was announced that a consolidation had been effected with the *Evening Post*. The latter journal had been established nearly one year before by John A. Dillon, the first number appearing on the 10th of January. Mr. Dillon had been an editor on the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, and was one of the brightest journalists of the city. He had published the best evening paper St. Louis had had, but despite its able management it had not met with the financial success it deserved. The new journal appeared as the *St. Louis Post and Dispatch* for about two weeks, and the name was then changed to the *Post-Dispatch*. Serious difficulties continued to face the management after the consolidation. The *Post* had been printed on the *Globe-Democrat's* presses, but the proprietors of the *Post-Dispatch* not being satisfied with this arrangement, leased a building on Fifth Street, and the paper was printed on its own press and issued from its own office. In May, 1879, the rival *Evening Star* was purchased at sheriff's sale by the *Post-Dispatch*, and in the fall of that year John A. Dillon retired from the management of the latter paper. His interest was purchased by Mr. Pulitzer, who thus became the sole proprietor of the paper.

Joseph Pulitzer was born near Vienna, Austria, and received a good classical education in that city. When quite young he served as a soldier in the Schleswig-Holstein war, and contracted a keen thirst for a military life. When that contest was over he came to the United States, then (1864) in the throes of the civil war. On the very day of his arrival at New York he enlisted in the First New York (Lincoln) Cavalry, and was with his regiment at Cedar Creek, Five Forks, etc. After the war he removed to St. Louis, and for lack of better employment, obtained work as a hostler at Benton Barracks, and was successively fireman on a ferry-boat, laborer on the Levee, driver of a carriage, and "the *quasi*-sexton of the cholera cemetery on Arsenal Island." The great obstacle he found was his ignorance of the language; hence he was assiduous in learning it. His first substantial start was made when he accepted a difficult and somewhat dangerous commission to visit western regions to get the land-grant deeds of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad recorded. On returning to St. Louis he began the study of the law, but having attracted the attention of Carl Schurz, was offered a position on the *Westliche Post*, which he accepted. He proved to be an excellent writer, and in six years was editor and part proprietor of that paper. In 1872, owing to differences relative to the political management of the paper, he retired from the editorship, and in 1875 sold his interest. Mr. Pulitzer's course while editor of the *Westliche Post* brought him into special promi-

nence before the country, on account of his aggressive advocacy of Liberal Republican principles. He labored with all his strength, both in the columns of his newspaper and on the stump, to array the German vote in opposition to the "regular" organization of the Republican party. His success was very marked, and his name at once became conspicuous in the political literature of the day. Out of the campaign of 1870, in which he bore such a prominent part, sprang the Greeley movement of 1872, and it was Mr. Pulitzer who, with another gentleman, framed a call for a national convention of Liberal Republicans. In that convention his influence was promptly felt and recognized, and he was among the most active and energetic of its members. Mr. Pulitzer was elected to the State Legislature from the Fifth District in 1869, and in 1870 was appointed by Governor Brown, and unanimously confirmed by the State Senate, a member of the Board of Police Commissioners of St. Louis. In December, 1874, he was elected to the State Constitutional Convention. During the same year he purchased the *Staats-Zeitung*, a German paper that had worn itself out in the endeavor to break down the *Westliche Post*, and two days later he sold the *Zeitung* press franchise to the *Globe*, which was then greatly in need of such a stimulus. In the Constitutional Convention of 1875 he was an indefatigable worker, and was once more brought prominently before the public in connection with his scheme for the union of the city and county governments, which in substance was unanimously adopted by the convention.

Mr. Pulitzer is not only an able journalist and writer, but also a graceful and forcible speaker, both writing and speaking fluently in English as well as in German.

Mr. Pulitzer's next venture in journalism after the *Staats-Zeitung* episode was the purchase of the *Dispatch*, which, as we have seen, was speedily followed by its consolidation with the *Post*.

Besides being one of the most brilliant and versatile journalists of the day, Mr. Pulitzer is one of the most successful, as the wonderful growth of the *Post-Dispatch* sufficiently attests,—courageous, energetic, fertile in resources, keen in the realization of opportunities as they present themselves, and quick to grasp and hold them.

Up to the time that Mr. Pulitzer assumed the whole burden of managing the *Post-Dispatch* its growth had been slow, its daily circulation being only about five thousand copies. He at once set to work with characteristic energy to strengthen all the departments and to infuse new life and vigor throughout the establishment. "Push and independence" were the mottoes of both the editorial and business management, and such was the vigor with which the affairs of the paper were conducted that it soon began to assume a prominence in the community which no evening paper had ever before been able to attain. The following figures, showing the *Post-Dispatch's* circulation at different periods, afford some idea of the results that have been achieved under Mr. Pulitzer's management:

Dec. 30, 1878, circulation, 3160; in 1879, 4984; in 1880, 8740; in 1881, 20,320; in June, 1882, 23,000.

In addition to its extensive circulation the *Post-Dispatch* enjoys a valuable advertising patronage, and its proprietors have already been enabled to make many important improvements, and to supply themselves with new machinery and all the appointments of a first-class newspaper. The old *Dispatch* had little machinery, and that very poor; the *Evening Post* had none whatever. The *Post-Dispatch* now owns and occupies a double building, three stories high, 515 and 517 Market Street, specially constructed to serve its requirements, and is now printed on two large "Hoe perfecting presses," each costing twenty-five thousand dollars, and each with a capacity of fifteen thousand cut, pasted, and folded quarto (eight-page) papers an hour. With a new building, new presses, new engine and general machinery, new stereotyping outfit, etc., the *Post-Dispatch* possesses undoubtedly one of the most complete and most conveniently arranged newspaper establishments in the United States.

Fronting on Market Street, the building occupies a lot fifty-three by one hundred and twenty feet, and is centrally located, being one hundred and fifty feet from the court-house and opposite the Opera-House.

The front is of red brick, lined with black galvanized iron and stone trimmings, three stories high, well lit up, and handsome, though entirely unpretentious. The fittings are black and gold, and the whole effect is pleasing as well as impressive. On the first floor are the counting-room, press-room, boiler-room, salesrooms, carriers' rooms, and other offices. The counting-room is fitted up with elegant ash counters upon Eastlake models.

In the rear of the counting-room is the salesroom, where the newsboys get their papers, and the system of selling these papers has to be perfect to be at all effective. The quick issue to the boys necessitates the employment of a number of clerks, and the Arabs get their papers entirely by check. The large and spacious press-room, containing the engines and the

boiler-room, is across the courtyard at the rear. Upstairs the front rooms are devoted to the editorial and local staff and to the telegraphic office of the *Post-Dispatch*. The rear portion of the second story is devoted to the printers and stereotypers, the composing-room being one of the best lighted and best arranged in the West. The architect of the building was James McGrath.

To Mr. Pulitzer, of course, this splendid success is mainly attributable. It is a success wrenched from disastrous defeat by industrious effort backed by intelligence and ability. But he has had able assistants, especially in the managing editor, Col. John A. Cockerill, one of the most versatile men ever connected with the press of St. Louis. Col. Cockerill was born in Adams County, Ohio, Dec. 5, 1846. His father, J. R. Cockerill, a native of Loudon County, Va., was a member of Congress from Ohio, and colonel of the Seventieth Ohio Regiment during the late civil war. John A. Cockerill received a common-school education, and in June, 1861, when less than fifteen years old, enlisted in the Twenty-fourth Ohio Regiment as a drummer. He served in the Army of West Virginia, and afterwards with the Army of the Ohio campaigns of Buell and Rosecrans, and was mustered out in 1863. From 1865 to 1868 he edited a weekly paper at Hamilton, Ohio, and was afterwards associated with C. L. Vallandigham in the ownership and editorship of the *Dayton* (Ohio) *Ledger*. In the spring of 1870 he obtained a position on the *Cincinnati Enquirer* as reporter, was promoted to be city editor six months afterwards, and was made managing editor a year later, serving as such until 1876, when he went to Europe as correspondent with the Turkish army in the war with Russia. Returning, he assisted in establishing the *Washington Post*, and subsequently assumed the position of managing editor of the *Baltimore Gazette*, which he retained for one and a half years. Finally, in 1879, he removed to St. Louis and joined the *Post-Dispatch*.

Mr Cockerill is a trenchant and brilliant writer, and has the reputation of being one of the wittiest "paragraphers" on the American press. His editorials are always crisp and vigorous, and permeated by a spontaneous, natural humor which greatly enhances the effectiveness of his journalistic work. Col. Cockerill is president of the Elk Club, and a member of the Tally-Ho Club and St. Louis Cavalry. At the reunion of the Army of the Tennessee at St. Louis, in 1882, he responded to the toast, "The Press," and was very highly complimented by Generals Sherman and Sheridan, and other distinguished officers of the United States army who were present.

On the 22d of January, 1880, the press- and newsrooms of the *Post-Dispatch* were damaged by fire, the total loss being about five thousand dollars. The injury was speedily repaired, and the establishment is now one of the best-equipped printing-offices in the country. The *Post-Dispatch* is a marvel of journalistic success, and may be justly regarded as one of the best evening papers in the country. It is always brimful of news and attractive miscellany, and its editorials are frank, aggressive, and able. Politically it is Democratic, but thoroughly independent and outspoken, criticising honestly and fearlessly the acts of leading men in its own as well as in the opposite party. From its inception it has been financially as well as politically independent, and at no time has it been compelled to seek extraneous aid. To quote its own language, "No bank, banker, or broker was ever asked for loans, discounts, or credits in any shape. Everything the *Post-Dispatch* purchased it bought for cash. It neither needed nor asked favors from the moneyed corporations. The proprietor owned it solely and completely and without encumbrance, and thus it had neither to crouch nor cringe. Financially completely independent, it was equally so editorially. No party, ring, corporation, or clique has ever paid it a dollar for illegitimate purposes, or ever been called on for assistance."

Being thus free to speak and to strike wherever it listed, the *Post-Dispatch* has steadily and consistently assailed all abuses, and has labored unremittingly in behalf of political and social reforms in St. Louis. Its fearlessness is best illustrated by the fact that during three years seventeen libel suits were instituted against it, aggregating two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in the damages claimed. Of these seventeen suits only one was lost by the *Post-Dispatch*, which was mulcted in the sum of fifty dollars,—a fact which in itself affords the completest vindication of the paper's general fairness and honesty. The *Post-Dispatch* continues to grow and to flourish, and is now, as it has been from the start, one of the brightest and ablest exponents of Western journalism.

Missouri Demokrat.—Edward Warren, a young lawyer of St. Louis, achieved considerable reputation as the "poet" of the *Anzeiger*. In 1843 he started the *Demokrat*, because the *Anzeiger* was not radical enough in its support of the Van Buren administration. He was an active and capable man, but the Germans regarded him as being more of a politician than a journalist, and withheld their confidence. His paper consequently survived only two years. In 1845 he obtained a consulate abroad (at Trieste), and never returned to America. He also became the editor of

the Austrian *Lloyd's*. For some time L. F. Volland was publisher of the *Demokrat*, which must not be confounded with the English *Democrat*, established some years later.

Antipfaff.—In 1842 there appeared a sheet with this title ("Antipriest"). It was edited by Heinrich Koch, a born agitator, who was the first in St. Louis to preach communism. He left St. Louis and settled in a communist colony, and in 1845 his paper was merged into the *Vorwaerts*, which managed to live only about one year.

Die Waage.—In 1844, Paul Follemins was invited to come to St. Louis and assume the editorial management of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, but the arrangement was not perfected, and Follemins established *Die Waage* ("The Venture"). It was conducted with ability and spirit, but those were not the times, and the slave-holding city of St. Louis certainly was not the place, for a journal that indulged in Follemins' radical method of dealing with the question of slavery *vs.* abolition. Follemins was a brother of Charles Follemins, for several years Professor of German Literature at Harvard University, and the friend of Channing, Theodore Parker, and John Quincy Adams, and was himself a remarkable character. In 1814 and 1815 he fought against Napoleon. In those days his love for the *Vaterland* was almost fanatical; in later years it settled down into a resolute and practical liberalism. Despairing of the situation at home he came to America, intending to establish somewhere in the far West a German free State, for many besides himself dreamed of founding a commonwealth composed exclusively of Germans. But when he arrived at St. Louis the association had dissolved, and he betook himself to farming in Warren County, where he labored patiently until called to St. Louis to take a position on the *Anzeiger*. Solidity of judgment, wit, penetration, and a good style characterized his writings, but they were unsuited either to the period or the place. He had few readers, and after issuing only three numbers he abandoned the publication, returned to his farm, and in October of that year succumbed to a fatal fever.

Der Reformer was a weekly paper established in 1847 as the organ of a communist union. It did not survive very long.

Der Freisinnige.—In November, 1846, L. F. Balland established a weekly for *freisinnige*, or free-minded folks; G. Scho was the editor. It was nationalistic in tone, and died young.

St. Louis Zeitung.—In 1848, Anton Eickhoff established *Die St. Louis Zeitung*, a semi-weekly; but the cholera and hard times of the next year caused its suspension. Eickhoff has had a remarkable career. At the age of sixteen he composed prose and verse, and published fruits of his talents in the papers of his province (Lippstadt, Westphalia). These were so strongly colored that a judicial proceeding was lodged against him, which he evaded only by leaving the country. He arrived at New Orleans in January, 1847, where he shipped as a common steamboat hand, and as such navigated all the Western rivers, the Mississippi to the falls and the Missouri far beyond the borders of civilization. Arriving in St. Louis in January, 1848, he is next known as a teacher in the St. Louis University. From St. Louis he went to Dubuque, where he started a paper; and after an adventurous career of some years, during which he wandered from Iowa to Louisiana, he went to New York, and in 1854–56 was connected with the *Staats-Zeitung*, and then with other papers, became a prominent Democratic politician and speaker, and in 1877–79 was a member of Congress. He now enjoys a fixed reputation as a *littérateur* and as a busy and useful man.

Tages-Chronik.—In 1851, Franz Saler established *Tages-Chronik* ("Daily Chronicle"), a two-cent morning paper, with a bias in favor of Catholicism. Among its early editors was Anton Boeckling; later (in 1858) the name of Adelbert Lochr appeared as editor. *Tages-Chronik* lasted some twelve years, when Mr. Saler sold the advertising patronage to Carl Daenzer, of the new *Anzeiger des Westens*, and also disposed of his type. Saler was for twenty-three years owner of the *Herold des Glaubens*, the German Catholic paper. He still lives in St. Louis, at the age of seventy-five, and retains a clear recollection of matters connected with his journalistic career.

Westland.—Here may very properly be mentioned *Westland*, a periodical which, although printed at Heidelberg, Germany, was edited in St. Louis. Dr. George Engelmann and Capt. Karl Neyfeldt were the publishers, and their editorial colleagues were Frederick Muench, William Weber, Theodore Hilgard, Jr., Dr. Von Koenige, and Gustav Koerner. The object was to afford accurate and trusty information to intending immigrants concerning the soil, climate, etc., of Missouri and the neighboring States. Three well-filled numbers were issued, when the difficulties of communication between the editors and the printers compelled a suspension of the publication. Dr. George Engelmann was the soul of the enterprise.

The St. Louis Price-Current was established by Josiah Anderson, in the fall of 1848, as an adjunct to the *People's Organ*. During 1848, and up to 1850, it was issued semi-weekly in letter-sheet form.

In 1849 a semi-weekly edition of the *Organ* was commenced in connection with the letter-sheet, but in 1852 both editions, the *Organ* and the *Price-Current*, became weeklies, and were thus continued by Mr. Anderson until the 1st of February, 1856. At this time Charles G. Gonter purchased an interest in the establishment, and the publication of the *Daily Price-Current*, a letter-sheet, with a weekly edition, in regular newspaper form was begun. The office was at No. 8 Olive Street. In 1862 the publication of the *Price-Current* was suspended, owing to the derangement of the mails, but was resumed in January, 1864.

Mr. Anderson, the senior partner, came to St. Louis in 1842. Before his connection with the *Organ* he had been river and commercial reporter of the *Republican*. He died in September, 1878, and the business was managed by C. G. Gonter & Co. In 1880, Mr. Gonter sold his interest to Joseph C. Pritchard, and the firm became Harker & Pritchard, the senior member (George M. Harker) having had a large interest in the firm for many years. The *Price-Current* is exclusively devoted to mercantile quotations, and is the representative organ of the leading produce, commission, and grocery houses of the city.

Western Journal—Western Journal and Civilian.—In January, 1848, was established the *Western Journal*, a monthly publication devoted to agriculture, manufactures, the mechanic arts, etc. The names of Micajah Tarver and T. F. Risk appeared as editors, and among the early contributors were H. A. Prout, M.D., Judge John M. Krum, Thomas Allen, and Professor John H. Tice. Alfred S. Waugh contributed an interesting series of papers on fine arts. After a while, and without any notice, the name was changed to the *Western Journal and Civilian*. In 1851, Risk withdrew, and became the publisher of the *Western Review*, a monthly devoted to education, general literature, temperance, internal improvements, etc., Ebbert & Risk being the publishers. In January, 1853, he is heard of as editor of the *Miscellany and Review*, the *Western Review* having apparently been absorbed.

The *Western Journal and Civilian* was published at least until May, 1855, the date of the last number in the public libraries. M. Tarver and H. Cobb were editors and proprietors. Mr. Cobb was a lawyer by profession, and among the contributors were Bernard Pratte, Dr. H. A. Prout, and Edward Stagg.

The magazine was a curious *mélange* of commerce, fine arts, agriculture, literature, transportation, translations from French and German, politics, etc., and rather deserved the fun that was sometimes poked at it. The *Republican* once, acknowledging the receipt of a copy "with four poetical *bon-bons* from the junior editor," remarked, "We do not know that Hunt or DeBow or any other commercial statistician ever ventured on poetry. It is highly improbable that a man whose cranium is rented out as a store-house for fish, lard, molasses, and tobacco, lead, hemp, tallow, cheese, and pig-iron can possibly keep his imagination in nimble order and his acquaintance with the Muse on the best of terms. The Pegasus of the junior is a tame and sorry nag,—hog-backed, no doubt, by commercial drudgery."

Mr. Tarver died in St. Louis, May 17, 1856.

The Evening News, a two-cent Democratic journal, was established April 17, 1852, by Charles G. Ramsey and Abram S. Mitchell. It was edited with ability, and soon attained a considerable popularity. In 1860 its circulation had increased to four thousand copies daily, seven thousand weekly, and five hundred tri-weekly. The editor was Abram S. Mitchell, and the associate editor Daniel N. Grisson, now a member of the *Republican* staff. Its competition proving too keen for the *Intelligencer*, a daily journal which had enjoyed a fair measure of success, the latter paper was sold in 1853 to A. S. Mitchell & Co., who for four years managed the two papers separately and independently. But in the hard times of 1857 the *Intelligencer* was merged in the *News*, and for some time the consolidated paper was known as the *Daily News and Intelligencer*.

Some time after its incorporation by the latter with the *News* the words *and Intelligencer* were dropped from the title, and the paper became once more the *Evening News*. The *News* survived until 1867, when Mr. Ramsey sold it to the *Dispatch*. Before the war the *News* was a fairly enterprising journal, and was prosperous; but during and after the war a more vigilant style of journalism was demanded, and the paper found itself outstripped in the race.

Abram S. Mitchell, one of the founders of the *News*, was born Dec. 1, 1820, near Nashville, Tenn. His parents were both natives of Virginia. His grandfather, Thomas Mitchell, was a merchant in Lynchburg, Va., during the Revolution, and was a man of education, but his store was plundered by the British and he was reduced to poverty. He resorted to teaching, but died soon after. The family being quite destitute and helpless, emigrated to Tennessee. There were two sons, Thomas and Robert J., and several daughters. After struggling in various ways to support himself as he grew up, among others working at the shoe business, Robert J. Mitchell, the father of Abram S., joined the standard of Gen-

Jackson, who was raising volunteers for the Indian wars, and served under that leader in a campaign against the Creeks, and also in one against the Seminoles. Returning to Tennessee he married, commenced farming, and in 1827 removed to the Hatchess River, in West Tennessee.

Abram S. Mitchell was sent by his father to the schools of the neighborhood, but soon exhausted the little that they could impart. He was fortunate enough, however, to meet with an excellent teacher in the person of the Rev. James Holmes. During intermissions of school he sought work to aid in his own support. He applied at a brick-yard, but was rejected for want of strength, and was afterward employed in tending a bark-mill in a tannery. In 1837, just as he was preparing to finish his education by a collegiate course, his father became bankrupt by having become security for a sheriff, and all of his property was sold to meet his bond. However, a few years later, Robert W. Sanford, a friend of the family, feeling an interest in young Mitchell, and appreciating his desire for an education, aided him in going to college at Danville, Ky., where he remained only eighteen months, and graduated with full honors, having accomplished in that time what usually required a much longer period to perform. He taught school until he relieved himself of the debt he incurred in his education (about seven hundred dollars), and then studied law in Danville, and established a newspaper called the *Weekly Kentucky Tribune*, in connection with James S. Hall. That year he supported the Whig candidate for Governor, who, after election, before making any other appointment, bestowed upon him the office of Assistant Secretary of State.

About this time Mr. Mitchell married Miss Bodley, of Lexington, Ky. After serving the term of his appointment, he and his father-in-law, H. I. Bodley, determined on removing to St. Louis, which they did in 1849, the season of the dreadful visitation by the cholera, by which he lost his wife and child. This domestic affliction induced him to return to Kentucky, where in a short time he received an invitation to become assistant editor of the *St. Louis Intelligencer*. He accepted the invitation, but did not long remain connected with the paper. He also received an invitation to become editor of the *Republican Banner* at Nashville, Tenn., which he declined. He then became land agent and afterwards secretary of the Pacific Railroad Company. Some time after leaving this appointment, at the suggestion of some of the most prominent citizens of Missouri, Mr. Mitchell, as previously stated, in connection with Charles G. Ramsey, established the *Evening News*. He was half owner and chief editor of the journal.

Mr. Mitchell was married the second time in September, 1851, to Mary Brent Talbot, granddaughter of Governor William Owsley, of Kentucky.

C. G. Ramsey, his partner, continued with the *News* until its decease in 1867, and then had an interest in the *Dispatch*. Upon the absorption of that paper by the *Post* he went out of journalism, and was until February, 1883, inspector of customs at St. Louis.

The Westliche Post (German daily) was established Sept. 27, 1857. The first publishers were Carl Daenzer, at present of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, and Dr. F. Wenzel (who had edited a newspaper at Belleville, Ill.), under the firm-name of Daenzer & Wenzel, who were succeeded by Messrs. Wenzel and D. Hertle. The latter wrote an interesting history of the Germans in Missouri, especially dealing with the war period, when political and military affairs were conspicuously shaped by German voters and soldiers. In April, 1864, Theodore Plate became publisher, and at the same time Dr. Emil Preetorius acquired an interest in the paper, and became editor-in-chief. Dr. Preetorius has remained in that position continuously until the present time. In 1867, Arthur Olshausen[1] (publisher of the old *Anzeiger des Westens*) acquired an interest, and in May of the same year Carl Schurz became a partner and Dr. Preetorius' associate in the editorial management. The publishing firm was then Plate, Preetorius, Olshausen & Schurz. Messrs. Plate and Olshausen have gradually disposed of much of their interest, and Messrs. Preetorius and Schurz are the principal owners of the paper, which is now published by the Westliche Post Association, Emil Preetorius, president; Felix Coste, secretary and treasurer.

In April, 1874, the paper was first issued from its present commodious and convenient building, at the corner of Fifth and Market Streets, the property having been purchased May 27, 1871, for about ninety thousand dollars cash.

[1] Mr. Olshausen's brother, Theodore Olshausen, at one time a member of the editorial staff of the *Westliche Post*, died at Hamburg, Germany, March 31, 1869. Mr. Olshausen played a prominent part in the struggle of Schleswig-Holstein against Denmark, and took refuge in the United States after the failure of the cause which he had espoused. During the civil war he was chief editor of the *Westliche Post*, and became one of the most earnest partisans of that epoch. At the end of the war he sold his interest in the *Westliche Post* and returned to Europe on account of ill health, establishing his residence at Zurich, Switzerland. His private character was unimpeachable, and he enjoyed and deserved the respect of a large circle of friends. He was never married.

The *Westliche Post* is Republican in politics, and during the war exerted a powerful influence in behalf of the Union among the Germans. It has been edited with marked ability, and is one of the most prosperous German papers in the country.[1]

Dr. Emil Preetorius, who as editor-in-chief has guided the *Westliche Post* with consummate ability and skill, was born in Rhenish Hesse (Rheinplatz) in 1827, was educated first at the Gymnasiums at Mainz and Darmstadt, and then at the University of Giessen and the celebrated University of Heidelberg, and was graduated at the latter institution as Doctor of Laws in 1848. He began the practice of law with considerable success, but in consequence of having participated in the revolutionary movements of 1848–50, he was in the latter year obliged to leave Germany. He arrived in St. Louis in 1854, engaged for a while in mercantile pursuits, and then, the war coming on, devoted his time and means to organizing German regiments and sending them to the field. In 1862 he was elected to the State Legislature on the radical emancipation ticket, and in that body took an advanced position as an "immediate emancipationist." In 1864 he resumed business pursuits, but took an active part in the Presidential campaign of that year. During the same year, as already stated, he became the editor of the *Westliche Post*. In 1872 he identified himself with the Independent Republican movement, and contributed much to its success. Dr. Preetorius is a crisp, clear writer, and a logical and convincing speaker. His lectures on æsthetical, philosophical, and historical themes have attracted much attention not only among Germans, but among the English-speaking people of the West, and his sagacious direction has placed the *Westliche Post* in the front rank of American journalism.

Hon. Carl Schurz, whose assistance proved of great value to Dr. Preetorius in solidifying and extending the influence of the *Westliche Post*, was born in Liblar, near Cologne, March 2, 1829. He passed through the Gymnasium at Cologne, and spent two years at the famous University of Bonn, taking a course of history, philosophy, etc. He was an energetic actor in the revolution of 1848, and participated in the defense of Rastadt. He became a prisoner when the place capitulated, but escaped to Switzerland. He next distinguished himself by the brilliant rescue of a friend named Kinkel from the fortress of Spandau, after which he went to London (in 1851), and spent a year there teaching music and the languages. In 1852 he emigrated to America, spent three years in Philadelphia, and then removed to Wisconsin. He soon became noted throughout the country as an eloquent and effective speaker, not only in German but in English. President Lincoln appointed him minister to Spain in 1861, but desiring to engage in the war, he returned in December of that year, and as brigadier-general served creditably throughout the war. In March, 1862, he delivered a speech in favor of abolishing slavery in order to restore the national unity, and during the campaign of 1864 made several powerful speeches in favor of Lincoln's re-election. In 1865, President Johnson sent him South to investigate the condition of the Southern people. In 1866 he was for several months editor of the *Detroit* (Mich.) *Post*, and in 1867 purchased an interest in the *Westliche Post*, and became one of its editors. In 1869 he was elected to the United States Senate from Missouri, and served with distinction, occupying a foremost rank as a scholarly and eloquent debater. His senatorial career was marked by great independence, and in 1870–72 he led the revolt in the Republican party against the administration of Gen. Grant, which culminated in the nomination of Horace Greeley. In 1870 he pronounced in favor of the removal of the disabilities of those whom the Missouri Constitution had disfranchised. In 1875 he retired from the Senate and resumed his editorial duties on the *Westliche Post*, but in 1877 President Hayes appointed him Secretary of the Interior, and his four years' administration was marked by many reforms. In 1881 he withdrew from the *Westliche Post*, retaining, however, his interest in the paper, and became editor and part owner of the New York *Evening Post*, whose editor for many years was the poet, William Cullen Bryant.

Edward Leyh, now one of the principal members of the editorial staff of the *Westliche Post*, was for many years connected with the *German Correspondent* of Baltimore, first as an editorial writer and afterward

[1] Among the many talented men who have contributed to the columns of the *Westliche Post* was William Stengel, who died Oct. 29, 1880. He was born in Germany in 1830, and studied law at the University of Tübingen. In consequence of the active part he played in the revolution of 1848 he was compelled to leave his native country, and came to America, making his home in New York. In 1856 he emigrated West, and at Cincinnati entered the profession of journalism. In 1861, when the war opened, he was one of the first to go to the front, entering the Ninth Ohio Regiment as chaplain. The position was not active enough for him, and he was made captain. In that capacity he led his company in many a hard-fought conflict, taking part in the battles of the Wilderness, Lookout Mountain, and other noted engagements. At the close of the war he settled in St. Louis, and became assistant editor of the *Westliche Post*, a position he filled until his death. He left a wife and six children. Mr. Stengel was a well-known political writer, and had many friends.

as managing editor. Mr. Leyh's earliest newspaper experience in Baltimore was on the editorial staff of the *Baltimore Wecker*, and he subsequently established the *New Correspondent*. He left Baltimore in May, 1881, to accept an editorial position on the *Westliche Post*. As a terse, brilliant, and logical writer, Mr. Leyh has no superior on the German-American press. His information on political, historical, and scientific subjects is thorough and accurate. He has corresponded with several of the leading papers of Berlin, including *Die Gartenlaube*, and has done much literary work, among it a translation into German of Joaquin Miller's poems that possesses all the fire and spirit of the original. The translation was published in Berlin and has been greatly admired, and had an extensive sale in Germany.

The Hornet.—In January, 1874, A. B. Cunningham, a native of Louisiana, who had for some time been connected with the press of New Orleans, removed to St. Louis and obtained a position as reporter on the *Globe-Democrat*. Subsequently he became managing editor of the *Post*, but left it in December, 1878, when, in connection with Messrs. McGuffin and John Hodnett, well-known newspaper men, he established the *Evening Star*, which after a troubled career of about seven months was absorbed by the present *Post-Dispatch*. He was then for a short period city editor of the *Post-Dispatch*. On Sept. 11, 1879, he established *The Hornet*, a humorous weekly illustrated by the chromo-lithograph process. In March, 1880, a stock company with twenty thousand dollars capital was organized, with Mr. Cunningham as president and W. H. Nave as secretary. In August, 1882, the publication suspended. Mr. Cunningham is now connected with the *Globe-Democrat*.

Volks-Zeitung—Die Neue Welt—Staats-Zeitung—Courier.— In 1866–67 the *Volks-Zeitung*, a German evening paper, was established by —— Heeman. In November, 1868, it was merged in *Die Neue Welt*, a morning paper, started by a stock company composed mainly of stockholders of the German Bank. The first editors of *Die Neue Welt* were Heinrich Binder, now of the *Abend Post*, Detroit, and Carl Roesser, now of Washington, D. C. A. Willhartilz, at present a well-known teacher of music, was business manager for a season; and among others who acted in that capacity was Louis Soldan, at present principal of the Normal School, St. Louis. Finally, after losing a large amount of money for its stockholders (some authorities say eighty thousand dollars), it was absorbed in the *Staats-Zeitung*, a paper established by Gustav Bruere, now business manager of the *Anzeiger*. Ernest Schierenberg, now of the *Anzeiger* but then of St. Charles, Mo., became editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, and remained such during its existence. Among others connected with the paper was Dr. Makk, now of Colorado. The property was a losing one for a long time, and finally it was sold at public auction to Joseph Pulitzer, who published it one day and sold the telegraphic franchise to the *Globe*.

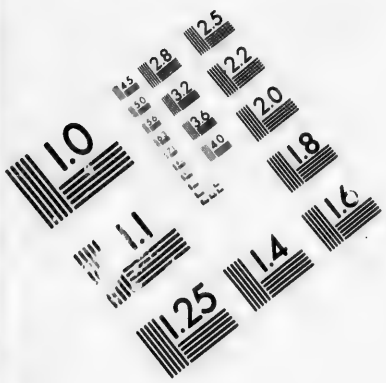
In the following week the *Courier* was established, an evening paper, with Dr. Makk as editor. In about a year he left it to establish an opposition paper, the *Volksblatt*, and was succeeded by Herr Harssen, now of the *Westliche Post*. The *Volksblatt* succeeded in killing the *Courier*, but in the struggle it killed itself. In 1875 Dr. Makk was the editor and proprietor of the *St. Louis Volksblatt*, a weekly and Sunday journal.

Amerika.—In 1872 an association known as the German Literary Society was organized for the purpose of establishing a German Democratic paper. It numbered several hundred members, and the first officers were: President, Henry J. Spaunhorst; Vice-President, John H. Grefenkamp; Secretary, Anthony Roeslein.

The paper *Amerika* first appeared Oct. 17, 1872. William Reinert was the business manager; Anthony Hellmich, editor; Dr. Edward Preuss, assistant editor; Charles H. Elker, commercial editor. In 1878, Hellmich retired, and Dr. Preuss became editor, and still occupies that position. He was formerly editor of the *Abend Schule*, a German weekly. *Amerika* publishes morning, Sunday, and weekly editions, and has a large circulation. In politics it is Democratic. The present officers of the publishing society are: President, William Druhe; Vice-President, Joseph Gummersbach; Secretary, Edward Preuss; Business Manager, John Peitzmeier.

St. Louiser Laterne.—In 1876, L. Suessmann established *Die Laterne* ("The Lantern"), a humorous and satirical illustrated paper. It was printed in the German language, and published weekly. In 1879 it passed into the hands of the Laterne Publishing Company, Louis Willichs, president; G. Brueckner, secretary. In April, 1882, G. Brueckner & Co. became proprietors. In July, 1882, an edition in English was commenced, but after two numbers was discontinued. The *Laterne* was suspended in the summer of 1882, but in December its publication was resumed by Louis Willichs. Its sprightly humor is appreciated by German readers.[1]

[1] Another paper called *The Lantern* was published in St. Louis in 1851 and 1852.



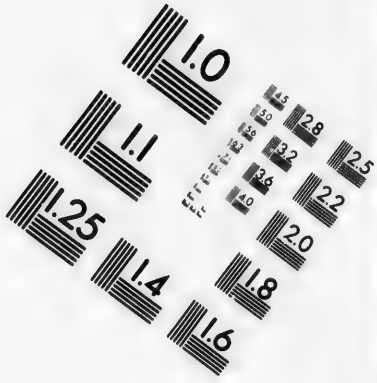
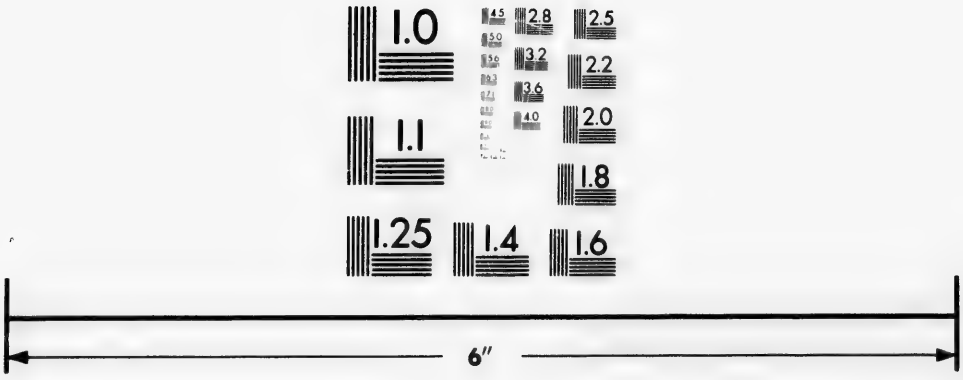
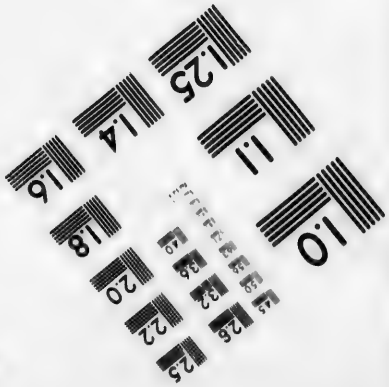


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Volkstimme des Westens was started in 1877 by a literary association of the Socialist Labor party, Germans. Dr. Otto Walster was editor-in-chief, and it was the recognized organ of the Socialists in the West. It lived two or three years.

The Spectator.—On the 18th of September, 1880, John R. Reavis founded *The Spectator*, a weekly paper, twenty pages in size, devoted to art, society, the drama, literature, and matters of general social interest. Upon the second issue George I. Jones became associated with Mr. Reavis as publisher, and in April, 1882, a company was incorporated with thirty thousand dollars capital, George I. Jones being chosen president, and John R. Reavis secretary. Journals of this class had not previously been successful in St. Louis; in fact, *The Spectator* is the only weekly that ever attained any permanent footing. It is believed that, with the exception of the *San Francisco Argonaut*, *The Spectator* is the most successful weekly paper of this kind in America, its circulation being large, and its advertising patronage handsome.

Mr. Reavis, who is still its editor, was born in Cooper County, Mo., in 1848; was educated at the Kentucky University; became part owner of the *Lexington* (Mo.) *Caucasian* in 1873; removed to St. Louis in 1875, and joined the staff of the *Times*, then under the charge of Stilson Hutchins, as a canvasser, and in 1878 was engaged on the *Evening Post* as a reporter, under John A. Dillon. He remained in that capacity until he founded *The Spectator*, in the management of which he has exhibited signal ability and tact. Mr. Reavis is a graceful and polished writer, and a frequent and valued contributor to the press of St. Louis.

Mr. Jones, the publisher, is a graduate of Harvard College, and while he devotes himself mainly to the business interests of the paper, often writes for its columns, and always in a logical and effective manner. Mr. Jones is also one of the largest and most enterprising book publishers in St. Louis, and the history of the St. Louis bridge, published by him, is the finest work that has ever issued from a St. Louis press. The success of *The Spectator* is largely due to his conservative judgment and excellent taste.

The Spectator's corps of writers is large, and its literary character is of a high order. The art department has from the first been conducted by W. R. Hodges, one of the regular contributors to the late *American Art Review;* while the dramatic department has also from the first been conducted by Henry W. Moore, a recognized authority in dramatic criticism throughout the country. In February, 1883, *The Spectator* absorbed *The Criterion*.

The Evening Chronicle was established July 31, 1880, by the Chronicle Publishing Company, which was controlled by J. E. Scripps, of Detroit, who was successfully managing papers of a similar character at Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo. *The Chronicle* was a six-column, two-cent paper, and its leading features were the treatment of subjects in a crisp and unconventional way. It at once achieved great popularity, and is now one of the recognized newspaper institutions of the city. Stanley Waterloo[1] was the first managing editor, and in November, 1882, he was succeeded by Dr. John B. Wood, a well-known journalist of New York, where he was for many years connected with the *Sun*, *Herald*, etc. Dr. Wood is known to the profession as "The Great American Condenser," and was once president of the New York Press Club.

In 1880–81, C. M. Howell (who was also for a season city editor of the *Republican*) was city editor of the *Chronicle*. In 1882, W. V. Byars, a very capable writer of the *Times* and other newspaper staffs, was city editor. In August, 1882, he was succeeded by F. H. Burgess, formerly connected with several Michigan papers, and for some years associate editor of the *Detroit Evening News*.

Early in 1883 the *Chronicle* moved into a well-arranged newspaper building of its own on Sixth Street near Market.

St. Louis Daily News.—A morning paper with this title appeared Nov. 6, 1881. It was a seven-column quarto, was modeled upon the *New York*

[1] Stanley Waterloo was born in St. Clair County, Mich., in 1846, and is a graduate of Michigan University (class of 1868). After a short experience at school-teaching, he went, in 1869, to Chicago and became a reporter on the *Tribune*, *Times*, and *Post;* was assistant editor of the *Insurance Spectator*, now published in New York, and was with Goodsell Brothers, who now publish the *Daily Graphic*. He became editor of the *American Builder*, a monthly now published in New York, and while in charge of this publication organized the "Waterloo Printing Company," which the great fire swept out of existence. He then removed to St. Louis, where he published the *Builder* for circulation in Chicago, but finally left that paper and joined the staff of Wallcott & Hume's *Daily Journal* (established about that time) as editorial writer and part owner. In 1874 he became news editor and editorial writer on the *Republican*, and afterwards city editor of the same paper, a position which he filled with distinction for four years. He then organized a stock company for the publication of a two-cent daily paper, and subsequently effected a union with Mr. Scripps' company, which was preparing to occupy the same field. Soon after forming the connection with the *Republican* he became a regular correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette*. He subsequently relinquished this position to become correspondent and general representative in St. Louis of the *New York Sun*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Cincinnati Enquirer*, but on establishing the *Chronicle* he abandoned this connection.

Sun, and sold for two cents a copy. It was Democratic in politics, and among its stockholders were several capitalists of that political complexion. Edwin Harrison was president of the publishing company, George Mills was vice-president and secretary, and Thomas Smith was treasurer and business manager. George Mills was managing editor; R. A. Dyer, telegraph and sporting editor; E. A. Skeel, news editor; George Kelly, commercial editor; George Eddy, city editor; John Hodnett, advertising and circulation agent. The paper was well edited, but the financial management was unsuccessful, and in March, 1882, it ceased to exist, having sunk from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand dollars in its short but animated career.

George Mills, formerly editor of the *News*, is a leading journalist of St. Louis, and is best known for his writings on art, on which subject he is an acknowledged authority. His judgment is excellent, his taste cultivated and refined, and his style clear, nervous, and graceful.

The Criterion.—In May, 1882, was established *The Criterion*, a weekly, published by a company of that name; F. Weber Benton, editor and manager; John J. Roche, secretary. Mr. Benton had been editor of a country paper in Missouri. *The Criterion* was mainly devoted to the discussion of literary and social matters. It soon engaged the pens of the finest writers in the city, among them that of Dr. M. W. Willis, a scholarly contributor to some of the most prominent periodicals of America. It speedily obtained great popularity, but in February, 1883, was absorbed by *The Spectator*.

Shepherd of the Valley.—In 1834 or 1835 the *Shepherd of the Valley* was established as the organ of the Catholic Church. In 1839, Thomas Mullen started the *Catholic Banner*. Its career, like that of the *Shepherd*, is shrouded in oblivion. In 1851, R. A. Bakewell re-established the *Shepherd of the Valley*. It existed until 1854, and became the property of Rev. Dr. J. H. High and J. Gilman, LL.D., who made it a "Know-Nothing" organ under the title of *The True Shepherd of the Valley and St. Louis Know-Nothing*.

In 1859, B. D. Killian began the publication of the *Western Banner*. How long it lasted is unknown.

The Herold des Glaubens ("Herald of Faith") was established in 1850 by Franz Saler. In 1875 increasing years induced Mr. Saler to sell the paper, which then fell under the control of the German Printing and Publishing Association, G. H. Timmerman, president; John J. Ganahl, vice-president; Joseph Gummersbach, secretary; Very Rev. Dr. Muehlsiepen and Francis Cornet, directors. Joseph Wegmann is the editor, and L. Blankemeier is the business manager.

The *Herold des Glaubens* is a Catholic German weekly journal, has over thirteen thousand circulation, and is the official organ of several dioceses, besides having the indorsement of numerous dignitaries of the church, many of whom have written for it editorially and otherwise.

The Western Watchman was established in 1865 by Rev. D. S. Phelan, a priest of the Catholic Church, at Medina, Mo. The "Drake Constitution," then in force, prescribed a "test oath" for clergymen, and Mr. Phelan, refusing to take the oath, was imprisoned. The *Western Watchman* was started to agitate for a repeal of the obnoxious law. In 1867 the paper was removed to St. Louis, Mr. Phelan having been transferred to the parish of "Our Lady of Mount Carmel," in Baden, North St. Louis. He is still the editor, and W. H. Phelan has been for ten years business manager. It is published weekly, and is the organ of the English-speaking Catholics of the diocese.

Baptist Publications.—The first Baptist newspaper in Missouri was issued in 1842, under the auspices of the General Association, and was called the *Missouri Baptist*, the organ of the denomination in Missouri and neighboring States. It lasted only until 1844.

In 1848 the *Western Watchman* was established, with Rev. T. W. Lynd editor. It survived until the early years of the war. Another *Missouri Baptist* was established in 1860 by the Missouri Baptist Publication Society; Rev. S. H. Ford editor. This also died during the war.

In 1865, John Hill Luther began the publication, at Palmyra, Mo., of the *Missouri Baptist Journal*, which next year was recognized as the State paper by the General Association. About a year later the *Baptist Record* made its appearance at St. Louis, under the editorial conduct of Rev. A. Kendrick, D.D. In 1868 the two papers were consolidated at St. Louis, and the name of *Central Baptist* was given to the new journal, whose aim was to unite the Baptists of Missouri on a common platform. Luther & Kendrick were the publishers. In 1874, Dr. W. Pope Yeaman bought an interest in the paper and then became sole proprietor, and in 1877, Rev. Wm. Ferguson became owner and editor; but in July, 1882, the latter sold it to Rev. William H. Williams, a well-known Baptist clergyman of Charlottesville, Va. The paper circulates widely, and is a fine property. It is published weekly.

The American Baptist Flag, a forty-eight-column quarto, was established in January, 1875, by the Rev. D. B. Ray, who has been its editor and proprietor ever since. The original title was *The Baptist Battle-Flag*, but in 1880 the name was changed to the present one. The *Baptist Flag* claims the largest circulation of any paper of its denomination west of the Mississippi. Its peculiar feature is polemic theology and church history. Mr. Ray, the editor, was once connected with the *Baptist Sentinel*, a Kentucky paper, and is the author of "Baptist Succession," a hand-book of Baptist history, and an exhaustive and authoritative treatise. He is also the author of a "Text-Book on Campbellism."

The Regular Baptist Magazine was established in 1875 by E. H. Burnam, and has been continuously owned and edited by him. It is published by J. T. Smith & Co., and is issued monthly. It comprises forty pages, and is the organ of the "primitive" (or regular) Baptists, in contradistinction to the "missionary" Baptists, who are strongly represented in Missouri.

St. Louis Christian Advocate.—This paper, a weekly, was published first in 1850 by "a committee of the St. Louis and Missouri Annual Conference for the Methodist Church South," consisting of Rev. J. Boyle, editor *pro tem.;* J. Mitchell, associate editor *pro tem.;* Rev. F. A. Morris, A.M., Rev. Richard Bond, M.D., corresponding editors. In 1851 the St. Louis and Missouri Conferences unanimously petitioned that the Rev. Dr. R. M. McAnnally be assigned as editor, and in December of that year he assumed that position, having been transferred from Holston Conference. This relation continued until 1868, when, at his own request, he was relieved. For four years the Rev. T. M. Finney conducted the paper, assisted by Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Bond, of Boston, and in 1872, at the general solicitation of leading members of the denomination, Dr. McAnnally resumed the editorial management, and has been the editor without interruption ever since. The paper has always been the organ of the Methodist Church South.

Dr. McAnnally was born in Tennessee in 1810, and was the son of a well-known Methodist minister. He commenced to study law, but abandoned it for the ministry, and at the age of nineteen was ordained with full powers for the ministry, and soon became conspicuous as an eloquent and effective preacher of the Methodist Church. He preached in Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, and other States until 1843, when he became president of the female college at Knoxville, a position he held for eight years. Under his management the school became permanently famous. In 1851, as stated above, he took charge of the *Christian Advocate*.

In addition to his editorial duties, which have been performed with singular acceptability, Dr. McAnnally has written several important works. Beside several theological treatises of minor interest, he has published "Methodism and Slavery," discussing the official connection of that church with slavery; "Life and Labors of Bishop E. M. Marvin," and the lives of the Rev. Dr. S. Patton, the Rev. William Patton, and others. His most ambitious work is a "History of Methodism in Missouri." One crown octavo volume has already appeared, and the work will embrace another volume, perhaps two.

Dr. McAnnally is a fearless, lucid, and forcible writer, and in the exciting controversies which have agitated the church and the country since his connection with the *Advocate* has never hesitated to utter his convictions regardless of consequences. All his work bears the impress of a strong, healthy, and original mind.

Central Christian Advocate.—Some time in 1852 or 1853 the Rev. W. D. R. Trotter began the publication of the *Central Christian Advocate*, a Methodist journal. It never commended itself to the General Methodist Conference, and lasted only two or three years. In 1856 the Conference authorized the founding of a new paper and gave it the name of the *Central Christian Advocate*, and in 1857 elected Joseph Brooks as the first Conference editor, J. L. Conklin having been the first editor provisionally. Mr. Brooks served four years, and was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Elliott, who served four years. B. F. Crany then served eight years, and in 1872 the Rev. Dr. B. St. James Fry was elected to the position, which he has continuously held up to the present time, the paper constantly remaining the property of the General Conference. It is published by the Western Methodist Book Concern, and is the organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church for Missouri and the neighboring States. It is issued weekly.

Joseph Brooks, the first editor, assumed the editorial chair at a critical period. The Methodist Church had divided on the subject of slavery, and the coming war was already foreshadowed. He placed his paper on the anti-slavery side of the contest, and when the war broke out enlisted as chaplain in the First Missouri Artillery, and was transferred to the Eleventh Missouri Infantry. He very early advocated the enlistment of colored troops, and in order to show his faith in the experiment, he permitted himself to be transferred to one of the colored regiments. After the war he settled in Arkansas, was elected to the Legislature,

and in 1872 claimed to have been elected Governor, but was kept out of his seat until 1874, when upon being installed, President Grant interfered and deposed him. This controversy, known as the Brooks-Baxter war, created a great sensation all over the country. He died in 1877.

Dr. Charles Elliott, his editorial successor, had been for many years an editor of church papers. He wrote a work entitled "Delineation of Roman Catholicism," and the principal mission of his life was opposition to Catholicism. He died at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, in 1869.

Dr. Fry, the present editor, is a native of East Tennessee, but his boyhood was passed in Cincinnati. For four years he was president of Worthington Female College, for three years was chaplain in the army, and in 1865 was appointed to the charge of the Methodist Book Concern at St. Louis. He is the author of several Sunday-school books, of a prize essay on "Property Consecrated," and of the lives of Bishops Whatcoat, McKendree, and Roberts.

German Evangelical Publications.—A. Wiebusch & Sons are printers for several publications issued by the Evangelical Synod of North America (German).

Der Friedensbote was established in 1849 by the Church Society of the West, representing the United Evangelicals, a German Protestant denomination. Subsequently the United Evangelicals developed, and organized the Evangelical Synod, which continued the publication for some years. It has a large circulation, and is issued semi-monthly. Rev. C. A. Witte is editor of *Der Friedensbote* ("Messenger of Peace").

Christliche Kinder-Zeitung, a semi-monthly illustrated paper for the young, was established in 1866 by the Evangelical Synod of North America.

The Theologische Zeitschrift was founded in 1872. It is a monthly periodical, designed for the ministers of the Evangelical Synod.

The Evangelischer Gemeindeblatt is a monthly, started in 1878 as the organ of the Evangelical Pastors' Union of St. Louis.

Christlicher Bunder-Bote.—This periodical, the organ of the General Conference of the Mennonites of North America, is also published by A. Wiebusch & Sons. It was established Jan. 1, 1882, and appears semi-monthly. The Rev. David Goerz, Halstead, Kan., is the editor.

Protestantische Familien-Blatt.—Some six years ago there flourished a paper of this name, but it was merged in *Der Protestantischen Zeitblaetter* of Cincinnati, which in turn was merged into *Die Union*, and then died. On the 1st of July, 1882, the publication of *Protestantische Familien-Blatt* was resumed by the Rev. J. G. Eberhard and the Rev. J. F. Jonas, Evangelical Protestant clergymen of St. Louis. It is devoted to bringing about a union between the Evangelical Protestant congregations of North America and those of kindred ways of thinking. Rev. Mr. Eberhard is editor; Rev. Mr. Jonas, business manager.

The St. Louis Presbyterian was edited by Rev. E. Thompson Baird, who in 1854 transferred to Rev. N. L. Rice, editor; Keith & Woods, publishers. *The Presbyterian* was then in its eleventh year. In 1862 we find that John H. Schenck, one of the proprietors of *The Presbyterian* newspaper, was placed under arrest on the charge of having been a captain in the Confederate army.

In 1865, R. P. Farris began the publication of the *St. Louis Presbyterian*, a weekly. For a few years it was issued by the Presbyterian Publishing Company, but is now printed by J. T. Smith & Co. Mr. Farris is still editor. It is a six-column quarto, is issued weekly, and circulates generally in the West and South. A special edition is published for Texas.

The St. Louis Observer was established in 1876, at Macon City, Mo., by the Rev. W. Benton Farr, D.D., a Presbyterian clergyman, and J. D. Howe and J. R. Malone, bankers of that place. Subsequently Mr. Farr removed to Alton, Ill., taking the paper with him; Howe and Malone withdrew, and Messrs. Perrin and Smith took an interest. The firm was then known as the St. Louis Observer Publishing Company, the office of the paper being in St. Louis. In April, 1882, Mr. Farr withdrew from the company, remaining, however, as editor, and the Rev. W. C. Logan bought Smith's interest and became associate editor. The *Observer* is the organ of the Cumberland Presbyterians, and circulates very largely among the people of that denomination in the North and West. It is a six-column quarto, published weekly, and is conducted with marked ability.

The Missouri Presbyterian was established in 1865 by Aaron F. Cox, formerly of the *St. Louis Observer*. Mr. Cox died Nov. 5, 1869. Mr. Cox was born in Philadelphia, and his publishing career began in Louisville, Ky., in 1855, on the *Watchman and Evangelist*, which was united with the *Missouri Cumberland Presbyterian* in 1858. The consolidated paper was published in St. Louis under the name of the *St. Louis Observer*. He retired from that paper in 1862, and became the publisher of the *Missouri Presbyterian* in 1865. He was the first superintendent of the Pratte Avenue Mission Sunday-school, which culminated in the organization of a prosper-

ous church. He was among the first who organized the St. Louis Provident Association, and took a leading part in the organization of other equally worthy benevolent operations.

The St. Louis Evangelist was originally a Presbyterian monthly, founded in January, 1875, by the Rev. J. W. Allen. Mr. Allen is a native of Belmont, Ohio. He was born in 1837; graduated at Washington College, Pa., in 1860; pursued theological studies at the Western Theological Seminary at Alleghany City, Pa., and served as pastor of Presbyterian Churches for several years.

In the fall of 1882 the Presbyterian News Company was organized (with twenty thousand dollars capital) to publish *The Evangelist* as a weekly, and in January, 1883, the paper so appeared. Rev. E. Cooper was appointed editorial manager, and the Revs. H. D. Ganse, J. H. Brookes, and S. J. Nicolls were appointed an editorial committee. The board of directors of the Presbyterian Newspaper Company is organized as follows: President, Carlos S. Greeley; Vice-President, John R. Lionberger; Secretary, Edward Cooper; Treasurer, J. W. Allen.

The Christian.—In 1864, E. L. Craig, a prominent preacher in the Disciples (or Campbellite) Church, founded *The Gospel Echo*, a monthly publication, of which he was both editor and proprietor. In 1867 he sold the paper to J. C. Reynolds, a professor in Abingdon College, Illinois, also a preacher in the Christian denomination, and now president of Canton University, Missouri, who a year later associated with himself J. H. Garrison, a brilliant young graduate of Abingdon College. In 1873 *The Gospel Echo* was consolidated with *The Christian*, of Kansas City, and the publication-office was removed to St. Louis. A stock company—The Christian Publishing Company—was formed to publish it and other religious works. *Gospel Echo* was then dropped from the title. James H. Garrison, James B. Goff, and John C. Reynolds were the first directors of the company. The present editors are James H. Garrison and James H. Smart.

The company also publishes a full line of Sunday-school papers, its leading issues being *The Little Sower*, a weekly, formerly of Indianapolis, and the *Gospel Teacher*, a monthly, both edited by W. W. Darling. The Christian Publishing Company also publishes a forty-eight-page ladies' illustrated magazine under the title of the *Christian Monitor*. It was started at Indianapolis in 1861 by Mrs. M. M. B. Goodwin, and was removed successively to Cincinnati and Oskaloosa, Iowa. In 1879 it was bought of Mrs. Goodwin by the present publishers. Mrs. S. E. Smart is editor, and Mrs. Goodwin is associate and corresponding editor.

The Church News was established in 1869, and is published in the interest of the Episcopal diocese of Missouri, being the organ of the bishop. For the past twelve years G. W. Matthews has been the publisher. It appears monthly.

The Jewish Tribune.—In 1876, Godlove, Fredman & Wolfner established the *Jewish Tribune*. Subsequently it became the property of Rev. Dr. Sonneschein and Rev. Mr. Spitz, who were its editors. The *Tribune* was originally devoted to society matters among the Hebrews, but Messrs. Sonneschein & Spitz made it largely a theological paper. Finally it was bought by M. C. Reefer, who is business manager and local editor. The editor is Dr. David Stern, of Wilkesbarre, Pa. It is published weekly, and is the organ of Western and Southwestern Israelites.

Kellogg's St. Louis Record.—This journal, issued weekly, is devoted to the interests of the well-known A. N. Kellogg Company, whose business (that of supplying newspaper publishers with printed or "auxiliary" sheets) may properly claim mention in an article devoted to the press of St. Louis. This system, so widely practiced in America, was invented by Mr. Kellogg, a country editor in Wisconsin during the war, who went into the business on a large scale in Chicago in 1875. The St. Louis house was opened in May, 1872, and has been under the charge of F. C. Wood, manager. It regularly supplies nearly five hundred papers with printed sheets, and also furnishes about one hundred offices with a greater or less quantity of "auxiliary" plates. The house occupies a large building at the corner of Walnut and Third Streets.

St. Louis Newspaper Union.—The object of this concern is also to supply country (and other) publishers with printed sheets. It was established in June, 1878, by the "Kansas City Times Publishing Company," but in July, 1881, the connection with the *Times* was severed, James E. Munford becoming sole owner. The concern supplies about one hundred and thirty papers with sheets. It occupies a four-story building at 513 and 515 Elm Street, and makes its facilities known by means of a publication called the *Printers' Journal*. Charles A. Gitchell is manager.

Mr. Munford, the proprietor, has been for forty years a resident of St. Louis, for thirty years of the period a lawyer, but for the last ten years has been actively engaged in the newspaper business. He is one of the owners of the *Kansas City Times*.

Hackstaff's Monthly.—In January, 1880, appeared the first number of this publication, a handsomely-printed monthly devoted to the graphic arts,

the book and paper trades, and general literature. It was edited by W. P. Wade, then a prominent lawyer, and a well-known *littérateur* and law writer, and now of Denver, Col. It was illustrated to a limited extent. Among the contributors were Harriet Prescott Spofford, and most of its articles were paid for at liberal rates. The contents were varied and interesting, the literary standard was high, and the publication had certain popular features which promised much for success. The second number (February, 1880) confirmed the excellent impression produced by its predecessor, but it proved the last. Owing to certain difficulties in the way of getting the magazine "handled" by the news companies and by the trade, the publishers (George C. Hackstaff & Co.) became discouraged and abandoned the enterprise, having lost two thousand two hundred dollars in the experiment. The project had indisputably many of the elements of success, and deserved a better fate.

The St. Louis Illustrated Magazine was originally *Whittaker's Magazine*, established in October, 1870, by Charles Whittaker, proprietor and editor. In the fall of 1871, F. J. Gilmore, formerly connected with several papers in Iowa, became the owner, and is still its manager and editor. It is a forty to fifty page monthly, with a large circulation and a fine advertising patronage, and is regarded as the first really paying and prosperous magazine ever published in St. Louis. It is devoted to fashions, general literature, etc. Mr. Whittaker, its founder, is now a resident of Chicago, and has become quite famous as an inventor.

Ware's Valley Monthly.—In May, 1875, Charles E. Ware established *Ware's Valley Monthly, a Journal of Western Thought and Life.* W. M. Leftwich, a prominent Methodist clergyman, was the editor. It was never very prosperous, but Mr. Ware thinks it might have been made to pay had he been able to devote more time and attention to it. Other publishing enterprises engrossed his energies, and after two or three years he sold it to Gen. M. J. Wright, in whose hands it died in about a year.

Mr. Leftwich went from St. Louis to Tennessee, and is now instructor in an educational institution at Columbia, Tenn. Gen. Wright is now superintendent of the Historical Archives of the Southern Confederacy at Washington, D. C.

Western Educational Review.—In 1866 or thereabout the *Western Educational Review*, a monthly magazine, was established by Professor O. H. Feathers, a well-known elocutionist of that period, his publishers being Habert & Co. In 1872 the name was changed to *The Western*, E. F. Habert & Co. being the publishers, and Professor Thomas Davidson the editor. Its contents were mainly of an educational, literary, and scientific character. It expired not long after.

In 1875 it was revived by the Western Publishing Association. Professor H. H. Morgan, now principal of the High School, was editor, and among his assistants were Dr. W. T. Harris, D. J. Snider, Z. G. Wilson, F. G. Cook, and B. V. B. Dixon, most of whom were and still are prominently connected with the public schools of St. Louis. In 1878–79 the magazine was published by G. I. Jones & Co., and in 1880–81 by H. W. Jamieson. With the issue for December, 1881, the publication discontinued. The magazine aimed to represent the literary culture of the West, and its editor, Mr. Morgan, gave to it much painstaking and self-sacrificing labor.

The Western was distinguished for its high literary character, and enjoyed an excellent reputation, not only throughout America but in Europe. It did not, however, meet with sufficient appreciation in St. Louis, and in the aggregate some fifteen thousand dollars was lost in the attempt to make it pay, which it was on the point of doing when Mr. Jamieson's other and more pressing business rendered its discontinuance advisable.

Kunkel's Musical Review.—In November, 1877, Kunkel Bros. established a *Musical Review*, a monthly periodical devoted to music and art. It soon took high rank, and is now regarded as one of the best publications of its class in America. For four years it has been edited by I. D. Foulon, A.M., LL.B.

The Universe.—A magazine of this name was established in October, 1882. It was devoted to general reading,—history, biography, travels, education, science, art, poetry, religion, commerce, and politics. J. E. Diekenga was the editor, H. M. Davis associate editor, and George B. Groff manager.

Atlantis.—In May, 1845, Cormany & Benckendorf established *Atlantis*, a semi-monthly devoted to *belles-lettres.*

The Vanguard.—A paper of this name was established by the Revs. Sherman and Ellis, in July, 1881, somewhere in Illinois, where these gentlemen were conducting a series of "holiness" meetings. For several months it was published in a tent with which they wandered about that State, and in October of 1881 it settled at Quincy, Ill., and in April, 1882, it was removed to St. Louis. In October, 1882, Mr. Ellis retired, and Mr. Sherman became sole proprietor and editor. It is published semi-monthly.

Southern Law Review.—This publication was established in Nashville, Tenn., in 1872, as a quar-

terly. In 1875 it was bought by Soule, Thomas & Wentworth, who removed it to St. Louis. In 1876 it was bought by G. I. Jones & Co., who conducted it until 1880, when they sold it to the Review Publishing Company. In 1877 it appeared as a bi-monthly. Among its editors was Hon. S. D. Thompson, now of the St. Louis Court of Appeals. Lucien Eaton is the present editor. The *Southern Law Review* is regarded as an able and useful publication, and in Europe, where it widely circulates, it is recognized as a representative American journal.

The *Southern Law Review* was conducted as such until January, 1883, when it absorbed the celebrated *American Law Review*, published for many years by Little, Brown & Co., of Boston, Mass., and took its name. It appears bi-monthly, and its contributors are among the most eminent law writers of the country.

The Central Law Journal was established in 1874 by Soule, Thomas & Wentworth, the editors being J. F. Dillon and S. D. Thompson, subsequently well-known judges. The ownership has passed successively to G. I. Jones, Judge Thompson, and W. H. Stevenson, and lastly to Mr. Soule, who is sole owner. J. D. Lawson was the second editor, and W. L. Murfree, Jr., is the present editor. It is published weekly, and the circulation is claimed to be second to that of no law journal in the United States. It contains twenty pages octavo.

American Journal of Education.—In 1867, J. B. Merwin, who had been connected with the *Home and School Journal* of Chicago, established the *American Journal of Education*, and has remained its editor and proprietor ever since. Mr. Merwin was associated with Horace Mann and Henry Barnard in establishing the school systems of Massachusetts and Connecticut. He made the *American Journal of Education* a progressive publication, and under his management it has largely contributed to building up the school system of the Southwest. The *Journal of Education* has a large circulation, and editions are printed for Missouri, Illinois and Wisconsin, Kansas and Colorado, Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Tennessee. A specialty of the *Journal of Education* has been the publication of plans for school-houses, many of which have been adopted in the States mentioned.

The Teacher.—In January, 1853, Professor John H. Tice, superintendent of the public schools of St. Louis, established *The Teacher*, a monthly publication of much ability and interest. At the end of a year or so it was discontinued for want of support.

Masonic Publications.—The first Masonic publication in St. Louis was the *Masonic Signet and Literary Mirror*, established in 1848 by J. W. S. Mitchell, P.G.M., and a very prominent Mason of that period. It was soon after suspended, but revived in January, 1849, as a monthly. In 1854, Mr. Mitchell transferred the magazine to the publishers of a similar journal at Marietta, Ga., with which it was consolidated.

In January, 1867, George Frank Gouley established *The Freemason*, and conducted it until 1874–75, when it was merged in the *Voice of Masonry*. Exceedingly sad recollections cluster about Gouley's name. He was born in Delaware in 1832; studied law in the office of James A. Bayard, United States senator from that State; was for some time private secretary of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, and became well acquainted with the public men and politics of the country; removed to the West in 1861, and was for a short time in business in St. Louis and in Nebraska. In 1864 he became assistant secretary, and in 1866 grand secretary of the Grand Lodge of Masons of Missouri, and was re-elected annually until his death. He was very prominent in the order, filled many of the highest positions in the State, and always with ability, zeal, and fidelity. He was a master of Masonic law, a fluent speaker, a strong writer, and an acknowledged power in the Masonic fraternity of Missouri. As an editor, he won a national reputation. This gifted man was one of the victims of the Southern Hotel fire, which occurred on the 11th of April, 1877. On the following Sunday he was buried with imposing ceremonies.

Knights of Honor Magazine.—In January, 1881, R. H. Robbins established the *Knights of Honor Magazine*, a monthly devoted to the interests of the Knights of Honor, a secret beneficiary society. It expired in May, 1882.

Goldbeck's Musical Instructor.—In April, 1882, Robert Goldbeck, a well-known music-teacher, started the *Musical Instructor*, a monthly. Its leading features are complete graduating courses for the piano, the voice, and harmony, and it at once took a high position among the musical publications of the country.

Fonetic Teacher.—This magazine was established in July, 1879, by Professor T. R. Vickroy, of St. Louis, a prominent member of the American Spelling Reform Association. Four numbers appeared that year, and in 1880 the *Teacher* began to be published regularly as a monthly. In 1882 it appeared as a semi-monthly. It is printed in the transition alphabet of the Spelling Reform Association, and is the organ of that body, whose object is the simplification of English orthog-

raphy. Its appearance marked the real beginning of practical spelling reform.

The St. Louis Philatelist, devoted to stamp and coin collecting, has been published for several years, "as often as practicable," for free distribution to numismatists, etc. E. F. Gambs, a coin and stamp dealer of St. Louis, is the editor and publisher.

The St. Louis Practical Photographer is an illustrated monthly journal devoted to the elevation and improvement of the photographic art. It was established Jan. 1, 1876, by J. H. Fitzgibbon, by whom it has been managed ever since. This is next to the oldest photographic journal in America, and has a high standing in the photographic world.

In the fall of 1882, Mr. Fitzgibbon died, and the publication of the *Photographer* was suspended until Jan. 1, 1883, when it was resumed by Mrs. Fitzgibbon, beginning a new series.

Ladies' Magazines.—In 1872 the *St. Louis Magazine* (a monthly) was established, and soon fell into the possession of Miss Julia M. Purinton (now Mrs. Julia M. Purinton Thompson). It was exclusively a ladies' magazine, being set up, edited, and published by women. It attained quite a circulation, but its career was short, not much exceeding a year.

Early in 1872, Mrs. Charlotte Smith and Miss Mary Nolan founded the *Inland Monthly*. This was exclusively a woman's paper. Not only was the type set up by lady compositors, but Miss Nolan often made up the "forms" herself, work usually done by men. Owing to disagreements in regard to the management, Miss Nolan retired in about four months, and established a magazine of her own. Under Mrs. Smith's conduct the *Inland Monthly* attained considerable celebrity, and was a promising literary experiment. Subsequently she brought out editions simultaneously in St. Louis and Chicago, and finally moved the magazine to the latter place, where it died in 1878–79.

Mrs. Smith was born in Tennessee in 1843, and was reared in limited circumstances, which with delicate health prevented her receiving a thorough education. After residing at Memphis, Mobile, and Philadelphia, she removed to Chicago in 1871, but the great fire caused her to settle at St. Louis, where she determined to attempt the publication of a magazine worthy of the great Mississippi valley, and the result was the *Inland Monthly*, which she edited with great ability. It was admittedly one of the best publications of its kind in the West.

Mrs. Smith was noted as a philanthropist, and derived the greatest pleasure from relieving the wants of the distressed. She was a frequent and helpful visitor in the prisons, poor-houses, and hospitals of the city. For some years Mrs. Smith has resided in Washington, D. C.

Among those associated with her on the *Inland Monthly* at one time was L. U. Reavis, author of several publications concerning St. Louis.

The Central Magazine was the title of Miss Mary Nolan's magazine above mentioned. It was published five years, and appeared to be flourishing, when domestic reasons induced its discontinuance. Miss Nolan was a graceful and accomplished editor, and the *Central Magazine* was one of the most versatile and generally interesting periodicals ever published in St. Louis. Miss Nolan still resides in St. Louis, and is busy with her pen contributing to the Eastern and local papers.

Colman's Rural World.—In 1848, Ephraim Abbott established the *Valley Farmer*, a small monthly pamphlet. Five years later it was bought by Norman J. Colman, who changed the name to *Colman's Rural World*, and soon after made it a weekly. Mr. Colman has been its publisher ever since; it is now a six-column quarto, with a large circulation. Its specialty is the advocacy of sorghum culture and the manufacture of sugar from that plant, and it is the only publication in the United States devoted to this industry. It is the organ of many of the State associations. Col. Colman has long been prominent in public matters. In 1866–68 he was a member of the lower house of the General Assembly, and in 1874 was elected Lieutenant-Governor on the Democratic ticket with Governor Hardin. For ten years he was one of the board of curators of the State University. He has been president of the State Horticultural Society, and is now president of the Mississippi Valley Cane-Growers' Association and of the National Association of Nurserymen, Seedsmen, and Florists.

The Journal of Agriculture and Farmer was established in 1860 by W. V. Wolcott and J. S. Marmaduke as a monthly, under the title of *The Illustrated Journal of Agriculture*. After about a year, Vincent and J. S. Marmaduke succeeded as publishers, and about a year later Marmaduke, Chew & Co. became publishers. It was next published by the "Journal of Agriculture Company," consisting of J. S. Marmaduke (president), Leslie Marmaduke, T. T. Turner, Charles H. Turner (secretary), W. B. Collier, Philip Chew, and L. H. Baker. Eventually Philip Chew bought all the stock, and with it was consolidated the *Weekly Missouri Farmer*, published at Boonville, Mo., which was moved to St. Louis. The new publication took the name of *The Journal of Agriculture and Farmer*, as at present, and appeared

weekly, with Chew, Cordell & Co. as publishers. After a year Mr. Cordell (who was a farmer) retired, and for two years Chew & Harness conducted the paper, but in 1878 Mr. Chew bought Harness out, and has been sole publisher ever since. During most of the time of Mr. Chew's connection with the paper he has had the absolute management. Mr. Chew was born in Mississippi, and came to St. Louis to seek his fortune. He had but thirteen dollars in his pocket when he landed in the town. His subsequent career has been creditable in the highest degree.

The St. Louis Midland Farmer was founded in 1872 by G. W. Matthews & Co. (G. W. Matthews, P. C. Wood), and has been edited and published by them ever since. It is a general agricultural and family paper, and appears weekly.

The Overseer was established in 1879 by W. F. Bohn, and edited by F. H. Bacon; it is published monthly, and is the organ of the Ancient Order of United Workmen. In 1880 it absorbed the *Missouri Workman*, devoted to the same secret society, and published by the Missouri Workman Publishing Company, which had then been in existence about a year.

The Western Live-Stock Journal, established in 1874, after an unimportant career was bought by S. H. Burt in July, 1881, and subsequently by him consolidated with the *St. Louis Spirit*. In June, 1882, its publication was begun as a daily, and it was the first daily paper west of the Mississippi exclusively devoted to live-stock interests.

South and West.—In August, 1880, Alfred Avery, who had become well known as the founder and successful manager of *Home and Farm*, at Louisville, Ky., settled in St. Louis and established *South and West*, himself being editor, and Alfred Avery & Co. publishers. The partners were A. Mansur, a leading dealer in farm implements in St. Louis, and C. S. Wheeler, of Kansas City. *South and West* is an agricultural and family paper, and appears semi-monthly.

Western Sporting Life.—The first attempt to establish an exclusively sporting journal in St. Louis was made in July, 1881, when the *St. Louis Sportsman*, edited by Capt. C. W. Bellairs, appeared. It collapsed in the following October, and was succeeded on the last day of that year by the *Western Sporting Life*, founded by B. W. Alexander, a wealthy gentleman of St. Louis, greatly interested in sporting matters, Capt. Bellairs being editor, and Gwynne Price field editor. In April, 1882, Mr. Alexander sold his interest, and the paper was conducted by Messrs. Bellairs and Price, but suspended publication in the following autumn.

Capt. Bellairs was formerly an officer in the Royal Horse Artillery of the British army, having graduated from the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in 1858. He obtained his captaincy in 1871. He has traveled much, picking up sporting knowledge all over the world; has for many years been a regular contributor and correspondent of leading English and East Indian sporting papers and periodicals, and for the *American Field* in this country.

Gwynne Price was born in the west of England, in a thoroughly sporting district, and early manifested a great fondness for all kinds of country amusements, taking part in many public events in that region. He is a crack shot, and an enthusiastic sportsman. He removed to Missouri some six years ago, and for some time was engaged in hunting. Since then he has shot several important matches. He is the author of a very successful little work entitled "The Gun, and How to use It."

The St. Louis Spirit was established about 1876, by Steele & Burt, as a weekly secret society paper. In about a year Steele retired, and Burt continued the publication until October, 1881, when the paper was consolidated with the *Western Live-Stock Journal*, which he had previously published.

El Commercio del Valle.—This paper (a monthly) was established in 1876 by John F. Cahill. It is published in Spanish and English, and is the only paper of the kind in the Mississippi valley. It is devoted exclusively to the development of the valley trade with Mexico, South and Central America, the West Indies, and other Spanish-speaking countries. It circulates largely in all the great commercial centres of Spanish America, and is claimed to have done much towards developing trade between St. Louis and those lands.

J. F. Cahill, the editor and publisher, is a native of Virginia. From 1864 to 1872 he lived in Cuba, conducting a wholesale drug business, and for some time acting as agent of the New York Associated Press. His residence in Cuba enabled him to acquire a good knowledge of Spanish. When the Cuban rebellion broke out his business was confiscated, and he came home. After recovering his health he removed to St. Louis and engaged in the drug business until he was able to carry out a plan he had long entertained of starting *El Commercio del Valle*, which translated means "Commerce of the Valley." He is thoroughly conversant with Spanish, writing and speaking it with facility, and since 1878 has been Mexican consul at St. Louis. He has been urged for the position of United States minister to Mexico, and no doubt would have been so appointed but for President Garfield's assassination.

Le Patriote.—A weekly paper with the above name, the organ of the French-American people of the Western States, was established in October, 1877, by L. C. Lavat, and one and a half years later was bought by L. Seguenot and E. Boudinot. M. Seguenot is editor. It is a political, literary, scientific, and commercial journal, and is the only French paper in Missouri.

Revue de l'Ouest, a French weekly paper, was started in 1854, and had a large circulation. J. Wolf was proprietor, and Louis Cortambert, a gentleman of fine attainments, was its editor.

Hlas.—In 1873 the "Bohemian Literary Society" established *Hlas* ("The Voice"), edited by the Rev. Joseph Heson. It is the organ of the Bohemian Catholics, and is the only paper of that character in America. It is published weekly, and is a six-column quarto.

American Trade Journal and Grain Review.—In September, 1881, McClelland, Winter & McClelland established the *Grain Review*. The senior member of the firm was T. L. McClelland, formerly of the *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle*. This is believed to be the only paper in the country exclusively devoted to the grain and elevator interests, and its specialty is the publication of statistics on the subject from the great grain centres of the country. It is issued monthly.

In February, 1883, the journal appeared as the *American Trade Journal and Grain Review*, the former title not being regarded as sufficiently expressing the comprehensive character of the publication.

St. Louis Commercial Gazette.—This paper was founded in 1869, by Sheffield & Stone, as the *Western Commercial Gazette*. About the same time the same firm also started the *St. Louis Home Journal*, a paper of the *New York Ledger* style, and which was really a credit to its founders. It numbered among its most prominent contributors Marian Harland, John Esten Cooke, and most of the leading local writers of essays, poetry, and stories. The *Home Journal* was not sustained, and in 1872 the two papers were merged into one as the *Home Journal and Commercial Gazette*, "devoted to literature and the commercial and manufacturing interests of the Mississippi Valley." Finally the paper took a purely commercial character as the *St. Louis Commercial Gazette*, and was well sustained. In 1873, K. H. Stone retired, and Mr. Sheffield became sole owner. At that time Mr. Sheffield conducted the largest advertising agency in the West, but in July, 1874, he became bankrupt, and the paper (a most valuable asset) was sold by order of the court to Francis Ricker. Eventually W. L. Thomas, who had been its editor, purchased it from Ricker, and in 1878 sold a half-interest to K. H. Stone, since which time the paper has been published by Thomas & Stone. It is a weekly paper of large size, and is devoted to the commercial and manufacturing interests of St. Louis and the Mississippi valley, and is conducted with conspicuous energy, ability, and tact.

St. Louis Miller.—In December, 1878, Thomas & Stone, by request of several of the leading millers and mill-furnishing houses of St. Louis, began publishing the *St. Louis Miller*. The paper was successful from the first number.

The proprietors of these papers are both young men. Mr. Thomas is a native of St. Louis; Mr. Stone was born near Cleveland, Ohio. Both papers are under the editorial management of William L. and P. H. Thomas, and Mr. Stone has charge of the advertising and soliciting department. The *Commercial Gazette* is the only distinctively commercial paper in St. Louis, and the *St. Louis Miller* is also alone in its field, its nearest competitor being at Chicago.

Age of Steel.—In 1857, Robert M. Widmar started the *Mississippi Handels Zeitung* ("Journal of Commerce"), a German paper, published weekly. It was under the editorial charge of Robert M. Widmar, Dr. Koch, and Joseph Bauer. In 1861 it was changed to an English paper, *The Journal of Commerce*.

Robert M. Widmar was born in Dresden, kingdom of Saxony, Germany, where after the completion of his education, including a thorough commercial training, he entered upon a course of medical studies, which he completed with honor and credit at an extremely early age. He soon after removed to this country and settled at Galveston, Texas, where he commenced the practice of his profession and was appointed quarantine physician. Subsequently he removed to St. Louis, gave up the practice of his profession, and became connected with the newspaper press of St. Louis. Believing that the German element of the city and State would sustain a first-class German paper, he commenced the publication of the *Mississippi Handels Zeitung*, which he conducted with marked ability until 1861, when his office was destroyed by fire. His losses were heavy, and with a war already commenced that promised to be long and exhaustive, his business propects were far from being bright; but within a few months he commenced the publication of the *St. Louis Journal of Commerce*, as successor to the *Handels Zeitung*. Mr. Widmar died in June, 1866, and after his death the *Journal of Commerce* was bought by Wolcott & Hume, and under their management flourished for

several years, until they started a daily paper, *The St. Louis Journal*, in connection with it and suffered the weekly to run down. In 1878 it was bought by the Journal of Commerce Company, of which C. K. Reifsnider is secretary and business manager, and Merrill Watson is treasurer and editor. The company has a paid-up capital of twenty thousand dollars, and is paying liberal dividends on that amount.

Mr. Watson began newspaper work in 1873 on the *Columbus* (Ohio) *Journal*, and subsequently for two years was connected with the *Cleveland Herald* as city editor. In 1878 he removed to St. Louis and took charge of the *Journal of Commerce*, in company with Mr. Reifsnider, who had been for five years business solicitor for the *Cleveland Herald*, since which year the two gentlemen have conducted the paper. In August, 1880, the name was changed to *The Age of Steel*, under which title it rivals the best of the industrial journals west of New York. Its reviews of the iron, steel, and kindred markets are accepted as authoritative in the West.

Mines, Metals, and Arts was the name of an eight-page quarto weekly established early in 1874 by Charles E. Ware & Co. Joseph E. Ware, a mining engineer of fine attainments, was the editor. The publication possessed many excellencies and came to be regarded as a promising property, but after about three and a half years' existence the proprietors, finding themselves hampered by other business, suspended its publication. Many leading ironmen have urged the publishers to resume the work, but they have not as yet signified their intention of doing so.

The Merchants' Manifest was established in 1876 by the Merchants' Manifest Company. It is published every forenoon, giving the receipts by rail and river for the twenty-four hours preceding. M. J. Lee is manager.

The Weekly Hotel News, founded in November, 1881, by A. J. Pierce, editor and proprietor, is an eight-page journal.

The same gentleman publishes the *Visitors' Guide*, for daily distribution on in-coming trains.

The Daily Hotel Register, established Nov. 10, 1882, by Fulerwider Bros. & Co., is a six-column folio, which publishes the hotel arrivals and other matters of kindred interest.

The St. Louis Union.—In the latter part of 1880 an association of workingmen known as the Co-operative Printing Company established *The Union*, a weekly journal devoted to trades-unionism and the elevation of the laboring classes. It was a five-column quarto, and attained a respectable circulation, but did not pay, and near the end of 1881 was sold under a mortgage. The new owners soon afterwards sold it to A. R. Brown, who eventually transferred it to his brother, W. H. Brown, who is the present editor and proprietor.

The Missouri Immigrant was established Jan. 1, 1880, under the auspices of the State Board of Immigration. In 1881, Samuel Archer became proprietor and editor. The paper, an eight-page monthly, is devoted to immigration, agriculture, stock-raising, wool-growing, and mining, and has done much to advertise Missouri abroad. It is judiciously edited, and its articles, both original and contributed, are of a high order of merit.

The Imperial State, a monthly paper, was established in August, 1881, as an auxiliary to the State Board of Immigration, but not accomplishing the good that was expected, was discontinued with the fifth number. M. S. Fife was editor.

Western Insurance Review.—This publication, now a forty-page monthly, was established in 1867 by H. L. Aldrich, who has remained its editor and proprietor ever since. He is a native of Northern New York, and served in a New York regiment during the war, obtaining a commission as captain. After the war he removed to St. Louis, and founded the Riverside Printing Company. This enterprise, however, he subsequently abandoned in order to establish the *Review*, which has been a very successful venture. It is published exclusively in the interest of life, fire, and marine insurance, embracing all topics relative to the system, and is a journal of acknowledged standing and influence.

The Western Trade Journal was started in 1867 by William Bell as editor and proprietor. After an existence of one and a half years it passed into the hands of the present publishers, the Chamber Publishing Company, and G. W. Briggs became and has been the editor ever since. It is a commercial and agricultural paper, published weekly, and claims a large circulation in the southwest.

Real Estate Bulletin.—This paper was founded in 1879 by Pierce Brothers (Parker H. Pierce and William G. Pierce). It is the official organ of the Real Estate Exchange, and is the first paper exclusively devoted to real estate in St. Louis. It is published weekly.

St. Louis Railway Register.—This publication was established in 1875 by Willard H. Smith, a lawyer of St. Louis. It was continued three years and then expired. Subsequently it was revived by D. McArthur (formerly connected with the *Tra... Journal*), who is its present publisher; F. H. Ba...

is editor. The *Railway Register* is published weekly, and is devoted to railway, manufacturing, and kindred interests. There had been previous attempts at railway journalism (one the *Illustrated Railway News*, published by Wm. Conkling, which lasted two or three years), but the *Railway Register* is the only successful experiment of the kind. Willard H. Smith, the founder of this paper, is now publishing the *Railway Review* at Chicago.

The St. Louis Stove and Hardware Reporter, established in 1875 as the "house organ" of the Excelsior Manufacturing Company, was purchased in 1879 by Frederick Hower. It is published semi-monthly, and is devoted to the interests of the stove and hardware trades.

The St. Louis Daily Market Reporter was established in March, 1866, by O'Connor & Co. It is a small "broadside," published every afternoon, under the patronage of the grain and commission men, etc., giving prices of the day and other matters of special interest.

The St. Louis Weekly Dry-Goods and Grocery Reporter was established in 1872 by H. F. Zider, ever since its editor and publisher. It is issued weekly, and is a publication of one hundred and twenty-eight pages. Its peculiarity is the quoting of actual market values (jobbers' prices) of dry goods and groceries. It is claimed by Mr. Zider to be in a very flourishing condition. There are only two other similar publications in the country, one at New York and one at Chicago.

The St. Louis Furniture Manufacturer, established Jan. 1, 1879, by C. F. Anderson, formerly of Cincinnati, is devoted exclusively to the furniture interests of St. Louis. It circulates generally in the region tributary to St. Louis, and is the organ of the St. Louis Furniture Exchange.

The Western Commercial Traveler was established in February, 1880, by S. H. Soyster, proprietor and editor, as a monthly commercial travelers' paper. In July, 1882, it appeared as a weekly, with a list of contributors comprising some of the best known and most popular writers in the country. Besides being the organ of the commercial travelers, it has a decided literary and humorous complexion.

The St. Louis Grocer was started in January, 1878, by Greeley, Burnham & Co., publishers, A. D. Cunningham, editor. In February, 1881, it was bought by the Grocer Publishing Company, which has continued to conduct it. It is devoted to the interests of the wholesale and retail grocers of the city, is the largest paper of its class west of New York, and is generally considered to have no superior in its field in the country. Its editor is P. H. Felker, an able writer on commercial subjects. The officers of the Grocer Publishing Company are W. F. Coulter, president and manager; P. H. Felker, vice-president and editor; Manning Treadway, secretary and treasurer.

The Mississippi Valley Grocer, a weekly price-current, was established in May, 1880, by Brookmire & Ranken; S. H. Jackson, editor.

St. Louis Druggist.—On the 1st of September, 1882, appeared the *St. Louis Druggist*, a weekly journal devoted to the interests of retail pharmacists, and published by the Druggist Publishing Company, of which the president and manager is W. F. Coulter; Vice-President, W. A. Fritsche; Secretary and Treasurer, George S. Weare; Editor, J. A. Peters.

The National Tribune, an eight-page weekly, was founded May 3, 1876, by J. W. Wilson, by whom it has since been conducted. A large circulation is claimed in the Southwestern States. The editor, Mr. Wilson, is a colored man of influence. In July, 1882, he was appointed deputy collector of city and State taxes.

Gath-Rimmon was founded in October, 1880, by Charles O. Wilson, editor and manager. The name means "The Exalted Press," and the publication (a sixteen-page pamphlet monthly) is "devoted to religious reform and the restoration of primitive Christianity." It especially advocates the prohibition of the liquor traffic and the suppression of all secret societies.

Journal of Speculative Philosophy.—This journal (now published in New York) was established in St. Louis in 1866 by Professor W. T. Harris, LL.D., first as a quarterly and then as a monthly. It enjoyed and still retains a high celebrity as one of the ablest journals of its class in existence.

The Platonist.—This is the title of a monthly published in St. Louis in 1881, the editor being Thomas M. Johnson, a lawyer of Osceola, Mo., a gentleman well known to students of speculative philosophy. *The Platonist* was devoted to the dissemination of the Platonic philosophy.

The National American is a weekly Native American newspaper, established in 1879 by Augustus C. Appler. It was soon suspended, but in January, 1881, was revived. Its platform is as follows: "Native Americans for all offices of honor, profit, or trust within the gift of the American people; an English education of the people at public expense, free from all sectarian bias or control; no union of church and State; all allowed to worship God according to their own conscience." It is also strongly in favor of the temperance cause. Benjamin Walter is the editor.

Mr. Appler, a native of Baltimore, Md., is a publisher of large and varied experience, having been connected with papers in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. He was publisher of the *Hannibal* (Mo.) *Democrat*, a daily, when it was suppressed by Col. Smith in 1861,—the first paper in the country to be suppressed,—and subsequently for five years he conducted the *Osceola* (Mo.) *Democrat*, now the *Osceola Daily Sun*. In St. Louis he was connected in 1871 with *The Continent*, a weekly that was soon merged into *The Daily Sun*, conducted by himself, Joseph Ketterer, and A. J. Quigley,—a Democratic paper, devoted to the "Order of 1876." In about three months *The Sun* was absorbed by Stilson Hutchins, of *The Times*.

The Communist.—A small monthly paper was established in January, 1868, by Alexander Longley (one of a somewhat noted family of reformers) as the organ of the "Reunion Community," a social experiment soon after started near Carthage, Mo., but which after three years of struggling existence failed. Part of the time *The Communist* was published at the community. It advocates "liberal communism," in contradistinction to "religious communism," and is also devoted to the interests of phonography, phonetic reform, etc. It is now the organ of a movement to establish a community near St. Louis. In 1878, Mr. Longley established a monthly, the *Phonetic Educator*, himself being the publisher, and Elias Longley, the phonographic author of Cincinnati, the editor. This publication, however, soon removed to Cincinnati.

American Nationalist.—In July, 1882, a paper with this title was established by R. H. Robbins, who had been publisher of several papers in Carondelet and other places. It is devoted to the order of "National Americans," and also advocates the prohibition of the liquor traffic. For the remainder of 1882 it appeared monthly, after which it was transformed into a weekly publication.

Personal Rights Advocate.—On Aug. 20, 1882, appeared the first number of the *Personal Rights Advocate*, a Sunday morning weekly, established to oppose prohibition. It was issued by the "Eureka Publishing Company," and among the contributors were James E. Munford, a prominent lawyer, Walter King, and others. It is a six-column quarto.

Greenback Papers.—The *St. Louis Echo* was started in 1878, and continued a year or two. Westbrook & Keller were the publishers, and John Samuel, a well-known labor agitator, was the editor. In 1880, J. B. Follet published a campaign Greenback paper with the title of the *Lightning Express*. In 1881, P. P. Ingalls, of Iowa, established the *St. Louis Express*, but after a six or eight months' career he consolidated it with a paper previously owned by him, the *Iowa State Tribune*.

In the spring of 1881, H. A. Post removed a paper called the *Post* from Quincy, Ill., to St. Louis, where, under the title of the *Missouri Post*, it was edited by H. Martin Williams. Early in 1882, Post sold the paper to parties who removed it to Kansas City. The *Post* was immediately succeeded by the *People's Advocate*, established in March, 1882. J. F. Crews and E. F. Henderson are publishers, and H. Martin Williams is the editor. The *Advocate* is a five-column quarto, published weekly.

The Humorist, a four-page, seven-column weekly, was established Nov. 16, 1879, by Wolf & Co., the firm comprising Mr. Wolf, a practical newspaper man from New York, and Henry Hermanns, who had been connected in various capacities with the German press of St. Louis. In 1881, Mr. Hermann purchased Mr. Wolf's interest and became sole proprietor. The specialty of this paper is light, laughable, and romantic reading.

The Truth.—For some years Edward Bredell, a rich and benevolent member of the Presbyterian Church, has maintained "The Truth, Bible, Book, and Gospel Tract Depository" for the dissemination of religious instruction. Among the publications is *The Truth*, issued monthly. James H. Brooks, a retired Presbyterian minister, is editor, and C. B. Cox is publisher.

The Drug World.—In January, 1881, Lawrence & Son established *The Drug World*, devoted to the drug, paint, oil, and glass interests. It is published monthly.

The Medical Gleaner.—Lawrence & Son also established, Jan. 1, 1882, *The Medical Gleaner*, quarterly, containing the choicest gleanings from foreign and American medical journals.

The Homœopathic News, published bi-monthly by the Luyties Homœopathic Pharmacy Company, was established in 1870 by Dr. H. C. G. Luyties, who is still the editor and proprietor. The same parties publish the *Populaere Homœopathische Zeitung*, an eight-page monthly, now in its eighth year.

The St. Louis Clinical Record is a thirty-two page monthly, founded in 1873 by Drs. Hardaway and Shaw. About a year later it became the property of Dr. W. B. Hazard, the present editor. It is devoted to medicine and surgery, and is in the interest of the regular school of practice.

The St. Louis Clinical Review, founded in 18[illegible] by Dr. P. G. Valentine, a homœopathic physician, a

still its proprietor and editor, circulates widely in homœopathic circles, and is claimed to be a representative journal of that school of medicine. It is published monthly.

The St. Louis Eclectic Medical Journal was established Jan. 1, 1873, by George H. Field, M.D., a prominent eclectic physician, and has been conducted by him up to the present time. It is issued monthly, and contains about fifty pages. It is the organ of the Eclectic school of medicine.

American Medical Journal.—This publication was established in 1873 as the organ of the eclectic school of practice. It is a monthly, and is edited by George C. Pitzer, M.D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the American Medical College of St. Louis.

Art and Music.—In October, 1881, H. A. Rothermel established *Art and Music*, a finely-illustrated monthly, to which many of the local artists contributed sketches. It was indifferently sustained, however, and in the summer of 1882 was removed to Chicago.

Peters' Musical.—From 1868 to 1876, J. L. Peters, a music dealer, published *Peters' Musical*, a monthly, and in January, 1882, the publication was resumed. It is devoted exclusively to music.

Shattinger's Musical Review.—In May, 1882, A. Shattinger, a music dealer, established *Shattinger's Musical Review*, a monthly magazine devoted to music and literature; A. Shattinger, editor and publisher.

American Prohibitionist.—There have been several attempts at publishing temperance papers in St. Louis. Of these the most promising perhaps was the *American Prohibitionist*, conducted by Frank M. Bemis, in 1877–79. It was radically in favor of prohibition. Mr. Bemis, attending a meeting of friends of the liquor traffic, was attacked and injured to such an extent as to be confined to his room for a long period. Meanwhile the paper died.

The Cimeter.—In January, 1883, the Rev. Geo. W. Hughey, a Methodist clergyman, established *The Cimeter*, a monthly temperance magazine, twenty-four pages octavo.

The American Celt.—Irish-American papers have from time to time appeared in St. Louis, the latest being *The American Celt*, conducted by Charles O'Brien & Co. It is an eight-page illustrated weekly.

The Dramatic Critic was established Dec. 21, 1882, by the Dramatic Critic Company, composed of E. G. Webb, John T. Smith, and F. B. Rotrock. It is a sixteen-page weekly, devoted exclusively to the drama and music, and is the only dramatic publication west of the Mississippi, and the only five-cent dramatic paper in the country. The editor is Alexander R. Webb, who was city editor of the old *Journal* and *Dispatch*, assistant city editor of the *Times*, and in 1882 assistant city editor of the *Republican*. He has also been manager or advance agent of several leading dramatic combinations.

American Tribune.—On the 8th of March, 1883, appeared the first copy of the *American Tribune*, a four-column, twelve-page weekly, edited by L. U. Reavis, and devoted to the "commercial, industrial, social, educational, and moral advancement of St. Louis, Missouri, and the Mississippi valley." Among the objects which it specially advocates are the removal of the national capital from Washington to some central location in the Mississippi valley, and the extension of the rule of the American Constitution over North America and the adjacent islands of the sea from Panama to the north pole. Mr. Reavis, the proprietor, is well known as the indefatigable author of a number of treatises on St. Louis and its future, which afford abundant evidence of great industry and special ability in the grouping of important facts relating to the trade, advancement, and prosperity of the city.

Miscellaneous Newspapers.—In addition to the foregoing, the following ventures in journalism have been made from time to time in St. Louis:

The St. Louis Courier was issued Dec. 8, 1828, and was discontinued during the same month. The *Missouri Observer* was published during the same year, but afterwards suspended.

The Commercial Bulletin was established in 1834, by Charles Keemle, William Preston Clark, and Samuel B. Churchill, as a standard Democratic journal. In 1857 it became the property of Samuel B. Churchill and Charles G. Ramsey, who made it a Whig organ. Subsequently Oliver Harris owned an interest in it, and V. P. Ellis then bought it and made it an organ of the "Native American party," under the title of *The Native American Bulletin*. It was published a short time, and was finally suspended. Mr. Ellis, in 1842, published the *Old School Democrat*, but abandoned it to accept the office of *charge d'affaires* to Venezuela.

The Saturday News, a purely literary journal, was established in 1837, by Charles Keemle and Maj. Alphonso Wetmore, and although excellent in all of its departments, failed to receive the support it merited, and died on Maj. Wetmore's hands after a brief existence, during which Col. Keemle withdrew.

The Western Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette was published early in 1837. Late in the same year James Ruggles published it as *The Western Mirror, Literary and Political Gazette*.

The Translator, a literary weekly, was published in 1838.

The prospectus of a *Morning Chronicle* was issued on the 4th of June, 1839, and in 1860 the *St. Louis Daily Chronicle* was owned by Francis Saler and Adelbert Loehr, who also published a weekly edition.

On the 20th of August, 1838, the announcement was made that, under the name of the *Locomotive and Missouri and Illinois Gazette*, the proprietors of the *St. Louis Evening Gazette* proposed to issue from their office every Thursday a paper devoted to internal improvements, political, commercial, and agri-

cultural information, manufactures, science and the arts, literature, education, and the news of the day.

In October, 1839, Messrs. Watson & Nichols established an evening paper under the name of the *Daily Pennant*, devoted to "literature, foreign and domestic intelligence." It ultimately espoused the Native American cause.

The Independent Democrat was started in 1842 by W. T. Yeomans, of *The Boonville Register*.

The Herald of Religious Liberty appeared in 1844 as a weekly; H. Chamberlain, editor; I. M. Julian, publisher.

The Catholic News-Letter, a Catholic weekly, was published in 1845.

The St. Louis Sun was started in St. Louis in 1845 by A. W. Scharitt. It appears to have had a brief existence, for a year later we find that *The St. Louis Sun* had been started to advertise the owner's "sugar-coated pills." In 1871, *The Daily Sun* was established as "a Democratic journal," but did not long survive.

In 1845, Col. Keemle, Matthew Field, and Joseph M. Field established *The Reveille*. In 1850 the paper was sold to Anderson & Co., who merged it with *The People's Organ*. *The Reveille* was one of the best papers published up to that time in St. Louis. Joseph M. Field was then one of the most popular writers in the country. For a long time he was connected with the *New Orleans Picayune*, and his sketches under the *nom de plume* of "Straws" were widely reprinted. He was the author of several plays, and was the first manager of the "Varieties Theatre."

The Native American had a brief but partially successful existence. It was established in 1846 by V. P. Ellis.

The Washington Temperance Paper, edited by V. P. Ellis, existed for a short time in 1842.

The Liberty Banner was published in 1844.

The Catholic Cabinet, a magazine, was established in May, 1843, by Charles N. Holcomb, for the "exposition, illustration, and vindication of the Catholic principles."

The St. Louis Magnet was published by T. J. McNair in 1846.

The Liberia Advocate, a monthly devoted to African colonization, flourished in 1847. Rev. Mr. Finley was editor.

The Bible Advocate, a monthly publication devoted to primitive Christianity, was conducted by S. B. Aden, Rev. J. R. Howard, T. R. Creath, and T. M. Allen in 1848.

The St. Louis Post and Mystic Family was published in 1848, by W. F. Chase and Edmund Flagg, as a representative of various secret orders.

The Daily and Weekly Fountain was established in July, 1848, to be "chiefly devoted to the cause of temperance, and the advocacy of the societies and clubs formed to promote this object and the cause of temperance reform." In July, 1849, Mr. Hayes, the proprietor, announced his inability to continue it for want of support, and sold it to Rev. Hiram P. Goodrich.

Le Courrier de St. Louis, published twice a week, was established in June, 1850, and published entirely in French. E. Ferrene was the editor, Ch. Fr. Blattau printer.

The St. Louis Daily Ledger was the name of a paper founded in 1851 by T. H. Cavanaugh.

The St. Louis Insurance Reporter and General Advertiser was published in 1851 by J. E. Courtney.

The Spirit of the West was published weekly in 1851 by Smith & McKee.

The Guardian was established in 1865 by James Clemens. It was a literary Catholic weekly.

The Temperance Battery was started in January, 1852.

The Irish Advocate existed in 1852, as did also the *Miscellany and Review*, published monthly by J. F. Risk, of St. Louis, and I. Ebbert, of Memphis.

The Missouri Staats-Zeitung was established by Louis Didier, formerly assistant editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens* in 1854. It was the fourth German paper in the city at that time.

The Union Banner, a temperance journal, was published at 112 Main Street in 1849 and 1850.

Le Moniteur de l'Ouest, a French paper, was established in St. Louis in April, 1856, by E. De Lane Maryat, a New Orleans journalist.

The St. Louis American, H. H. Holton, publisher, was started as an "American Republican organ" in 1844. In 1856, *The St. Louis Evening American* was established by Mallett, Willis & Covert, and supported the American party also.

The St. Louis Bank-Note Reporter, Counterfeit Detector, and Wholesale Prices Current was established by J. P. M. Howard & Brothers in 1857.

The Evening Bulletin, a daily, made its appearance July 18, 1859, under the management of Col. James Peckham and John L. Bittinger. In October of the same year it passed into the possession of E. Longuemare, and into that of Thomas Snead in 1861.[1]

The St. Louis Daily Express was established in 1858 by William Cuddy. Its first issue was in miniature form, which continued for some months, until an increase of size was justified by the growth of its patronage. In 1860 it was a large and flourishing sheet. A weekly edition of the *Express* was also published.

In 1860, Richard Edwards published the *People's Press*, a daily journal, independent in politics and religion; the *People's Weekly Press*, a family newspaper; *Edwards' Monthly*, "an organ of the progressive in art, literature, science, agriculture, banking, internal improvements, etc., and *Edwards' Western Almanac*. At the beginning of 1860, R. V. Kennedy, T. M. Halpin, and James Peckham established the *Home Press*, a family and literary paper.

The Daily Journal, published on Pine Street, between Fourth and Fifth, was suppressed on the 13th of July, 1861, by the United States military authorities.

The Gazette, published in English and German, was started Dec. 28, 1861.

The Metropolitan Record existed in 1864, and was suppressed by the Federal government.

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[1] Col. James Peckham died July 2, 1869, at Hot Springs, Ark. Col. Peckham was a native of New York, and removed to St. Louis about ten years before his death, where he formed a connection with the press, and was afterwards one of the publishers and editors of *The Evening Bulletin*. When the war broke out he enlisted in the Union army. His appointment as lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Missouri bore the date of the 26th December, 1861, to rank from the 4th of July previous. He afterwards resigned, but was recommissioned on the 4th of March, 1862. He remained with the regiment but a few months, however, resigning on the 1st of the following June to assist in recruiting the Twenty-ninth Regiment, of which he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel Sept. 6, 1862, which position he held until the 20th of February, 1863, when he was promoted colonel. He was attached to Blair's Fifteenth Army Corps, and participated in various expeditions and actions on the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers, including the sieges of Vicksburg and Corinth. He also took part in the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Col. Peckham was a brave and gallant officer, and was wounded several times in action. He was the author of the "Life of Gen. Lyon." He took great interest in political matters, and was a pleasant and effective speaker. Col. Peckham was thirty-nine years of age, and left a wife and two children, who resided in Kirkwood, Mo.

The Missouri Journal, a German daily, and successor to *The Missouri Radical*, suspended publication in February, 1865.

The Weekly Hesperian was started January, 1867, by J. W. Allen.

The Repudiator, an independent Democratic paper, having for its object "the repudiation of the national debt, except that portion represented by legal-tender notes," was started as a weekly by Burrell B. Taylor, Samuel Hager, and John Bourne in February, 1868, and was discontinued two months later.

The Jewish Sentinel was removed from Louisville to St. Louis in 1868.

The St. Louis Evening Mail, an offspring of *The Weekly Mail*, made its appearance in 1870, under the management of A. C. George & Co.

Early in January, 1869, it was announced that "Mr. George Negus, who has been connected with the city press for the last eight years, proposes to commence the publication of a new evening paper, to be called the *St. Louis Evening Post*, on or about the 18th of the month." The office was at No. 208 North Third Street.

The Weekly Sales was begun in 1869 by J. C. Kays & Co., and was devoted to cattle-breeding and selling interests and agriculture.

The St. Louis Law Record was established in St. Louis as a daily in 1871, for the purpose of giving a record of the courts.

The St. Louis Courier (German) was established by "The Courier Company" in 1874, of which Henry Gumbs was president, and David Skutch was vice-president and business manager.

"The St. Louis Printers' Union" was established July 5, 1852. Its original officers were: President, Thomas Gales Forster; Vice-President, Charles W. Colburn; Recording Secretary, John N. Straat; Corresponding Secretary, W. A. Thompson; Treasurer, George A. Rowley; Janitor, Henry C. Shea.

"The St. Louis Press Club" was organized in 1866, with P. G. Ferguson as president, and George Negus, secretary. It met originally at Nos. 1 and 2 Chestnut Street, and was purely social in its character, being composed mainly of the active reporters and local editors connected with the daily journals of the city, including, however, among its members many prominent newspaper men, officials, and well-known citizens. The club, although created more particularly for the convenience and social enjoyment of the members of the St. Louis press, was intended to advance the interests of journalism generally, and to afford an agreeable resort to all members of the press from the country and from other cities who may visit St. Louis.

In 1881–82 the Press Club was reorganized, and on Feb. 16, 1882, quarters on Chestnut Street near Eighth were opened. The rooms were elegantly furnished. The officers of the club were: President, P. G. Ferguson; Vice-Presidents, Morrison Renshaw, W. J. Thornton, and John Mueller; General Secretary, Leon F. Witzig; Corresponding Secretary, F. D. White; Treasurer, George D. Kelly; Sergeant-at-Arms, Alfred Spink; Executive Committee, W. B. Stevens, W. F. Coulter, John C. Martin, Stanley Waterloo, Fred. Weber, John F. Cahill, and L. A. Clark. It survived until late in the fall of the same year, when it ceased to exist.

CHAPTER XXIV.

AMUSEMENTS.

"FIDDLING and dancing and the usual amount of gossiping and small talk," we are told, were the standard amusements of the olden days, and one of the curious customs of the time was the "judgment sales" on Sunday afternoons. These sales, ordered by a decree of the Governor, always took place on Sundays, at the church door at the close of the mass, at twelve o'clock noon, that being the only idle afternoon of the week. As all the people of the village were idle on Sunday, there was, of course, a better prospect of obtaining a larger attendance at the sales. With the majority the religious duties of the day were discharged with the close of mass, which all, or nearly all, made it their duty to attend, and there was usually a large and animated assemblage on these occasions. Previous notice of the sale having been given, the property was "cried" for three successive Sundays, and awarded to the highest bidder on the third Sunday. Usually there were no other bidders than the two or three persons who might desire the property, and, strange as it now appears, there was no speculation in town lots at that day in St. Louis. The sales were consequently made with great promptness, and the property was generally "knocked down" at the value of the improvements, "the lot being considered as part of the appurtenances of the improvements."

Theatrical entertainments were introduced at a comparatively late period, and for some years were restricted to amateur performances. The circus made its appearance considerably in advance of the regular drama, and it is related that one of the earliest, if not the first, of the "shows" to exhibit in St. Louis was that of a Mr. Brown, who "did a week's flourishing business near the corner of Main and Green Streets." The orchestra is said to have consisted of two musicians (a fiddler and a clarionet-player) "placed on a narrow, high platform." The entertainment invariably closed with "a fire-cracker act," which was extremely popular with the juvenile portion of the audience. The "Salt-House" (*i.e.*, a warehouse for storing salt), on Second Street, was used as a theatre about this time,

and performances were given by amateur companies. On the 15th of January, 1814, Eugene Leitensdorfer gave an exhibition of his sleight of hand, which appears, if we may judge by the preliminary announcement, to have been quite as wonderful a performance as any modern "magicians" can boast.

A regular dramatic organization of amateurs known as the "Roscian Society" had been formed prior to Dec. 31, 1814, for on that day it was announced that the society would present a comedy called "The School for Authors," followed by the farce "The Budget of Blunders," at the court-house on the 6th of January, 1815. The amateurs would seem to have acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of the public, as the *Gazette*, speaking of their performance, said, "A number of the young gentlemen of St. Louis, having raised a dramatic corps, made their *début* in the performance of the comedy of the 'School for Authors,' with the farce 'Budget of Blunders.' Much curiosity was excited, and a great many attended to witness the blunders, but all were pleased, all were surprised to see tacticians in a parcel of recruits." A month later they repeated the experiment, the *Gazette* of Feb. 4, 1815, announcing that "on Thursday the admired comedy of 'Who wants a Guinea?' was presented to a crowded house, and the lovers of the drama were again gratified in beholding the principal characters well filled, and it was the general opinion that Messrs. B—, S—n, P—e, K—y, B—t, H—ll, B—d, B—y, and P—es would grace a city theatre."

From the fact that the *Gazette* did not venture to print the names in full, but merely indicated them by means of letters and dashes, it is very evident that the "personal journalism" of the present day was then unknown in St. Louis as elsewhere.

On Friday evening, March 31, 1815, the favorite comedy of the "Poor Gentleman," with the afterpiece of "Hit or Miss," was given, presumably by the same company. A year later (Feb. 10, 1816) the society announced through the columns of the *Gazette* that they regretted "to inform the public that, in consequence of the serious indisposition of one of their performers, their next representation is unavoidably postponed until Saturday evening, the 17th inst., when they will present Home's celebrated tragedy in five acts, called 'Douglas,' to which will be added the much-admired farce called 'Darkness Visible.'"

On Saturday, 25th, Tuesday, the 28th, Thursday, the 30th of January, and Saturday, the 1st of February, 1817, "in Mr. Everheart's room," were exhibited wire-dancing and balancing, "with other extra performances."

A building had either been erected or an old one adapted to the purposes of a theatre as early as 1817. It is said to have stood on the square bounded by Third and Fourth, Spruce and Almond Streets, the same block in which the hospital of the Sisters of Charity once stood. A loft over a stable in the rear of, and connected with, the old Green Tree Tavern, on Second Street, is also said to have been used for theatrical entertainments. On the 1st of March, 1817, "a grand concert of music" was "performed at the theatre" by Messrs. Thomas and Louther, "assisted by several amateurs." The inference from the language of the announcement would seem to be that Thomas and Louther were not amateurs but "professionals." Early in 1818, William Turner, with his wife and daughter, arrived in St. Louis, "with the intention of doing what he could in the theatrical way, with the aid of city amateurs." Traditions are conflicting as to the scene of his theatrical venture. One account has it that his performances were given in a frame building constructed for the purpose on Third Street, near Spruce; another that the theatre was not then built, but that "the only place that Turner could procure to give such entertainments as he was enabled to fudge up was the upper loft of a large barn or stable."[1]

Turner succeeded in procuring the co-operation of several young men, presumably members of the Roscian Society, and with the aid of his wife and daughter launched out upon his theatrical career. His experience in St. Louis was not encouraging. The chief attraction presented appears to have been a farce, "The Spoiled Child," in which his daughter, Emma Turner, then about ten years of age, took part, but whether owing to the fact that the "theatre" was difficult of access, or to a want of interest in the public, the company played only a short time. During Mr. Turner's stay, Mr. Martin was given a benefit at the theatre (April 11, 1818), Martin appearing as *Goldfinch* in the "Road to Ruin," and Mrs. Turner as *Sophia*. Master Turner also had a benefit on the 24th of the same month, the entertainment comprising "George Barnwell, the London Apprentice," and a farce, the "Children in the Wood." On the Fourth of July following, in honor of the day, "Tekeli, or the Siege of Mongatz," was performed, together with a patriotic address by Mrs. Turner, a song by Mr. King, and a patriotic farce, "Yankee Chronology." A transparency was placed in front bearing the legend, "The Genius of America." On the 25th of the same month, Shakspeare's "King Henry IV

[1] "Early Theatricals in St. Louis," by N. M. Ludlow.

was presented, the afterpiece—every performance had its afterpiece in those days—being "The Intriguing Valet," and on the following Wednesday evening, July 29th, "Richard III." was given, with the farce "Raising the Wind." The "professionals" engaged in these performances were Mr. and Mrs. Turner, Miss Turner, Master Turner, and Mr. and Mrs. Vos. John H. Vos[1] had come to St. Louis from Kentucky, and is said to have assisted Turner in the production of "Pizarro" and "Bertram," the latter of which was played at the St. Louis Theatre in February, 1818. Turner appears to have left St. Louis some time during the summer of 1818, as there is no mention of him or his family in the theatrical announcements of subsequent years. He is said to have gone East, ultimately settling in New York, where he became a publisher of plays known as "Turner's Edition."

During the "flush times" of 1817–18 a number of responsible names were obtained, and the first installment was paid on stock of a company to erect a handsome theatre. A foundation was laid on the south side of Chestnut Street, midway between Second and Third, but the money needed for completing the structure was not forthcoming and the building stopped. A livery-stable, and later the principal police-station, subsequently occupied the site. Soon afterwards another stock company was formed, and a frame building erected for theatrical purposes. It stood on "city block 30," bound by Olive, Locust, and Main Streets and an alley. It fronted east, and stood about forty feet back from the west side of Main Street, extending to the middle of the block, being about sixty feet wide by one hundred and twenty long. The stage was about thirty feet deep. It was a rough structure, with one tier of what were called boxes, with simply pine benches for seats, without a covering of any kind. These were divided in sections. The pit, which would seat about three hundred people, was furnished with the same kind of benches, and all without any support for the back. In all about six hundred persons could be seated, and notwithstanding the primitive character of the building and its accommodations, we are told that people came "Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, paying their dollar admission, and appearing to enjoy the entertainment as much as those of any theatre of the present day." The auditorium was almost without decoration. The scenery was "good, but limited to six or eight scenes, these having been painted by John Douberman, a very clever artist, then living in St. Louis, and withal an actor of no contemptible abilities."

[1] N. M. Ludlow, in his interesting reminiscences of "Early Theatricals in St. Louis," says, "Vos had occasionally acted on the stage, and played *Richard III.*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Rollo*, and *Pescara* very fairly for those days, but he played 'poker' better than either. He was a thoughtless and erratic fellow, without any stability of character. I heard that with the assistance of some amateurs he performed after a fashion Sheridan's play of 'Pizarro,' his wife attempting the part of *Cora*, but it was said to have been a sorry sight."

After Mr. Turner's departure, Mr. Vos was the theatrical manager of St. Louis, and it was under his direction that the new theatre was opened. On the 27th of January, 1819, the following advertisement appeared:

"The new theatre will be opened on Monday evening, February 1st, when will be presented the comedy of 'She Stoops to Conquer,' to which will be added the much-admired farce, 'The Village Lawyer.'

"The box-books will be opened on Thursday, January 28th, from 10 A.M. until 2 P.M., and continue open every day, excepting the days of performance, when they will positively close at twelve o'clock.

"Gentlemen taking whole boxes will please send servants to keep them.

"Smoking in the theatre prohibited.

"Tickets may be had at the theatre, or at the store of Messrs. Collet & Kennedy.

"The doors will be opened at six, and curtain will rise at seven. Price of admittance, one dollar; children under twelve years, half-price. Nothing but current money will be received.

"Musicians who are inclined to play will call at the theatre, where arrangements will be made with them for the season.

"Four or five steady men, who are willing to assist as supernumeraries, will be well paid for their services."

Dr. Young's tragedy, "The Revenge," was announced on the 3d of February, 1819, as being in rehearsal. On the 9th of July, 1819, the museum of wax figures and large paintings, exhibiting at the Illinois Hotel, opposite the store of C. Wilt, advertised the following attractions:

"Maj.-Gen. Andrew Jackson
Crowned by the Goddess of Liberty and the Orleans Beauty.
Com. O. H. Perry.
Gen. Zebulon M. Pike.
Baron Trenck, etc., etc., etc.
Profiles correctly taken and framed."

In the latter part of the year, E. P. Maury, formerly an editor of Thomas H. Benton's political organ in St. Louis, while passing through Nashville, so far convinced the already popular manager and actor, N. M. Ludlow, of the favorable prospects for theatrical enterprise in St. Louis, that the latter opened a correspondence with Isaac N. Henry, the publisher of Mr. Maury's paper, with the result of consummating a contract in November.

Mr. Ludlow, describing his journey from Nashville to St. Louis, gives a vivid picture of the trials and embarrassments of an actor's life, as well as of the roughness and uncertainties of travel in those days.

"About the 1st of October, 1819," he writes, "I had determined to visit St. Louis, then considered the western extremity of civilization. Many of my Nashville friends, among whom were James and Robert Woods, Thomas Yeatman, John P. Irwin, and Wilkins Tannehill, represented to me that the population of the town was only about three or four thousand, most of whom were French people of Canadian descent, who would probably take little if any interest in English dramas. But remembering what my wife's relative, Mr. Maury, had told me, and knowing that he had just come from there, where he had been editing a Democratic newspaper, the political mouthpiece of Senator Thomas H. Benton, and relying on his observation and unbiased judgment, I decided to make the venture. My wife had an acquaintance in St. Louis, Mr. Isaac N. Henry, who was the publisher of the newspaper that Mr. Maury had been editing. He was a Tennesseean, and reared near her father's residence. Prompted by my wife's suggestions and desires, I wrote to Mr. Henry for information. He promptly replied, and in a friendly way pointed out the probable inconveniences I would have to encounter, particularly those of transporting myself and company to St. Louis. The journey, if undertaken by land, would be uncomfortable, especially for the female portions of the company. It would have to be done in wagons and horseback, through a wild and sparsely-settled portion of Illinois. If undertaken by water it would be still more tedious and not less uncomfortable, the only means of water conveyance at that early day being keel-boats. Steamboats had not yet navigated the waters of the Cumberland, and only one or two very small ones had visited St. Louis from any quarter. These, I think, were the 'Gen. Pike' and the 'Missouri Packet.'

"Against these and other difficulties Mr. Henry presented some encouraging prospects. He said that the inhabitants, both French and American, were hospitable and generous, were generally fond of amusements, and especially those of a theatrical description, and concluded his letter by saying, 'Should you not be deterred from visiting St. Louis by the difficulties of getting there, I think you will not regret being the first to plant the standard of the drama on the west bank of the great Mississippi River.' By the middle of November I had engaged the amateur theatre in St. Louis, and embarked with my company on board a keel-boat bound to that town. On the Cumberland River we stopped somewhere below the Harpeth Shoals to take on board a load of hollow castings, pots, kettles, etc., as our freight. Our trip down the Cumberland and Ohio was unbearable to an impatient man like myself, but when we had the water of the Mississippi to stem it became an intolerable nuisance. But there was no way of escaping from it: we were in for it and must go ahead. We proceeded at the rate of about two miles an hour up the river, which was done by cordelling,—that is, a half-dozen of men, with a rope over their shoulders, one end of which was attached to the boat, pulled her up against the current by main strength. We proceeded in this way until we reached Cape Girardeau, where myself, wife, and child left the boat. I would have been pleased to have remained if we could have got along a little faster, for Jackson, the captain of the boat, was a jolly, good-hearted Irishman, and used to afford me a deal of amusement by talking to his men. We were two days getting to the cape, forty miles by water. The afternoon of the evening we reached there, the captain was hurrying his men for fear we would not reach the desired point before dark, as it was usual to stop and tie up for the night. Growing impatient, he shouted out to the men, 'Pull, boys! pull away stoutly! for, by jabers, I'll reach the cape before dark, if I have to work all night for it!' and he did it. About seven years afterwards I passed from New Orleans to Louisville with him, when he was captain of the 'Hibernia,' one of the finest steamers then on the Mississippi River.

"At Cape Girardeau I learned that there was a steamer expected hourly from New Orleans, the 'Missouri Packet,' Capt. Read, that would pass up the river to St. Louis, and concluded to let the company proceed on board the keel-boat, and with my wife and child wait the arrival of the steamer. The second day after she did arrive, and I embarked on her. She was moderately fast while under headway, but being small and weak-handed, she could not take on much wood at the time, and it appeared to me we were half the time wooding. Then the captain would not run at night; and, to the best of my recollection, we were four or five days getting to St. Louis, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles. The boat landed somewhere near the foot of Plum Street, and as I walked up Main towards Market, looking for the newspaper office of my friend, Mr. Henry, and observed the queer-looking buildings, most of them wood or stone, with here and there an old-fashioned French building, such as I had seen two years before in New Orleans, I began to fear I had made a great mistake in coming to St. Louis."

Mr. Ludlow at once engaged Mr. Vos, the former manager of the theatre, and his wife, and set to work to organize a regular theatrical company. He thus describes the different members of his troupe, who, he says, were the first "professional" representatives of the drama in St. Louis and "several other now large cities of the West and South:"

"John H. Vos . . . was a house-painter by trade. He had received a good education, and it was said of him that he was the son of a Scotchman, a resident of South Carolina. . . . He was nearly six feet in height, and when dressed for *Othello* was the very *beau ideal* of the character. This was equally true of his *Rollo*, the Peruvian, both of which, as also *Pescara*, *Iago*, and *Ludovico*, in 'Evadne,' he played very respectably. He died early in life. His wife was a Kentucky lady of good connections in and about Lexington. She had no talent for the stage, and very early withdrew from it. Mr. A. Cargill was a native of one of the Eastern States, was about forty years of age at the time I speak of, was a very respectable actor of heavy tragedy and sedate old gentlemen. He was a printer by trade. This gentleman took a wonderful resemblance to Gilbert Stuart's likeness of Gen. George Washington. Mr. Douberman, who had good taste in such matters, for his benefit got up a tableau of Stuart's picture of the Washington family at breakfast, and it was the most perfect resemblance that could be given. Mr. Cargill as the general, Mrs. Ludlow as Lady Washington, Miss Seymour as Miss Custis (the general's step-daughter), and Douberman as the negro in the rear waiting on the table, were *fac-similes* of the picture. Mr. Hanna was a very fair actor without much genius. He was painstaking, careful, and always reliable. He disappeared from the stage early in life. He was said to be a hatter by trade. Mrs. Hanna, his wife, was older than her husband. She had been some time on the stage, and known as Mrs. Seymour. She played fat, jolly old women very well. Miss Seymour, her daughter, was a clever actress in young ladies' parts. At a very early age she married Mr. Cargill. She remained on the stage many years, marrying a second time. Miss McCaffrey played walking ladies, but early left the stage for the walks of private life. Mr. James O. Lewis was a very fair actor in second comedy and juvenile tragedy. He was also engraver by trade, and a tolerably fair painter of likenesses. A few years after the time I speak of he was employed by Gen.

Cass, of Detroit, to paint the likenesses of the most distinguished Indian chiefs that the general might select from those he had to deal with in his official capacity. Mr. Lewis was a considerable time in the general's employ, and was finally succeeded by Mr. Catlin.

"Mr. King was a very gentlemanly man, and played walking gentleman very respectably. He had little or no histrionic talent, but he sang very well, dressed well, and was a very fair pianoforte performer. He taught music for awhile in St. Louis, where I left him in the spring of 1821, and I know not what became of him.

"George Washington Frethey was the son of a barber who cut my hair and shaved me in Pittsburgh in the summer and fall of 1815. He was the most fearless man I ever met with; he was another Napoleon the First for bravery and calm determination, and this man was only five feet five inches in height, and a tailor at that,—a pigmy in size, but a lion in courage. If his feelings were outraged, he would attack a giant in size and strength. He was a very fair actor in low comedy.

"John Finlay was an Englishman; had been a sailor in the British navy; had been wounded and lost his left leg from the middle of his thigh, and walked with the assistance of a wooden one strapped on to the stump. He seldom acted any character, and then only when the wooden leg was admissible, such as *Corporal Foss* in the 'Poor Gentleman,' and like characters. But he had an excellent voice for singing, and could give Dibden's sea songs in a style inferior only to Incledon, the celebrated English vocalist. Then, as to his moral ka-rac-ter, Your Honor (as the old sailor says in the drama of 'Black-Eyed Susan'), he could play the fiddle like an angel, and could sing 'All in the Downs' and 'Ben Block' so as to charm a school of mermaids or porpoises around a ship in a dead calm.

"Sam Jones (the fisherman, as he used to be called), a few years after, was found at the Bowery Theatre, New York, since when I have not heard of him. Pilly, I was told, turned auctioneer and made money in some town in the great Northwest."

Mr. Ludlow opened his theatre about the middle of December, 1819, the play being "The Honeymoon," with the following cast: *Duke Aranza*, Ludlow; *Rolando*, Vos; *Count Montalban*, King; *Balthazer*, Cargill; *Mock Duke*, Hanna; *Lopez*, Douberman; *Lampedo*, Frethey; *Campello*, Flannagan; *Duke's Servant*, Jones; *Juliana*, Mrs. Ludlow; *Volante*, Mrs. Vos; *Zamora*, Miss Seymour; *Hostess*, Mrs. Hanna.

Before the performance began Mr. Ludlow recited an "address," in which he spoke of the introduction of the drama in the then "far town of the West," and prophesied that the town and Territory (Missouri had not then been admitted as a State) would "become in time the centre of civilization on the continent of North America." The play was the first ever given in St. Louis by a regularly constituted company of professional actors, and the performance was, in fact, the founding of the drama in this now great and populous city. Mr. Ludlow feared that the Governor of the Territory, Gen. William Clark, would impose a tax upon him in return for the privilege of giving theatrical performances, but a pleasant interview with the Governor dissipated his apprehensions in this respect.

The performances were given three times a week, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. Four or five musicians composed the orchestra, one of whom was living in St. Louis in 1880.

Besides theatrical entertainments, St. Louis enjoyed about this time the attractions of a lecture course and a cotillion assembly. On the 1st May, 1818, Rev. Mr. Peck invited "the ladies and gentlemen of St. Louis to attend a course of scientific lectures to be delivered . . . in his school-room every Friday at four o'clock P.M.; subject this day, 'Geography.'" The following notice as to the cotillion parties appeared in the *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1819:

"*Cotillion Parties.*—The subscribers to the cotillion parties are notified that the first ball will be given on Wednesday, the 15th inst. Gentlemen who wish to subscribe will call on Messrs. James Kennerly and James G. Soulard, who have the subscription list.

"Pierre Chouteau, Sr., James Kennerly, James G. Soulard, D. B. Hoffman, Risdon H. Price, William Christy, Wilson P. Hunt, John B. Sarpy, managers."

About the middle of January, 1820, Samuel Drake, Sr., manager of the Kentucky theatres, arrived in St. Louis with his company, and established a theatre in opposition to Mr. Ludlow, the performances being given "in a small ball-room in the City Hotel, of which Mr. Bennet was landlord," then standing on the corner of Third and Vine Streets. This building, somewhat remote from the business portion of the town, stood almost alone on what was then called the Second Bank and Vine Street. The only street leading to it was unpaved, either as to road-bed or footways, but the disadvantages of location were more than counterbalanced by the superiority of Mr. Drake's company, which consisted of himself, his two sons, Samuel Drake, Jr., and Alexander, his daughter Julia, his brother-in-law, Palmer Fisher, and his wife, Henry Lewis, James Douglass, James O. Lewis, and a few others. He commenced his performances late in January, and played in opposition to Mr. Ludlow for about three weeks, when at the suggestion of Isaac N. Henry the two companies were consolidated.

About the 1st of February, 1820, "She Stoops to Conquer" was given by the united companies,—*Sir Charles Marlow*, Mr. Cargill; *Young Marlow*, Mr. Ludlow; *Old Hardcastle*, S. Drake, Sr.; *Hastings*, J. O. Lewis; *Tony Lumpkin*, Alexander Drake; *Miss Hardcastle*, Miss Denny; *Mrs. Hardcastle*, Mrs. Lewis; *Miss Neville*, Mrs. Mongin, with the farce "A Day after the Wedding," *Col. Freelove*, Mr. Ludlow; *Lady Elizabeth*, Miss Julia Drake.

Sheridan's "Rivals" was afterwards played. The managers disagreed later in the year and Mr. Ludlow withdrew, while Mr. Drake, after playing a few weeks longer, left St. Louis, his late partner remaining in that city. The theatre was closed for some time, but Isaac N. Henry induced William Jones, a manager with whom Mr. Ludlow was then playing in Nashville, to engage it, and it was reopened about Dec. 10, 1820, with the comedy of "The Soldier's Daughter," cast as follows: *Governor Heartall*, Mr. Jones; *Frank Heartall*, Mr. Ludlow; *Charles Woodby*, Mr. Lewis; *Young Malfort*, Mr. Vos; *Ferret*, Mr. Cargill; *Timothy Quaint*, Mr. Frethy; *Servant*, Mr. Pilley; *Widow Cheerly*, Mrs. Groshon; *Mrs. Malfort*, Mrs. Ludlow; *Susan*, Mrs. Vos.

Before closing an unprofitable season in February following, Mr. Jones gave benefits to several of his company. Mr. Douberman, the artist, paid the manager a fixed sum on his night, and produced the tableau of "Washington and his Family," which has already been described. On this occasion the house was "packed" with people, and the curtain rose to the tune of "Hail Columbia."

After an experience of three months, Mr. Ludlow came to the conclusion that his Nashville friends were correct in their admonitions as to the difficulties and dangers of theatrical enterprise in St. Louis. "Notwithstanding the people there were kind, hospitable, and generous," he writes, "the population was too limited to sustain a theatre for a continuous season of many weeks." In March, 1820, therefore, he concluded his season and disbanded his troupe, determined to depend for the future upon his own efforts and those of his wife, until a more favorable opportunity arose for entering into management again. "I liked the people of St. Louis," he adds, "and thought I could perceive natural advantages that it had which must in the future make it a large and prosperous city; with this view I rented a house, resolving to remain here and watch coming events."

Amateur theatricals still survived and flourished, and another dramatic organization—the Thespian Society—had been formed. On the 2d of February, 1820, this society presented the comedy "The Jew and the Doctor," with the farce "The Toothache." For several years amateur performances seem to have been the only form of theatrical entertainment in St. Louis. In February, 1823, the Thespian Society produced (for the first time in St. Louis) "The Rivals" and "The Rendezvous," and on Thursday, June 26th, "The Poor Gentleman" and "Monsieur Tonson," and on July 2d, "The Mail-Coach, or Adventures from New York to Charleston," in which a Mr. Dalton took a leading part. About the 8th of August a circus company arrived, and exhibited on a lot in the rear of the old theatre.

In 1825 a large brick house on Church Street, formerly occupied by Scott & Rule, was fitted up as a theatre, and here on Monday evening, October 24th, Cherry's comedy in five acts, "The Soldier's Daughter," was presented by the Thespian Society. Previous to the comedy an address was delivered "by one of the gentlemen," followed by a farce in two acts called "Fortune's Frolic." On the 6th of July, 1826, Mrs. J. W. Green informed

"the ladies and gentlemen of St. Louis that her concert of vocal music, interspersed with recitations, advertised to take place on Monday evening, which was postponed in consequence of the unfavorable state of the weather, will positively take place this evening, Thursday. The concert will commence with the celebrated bravura patriotic song of 'The Genius of Columbia, or Freedom's Fame to Heaven Shall Ring,' accompanied by Master Philipson on the pianoforte, a young amateur of fourteen years of age."

During the summer of 1827, James H. Caldwell, an experienced and successful manager in the West, determined to establish a theatre in St. Louis, and for that purpose leased, with the privilege of purchase, a warehouse, known as "the Old Salt-House," belonging to Scott & Rule, which stood on the west side of Second Street, about one hundred feet north of Olive Street. This building was converted into a theatre by Mr. Caldwell, who added fifty feet to it for a stage, and it was opened on the 30th of June, 1827, with the "Honeymoon" and "Rosina." The season was filled up with light pieces.

On Friday evening, July 13th, was presented the melodramatic opera of "Rob Roy, or Auld Lang Syne,"—*Rob Roy McGregor Campbell*, Mr. Caldwell; *Helen McGregor* (her second appearance), Mrs. Tatnall. At the end of the play Monsieur Tatin and Mrs. Tatnall danced a *pas de deux*, the whole concluding with the farce "The Spectre Bridegroom, or a Ghost in Spite of Himself."

The opera "The Devil's Bridge," *Count Belino*, Mr. Still; *Countess Ronsalvina*, Miss Placide, was presented on Friday evening, July 20th, followed by "The Three and Deuce," Mr. Caldwell personating the three characters of *Pertinax Single*, *Peregrine Single*, and *Percival Single*. On Thursday, July 26th, was given Diamond's "The Foundling of the Forest," with Mr. Caldwell as *De Valmont*, and Mrs. Tatnall as *The Unknown Female*, together with the comic opera "The Poor Soldier," with Mr. Still as *Patrick*. On Thursday, August 19th, was presented "Henry IV., or the Humors of Sir John Falstaff,"—*Falstaff*, Mr. Gray; *Westmoreland*, by

young gentleman of St. Louis, "his first appearance on any stage," after which "The Devil to Pay." On Friday, August 17th, was represented "The Maid and Magpie, or which is the Thief?" and "The Forty Thieves," this being the last night of the season.

Social amusements were not neglected for the stage. One of the salient events of interest to beaux and belles during 1827 was a splendid ball given on the 8th of January by the United States officers at Jefferson Barracks. On the same night a ball was given at Mr. Barbee's mansion-house in St. Louis, which was "numerously attended," a circumstance showing the gayety of social life in the town at that period. On Tuesday, the 8th of January, in the following year (1828), an anniversary ball was given in commemoration of the victory of New Orleans at the City Hotel. This was during the administration of John Quincy Adams, and party feeling ran so high that it is recorded as a notable circumstance that this dance was "attended indiscriminately by persons of both the political parties which now divide the country."

A Mr. Rowe reopened the theatre Saturday, July 19, 1828, with "Town and Country," and a company nearly all strangers to the St. Louis stage. The following Wednesday he produced "The Soldier's Daughter," having in the cast as *Frank Heartall*, L. Smith; *Governor Heartall*, Mr. Anderson; *Timothy Quaint*, S. Smith; *Widow Cheerly*, Mrs. Rowe; *Mrs. Malfort*, L. Smith; and followed it with "The Three Hundred Pound Note," *Billy Black*, Mr. McCafferty; *Miss Arlington*, Mrs. Rowe, with the original "Bavarian Girl's Broom Song."

Mr. Rowe's performances were given four nights in the week,—Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. On the 22d of July, 1828, P. Lewis, "professor of music," with his four children, the youngest of whom was only five years of age, gave a concert "at Mr. Rankin's long room, adjoining Mrs. Paddock's." The instruments on which they performed were the piano, harp, violin, and violoncello. On the 6th of August, Coleman's "Heir-at-Law" and an afterpiece "Winning a Husband," in which latter Mrs. Rowe sustained eight characters, were given at the theatre. The "splendid dramatic spectacle," "Zembuca, or the Netmaker and his Wife," was produced, "by particular request," on the 27th of the same month, preceded by "an admirable piece" by John Howard Payne, called "'Twas I, or the Truth a Lie." A Turkish *pas seul* was executed during the first act of "Zembuca" by Mrs. Kenny, and Mrs. Rowe sang the song "Bid Me Discourse," and the air from "Der Freischutz," "When a Lover Kneels before Her." On Wednesday evening, September 3d, the "Gambler's Fate, or a Lapse of Twenty Years," by Charles Thompson, founded on the French play of "La Vie d'un Joueux," was given in St. Louis for the first time, with Messrs. Anderson and Barry in the *rôles* of *Germaine* and *Malcom*, two gamblers, and Mrs. Rowe as *Julia;* preceded by "The Spoiled Child," with Mrs. Rowe as *Little Pickle*. Between the pieces Mrs. Rowe danced a sailor's hornpipe, dressed in character, and Mrs. S. Smith sung the cantata "William Tell." Mr. Anderson had a benefit on September 10th, signalized by the first production in St. Louis of the "Merchant of Venice," with the following cast: *Shylock*, Mr. Anderson; *Gratiano*, L. Smith; *Bassanio*, Mr. Barry; *Portia*, Mrs. Rowe; *Nerissa*, L. Smith; *Jessica*, S. Smith. At the end of the comedy, Mrs. Kenny danced a fancy *pas seul*, the entertainment closing with the farce "The Liar."

Later in the same month "The Will, or the Old Bachelor in the Straw," was produced, and at the end of the comedy Mr. McCafferty sang a new comic song, "A Hit at the Law," and Mrs. Rowe the "popular mermaid song." Mr. Kenny and Mr. McCafferty also gave a comic duet, "The Rival Beauties," which was followed by "The Falls of Clyde," with Mrs. Rowe as *Ellen Enfield*. During the first act Mrs. Kenny executed a Scottish *pas seul*.

About this time (September, 1828) James H. Caldwell, "manager of the New Orleans, Natchez, Nashville, and St. Louis theatres," issued a prospectus announcing the intended construction of a theatre in St. Louis. The proposed building was designed to contain without inconvenience six hundred persons, and was to have a front of fifty-three and a depth of one hundred feet. A saloon or lobby, "forming a place for a promenade during the intervals of the acts," was included among the conveniences of the establishment. The cost of the building was estimated at fifteen thousand dollars, which sum it was proposed to raise by issuing stock of one-hundred-dollar shares. Mr. Caldwell offered to take seven hundred and fifty shares, leaving the other half to be subscribed by the citizens. Part of this amount had already been taken at the time of the announcement (September 16th). It was added that if the required amount was obtained, the theatre would be commenced without delay, "upon the site of the present one," and would be completed "so as to receive a company next fall."

The proposed building was never erected, and Mr. Caldwell continued to use the old "Salt-House" theatre until the expiration of his lease, in 1834. About the 1st of October, 1828, Reynolds' comedy, "The Exile,

or the Russian Daughter," was produced for the first time in St. Louis, with Mr. Anderson as *Duran*, Mrs. L. Smith as *Alexina*, Mrs. Rowe as *Catharine*, Mrs. S. Smith as the *Empress Elizabeth*. During the performance a representation of a snow-storm (evidently a great stage effect in those days) was given, and between the play and afterpiece, Sheridan's "Critic," a fancy *pas seul* was performed by Mrs. Kenny. It is evident from the frequent mention of this lady's name in the theatrical announcements that she was a popular dancer, and a "strong card" at most of the performances. On the 3d of October Moncrieff's "Wanted, a Wife" was played. After the comedy songs were sung by Mr. Kenny and S. Smith, and the inevitable fancy *pas seul* of Mrs. Kenny was executed. "In compliment to the Jockey Club," Holcroft's "Road to Ruin, or the Sports of the Turf," was played on the Thursday evening following. On the 14th of the same month "Guy Mannering" was presented for the first time in St. Louis, with Mrs. Rowe as *Meg Merrilies*. During the performance a number of songs were sung by Mr. and Mrs. Sol Smith, after which Moncrieff's "Somnambulist, or the White Phantom of the Village," was given. On the 1st of June, 1829, Brown's circus arrived in St. Louis, and exhibited on a lot adjoining the Missouri Hotel. J. Purdy Brown was a famous equestrian manager of those days in the South and West, and for a time was associated with the manager and actor, N. M. Ludlow. Mr. Brown's announcement of the attractions of his show reads as follows:

"The ladies and gentlemen of St. Louis are respectfully informed that J. P. Brown's company having arrived from New Orleans, they will present their second performance this evening, and continue for a limited period prior to their departure for Louisville. The amphitheatre is calculated for extensive public accommodation, and will be open every night this week; and in order that a combination of attraction may be brought forward, the proprietor has the pleasure to announce that besides the talents of his extensive and well-organized equestrienne troop and much-admired stud of horses, he has at considerable expense effected an engagement with the juvenile dramatic prodigy, Miss Lane, also with Mr. and Mrs. Kinloch, all from the London and New York theatres.

"The amusements will consist of a splendid routine of horsemanship and feats of agility by the whole equestrian troop of male artists; and the celebrated equestrian heroine, Mrs. Williams, from Broadway Circus, New York, will ride her graceful and intrepid act. In the course of the evening two favorite songs by Mrs. Kinloch."

Mr. Brown combined the attractions of the theatre with those of the circus, and the performance concluded with a scene from the "Heir-at-Law," with Miss Lane as Dr. Pangloss, and the farce "Actress of All Work," the "Manager" being played by Mr. Kinloch, and Maria and five other characters by Miss Lane.

In 1830 a Mr. Huppard opened a museum opposite Messrs. Scott & Rule's establishment, in which he exhibited minerals, fossils, petrifactions, insects, reptiles, paintings, Indian idols, war-clubs, dresses, etc., and some articles made by the mysterious race which preceded the Indians on the American continent. On Wednesday, June 30th, Miss Placide had a benefit at the theatre, appearing as *Theresa* in "The Orphan of Geneva," which was followed by "The One Hundred Pound Note," with Mr. Heringer as *Billy Black* and Miss Placide as *Miss Arlington*, with the "Bavarian Girl's Broom Song." On Wednesday, July 21st, was presented "Masaniello, or The Dumb Girl of Portici," the thrilling sensational effects of which were thus briefly but graphically announced: "Grand eruption of Mount Vesuvius, terrific explosion, forked lightnings rend the sky, the burning lava impetuously flows down the side of the mountain, and the whole country becomes awfully illuminated. *Fenella* plunges into the sea; grand display of fireworks; popular tumult, and death of *Masaniello*."

On Wednesday, July 27th, Mr. Parsons, from the Boston theatre, opened an engagement of three nights with Rev. C. Maturin's "Bertram," followed by "A Village Lawyer." On Wednesday, August 11th, was given "Man and Wife, or More Secrets than One," and "The Lady of the Lake," on which occasion Miss Clark sang "I'd be a Butterfly," "Hurrah for the Bonnets of Blue," "Draw the Sword, Scotland," and "The Light Guitar." On Tuesday, August 24th, the season closed with the production of "Rob Roy" and "The Romp."

Mr. Caldwell's efforts to raise funds for the erection of a theatre having failed, he seems to have sub-let the old "Salt Theatre," for we find that in April, 1831, a Mr. Pearman was manager of the establishment. On the 5th of that month Mr. Holland had a benefit, the entertainment commencing with a piece called "Family Jars," with the song "Wedlock is a Ticklish Thing," by Mr. Holland, after which "Cherry Bounce" and the "Day after the Fair" were given. On the 27th the opera "Rosina, or the Reapers," was produced, and on the Saturday following the opera "Floating Beacon, or the Norwegian Wreckers." About the middle of May, 1831, N. M. Ludlow returned to St. Louis with a company organized for him by J. H. Caldwell, and played for about six weeks at the Salt Theatre. The company opened "with a good comedy and farce," and for a few nights drew fair houses. Subsequently "Paul Jones," a spectacular drama, was produced, and on the 29th of

June and 6th of July the Oriental drama "Cherry and Fair Star," with "gorgeous effects," was given for the benefit of Mr. and Mrs. Ludlow. The character of *Long Tom Coffin* in "Paul Jones" was played by John Gilbert, afterwards and for many years the distinguished actor of old men's parts at Wallack's Theatre, New York. On the 1st of July, Mrs. McClure appeared for her own benefit as the heroine in "Joan of Arc," and as *Katherine* in "The Taming of the Shrew." On the following evening "The Hypocrite" was given, together with an afterpiece and a number of songs, "by Old Sol, Old Marks, and Mrs. Smith."

On the Fourth of July the patriotic drama "She would be a Soldier, or the Plains of Chippewa," written by M. M. Noah, the veteran New York journalist, was presented, with "Sprigs of Laurel" for the afterpiece. Mrs. and Mrs. Sol Smith were members of Mr. Caldwell's company at this time, and played with Mr. Ludlow in St. Louis. The last performance of the season was given on the 6th of July, and on the 9th the company left St. Louis for Nashville.

On the 14th of June of this year the following exhibition was announced in opposition to the theatre:

"For three days only. Unprecedented attraction. Now exhibiting, alive, at the Jefferson Hotel, entrance on Pine Street, an enormous anaconda, or mountain serpent, commonly called 'The Terror of Ceylon'; also the boa constrictor, or great serpent of Java, the real asp of Alexandria, those astonishing reptiles of many hues, the chameleons, and the head of a New Zealand chief, handsomely tattooed and in fine preservation."

About Aug. 15, 1833, J. P. Brown returned to St. Louis and erected an amphitheatre, in which he gave circus performances. In September he opened the Salt Theatre also, and among other pieces produced October 1st "The Honest Thieves." In the course of the evening "Bob" Farrell sang six comic songs, and appeared in the fifth act of "Richard III.," personating *Richard* "in his own peculiar style."

In 1834, N. M. Ludlow, having heard that James H. Caldwell's lease of the Salt Theatre had expired, wrote to a friend in St. Louis, and through his agency rented the building from the 1st of September. On arriving in St. Louis, about the last week in August, he found the theatre "a wretched affair,—dirty, illy contrived, and poorly provided with scenery." He at once had it cleaned and painted, and opened early in September with a comedy and farce. The audiences were only moderately large, the weather was warm, and the building uncomfortable. Leaving his company in St. Louis, Mr. Ludlow started South toward the close of the month, and in November the company left St. Louis and joined Mr. Ludlow at New Orleans.

Early in May, 1835, Mr. Ludlow's company began another season in St. Louis, and Mrs. Pritchard, his first star, appeared about July 1st, and had a benefit July 10th. Her first piece was "The Wandering Boys," *Paul*, Mrs. Pritchard; *Justin*, Mrs. Minnich; *Count de Croissy*, Mr. Ludlow, after which "The Wreck Ashore" was given. During Mrs. Pritchard's engagement, Sol Smith and J. M. Field appeared on alternate nights. Mr. Smith opened Saturday, July 11th, as *Mawworm* in "The Hypocrite," and *Philip Garbus* in "102." On Monday following Mr. Field made his first appearance in St. Louis as *Richard III.* Next night Mr. Smith appeared as *Martin Heywood* in "Rent Day," and *Delph* in "Family Jars." This was followed by Mr. Field in *Reuben Gilroy*, and Mr. Smith as *Kit Corly* in "Town and Country," with the farce "My Aunt," Mr. Field as *Darwell*, and on the following night "Wild Oats," *Rover*, Mr. Field, and "Three and Deuce," the three *Singles*, Mr. Smith. The next night was Mr. Smith's benefit, for which the bill was "Charles II.," *Captain Copp*, Mr. Smith, the *Merry Monarch*, Mr. Field, and "The Illustrious Stranger," *Bonbell*, Mr. Smith. On Monday, July 20th, Mr. Field's benefit occurred, on which occasion the plays were "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," *Sir Giles Overreach*, Mr. Field; *Justice Greedy*, Mr. Smith; *Wellborn*, Mr. Ludlow; *Lord Lovell*, M. C. Field; *Allworth*, Mr. Thompson; *Marall*, Mr. Watson; *Meg Overreach*, Mrs. Watson; *Lady Allworth*, Mrs. Ludlow, and Mr. Field's "Tourists in America." Immediately after their benefits Messrs. Smith and Field started East, but before leaving St. Louis, Mr. Smith had effected a partnership with Mr. Ludlow, under the firm-name of Ludlow & Smith,[1] which continued for eighteen years.

[1] Solomon F. Smith, known to the public as "Sol" Smith, was one of the famous comedians of his generation, and a theatrical manager of large and varied experience in the West and South. He was born at Norwich, Oswego Co., N. Y., in 1801. His father, Levi Smith, when a boy, was a fifer in a volunteer company in the Revolutionary war. After the close of the war he learned the trade of a goldsmith, married, and finally settled on a military tract, where he had located forty acres of land, for which he had received a patent for his military services. This was in Solon, Courtland Co., N. Y., then almost a wilderness. At the age of thirteen Solomon was taken into the store of his brother Silas, in Boston, where, however, he did not remain long. In 1814 he moved to Albany, N. Y., and engaged as a clerk in the store of another brother, where he remained three years. Here he employed his leisure time in reading Shakespeare's plays, with which he became familiar before he had ever seen a play acted. While in Albany he went to the theatre for the first

The new firm engaged Mr. Field to play in their company, beginning at Mobile in the following autumn.

time, and subsequently joined the company, being enrolled as a supernumerary. He next removed to Troy, and then to Saratoga and Schenectady, and finally started for the West. After a toilsome journey he arrived at Cincinnati, whence he proceeded to Louisville, where he engaged as an apprentice in the printing business, both working as a compositor and carrying the newspaper. Becoming dissatisfied with the treatment he received he removed to Vincennes, Ind., and again engaged himself as an apprentice in a printing-office. Here he became so expert that he was promoted to the foremanship of the establishment. At Vincennes he joined a Thespian Society, and played comedy parts with some success as an amateur. At length the printing-office burned down, and he wandered to Nashville, where he engaged as a journeyman printer. After working at the "case" for a short time he left Nashville and traveled on foot to Cincinnati, where he joined his brothers, nearly all of whom had settled in that city. Here he joined another Thespian Club and acted *Young Norval*, which character was his earliest ideal of a hero. In 1820 he returned to Vincennes, and there met a dramatic company, which he joined, and commenced playing on a regular stage at a salary of six dollars per week. After playing eight weeks he returned to Cincinnati and determined to study law. He commenced the study in earnest, but his passion for the stage soon seized him again, and he engaged himself as a prompter in the Cincinnati theatre, season of 1821–22, without relinquishing his idea of studying law, which he continued at intervals for some months. In July, 1822, he commenced printing a paper in Cincinnati called the *Independent Press*. This enterprise he relinquished the next year, and having sold the paper, went to Lexington, Ky., and after playing one night in the theatre commenced the organization of a regular dramatic company. Thereafter for thirty years he followed the occupation of theatrical manager and actor. Before his final adoption of the stage as a profession he had married, and his wife, possessing attractive dramatic talents, probably had much to do with deciding his profession. He traveled with his company, giving dramatic performances and concerts in the Ohio River towns and places of sufficient importance in the interior with varying success. In the winter of 1827–28 he played in New Orleans, Natchez, Memphis, St. Louis, and other cities on the Mississippi River. In St. Louis he was associated with N. M. Ludlow in the management of the Salt-House Theatre on Second Street, between Olive and Locust Streets, and of the new theatre at the corner of Third and Olive Streets, which was opened July 3, 1837. He abandoned theatrical management and all business connection with the theatre in 1853, and soon thereafter turned his attention to the practice of law in St. Louis. During the latter years of his life he occasionally mingled in politics, and in 1861 was elected a member of the Missouri State Convention as an Unconditional Union man.

Sol Smith prepared an epitaph for himself to be engraved upon a plain stone in Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, as follows:

"Sol Smith, Retired Actor.
1801–18—.

"'Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more.'

"'All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.'

"Exit Sol."

He died on the 14th of February, 1869.

In July of this year a young Englishman named Spencer, who had been engaged by Mr. Ludlow as a stock actor, appeared four nights as a "star" at the "Salt" Theatre. On the 21st of July he appeared as *Bertram* in "Guy Mannering," and in a farce; on the second night as *Jocoso*, in the "Maid of Milan," and on the third and fourth nights in "Black-Eyed Susan" and "Rob Roy," a farce being given in addition to the play every night. He is described as having been "no actor and only a tolerable singer, but a high-toned, honorable gentleman, courteous, and brave," and a few years later was killed while fighting by the side of Col. Fannin, in Mexico. The next "stars" at Mr. Ludlow's theatre were Charles K. Mason, tragedian, and Mrs. Hamblin, wife of Thomas Hamblin, manager of the Bowery Theatre, New York.

Their engagement began on the 31st of July, and they played on alternate nights, Mr. Mason appearing in "Hamlet," "The Iron Chest," "Macbeth," "The Robbers," "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," etc., and Mrs. Hamblin in "The Belle's Stratagem," "The Stranger," "The Day After the Wedding," and other plays. Mr. Ludlow subsequently determined to produce "Romeo and Juliet," with both stars in the cast, and accordingly on the 13th of August the play was given, with Mrs. Hamblin as *Juliet* and Mr. Mason as *Romeo*. The "double engagement" continued for six nights, Mr. Mason and Mrs. Hamblin appearing together in Coleman's "Mountaineers," "Taming of the Shrew," "The Merchant of Venice," "The Water Witch," and other pieces. The venture does not appear to have been very profitable, and as the weather was hot, but little was done by Mr. Ludlow's company until the middle of September, when Mrs. Pritchard returned and played six nights. On the 28th of September, Miss Eliza Riddle appeared for the first time in St. Louis, in Knowles' "Hunchback," and at once established herself as a popular favorite. She became Mrs. J. M. Field, and retained her hold on the public until her final return to the East in 1856. On her second night she appeared as *Juliet* in "Romeo and Juliet," with M. C. Field (afterwards her brother-in-law) as *Romeo*, and on her third night as *Miss Dorrillon* in "Wives as They Were and Maids as They Are," and *Colin* in "Nature and Philosophy." During the remainder of her engagement she appeared successively as *Belvidera* in "Venice Preserved," *Bianca* in "Fazio," *Ernestine* in the "Somnambulist," *Walter Arlington* in "The Idiot Witness" (on which occasion Mr. Hernizen, afterwards a favorite low comedian in the West and South, made his first appearance before a St. Louis audience), and, for her

benefit, *Mrs. Beverly* in "The Gamester." Miss Riddle was followed by Mrs. A. Drake, who played *Bianca*, *Mrs. Haller*, *Isabella* in "The Fatal Marriage," *Julia* in "The Hunchback," and other *rôles*. Mrs. Ludlow, wife of the manager, wishing to withdraw from the stage, was given a farewell benefit on the 13th of October. On that occasion Mrs. Cowell (wife of Joseph Cowell) made her first appearance in St. Louis. Mrs. Drake and Miss Riddle, who had volunteered their services, were also in the cast, the play being "Adrian and Orilla." Mrs. Ludlow continued to act until the close of the season, about ten nights later, and subsequently reappeared on the stage at Mobile. Mr. and Mrs. Cowell made their first appearance together in St. Louis on the 15th of October, in "The Belle's Stratagem," which was followed in succession by "The Miller's Maid," "Paul Pry," "The Dead Shot," "Happiest Day of my Life," etc. Miss Riddle next appeared in "The School for Scandal," her brother William taking the part of *Sir Peter;* and on the last night but one of the season Mr. Ludlow had a benefit. The play on this occasion was "The Poor Gentleman," and in the cast as *Lieut. Worthington* was Col. Charles Keemle, a prominent citizen and veteran journalist of St. Louis, who, being a warm personal friend of Mr. Ludlow, consented to appear for "one night only." Writing about this performance, Mr. Ludlow declares that "Col. Keemle conducted himself more like a veteran than a new recruit going through his third drill." After "The Poor Gentleman," the romantic drama "Thalaba" was given. On the following night, the last of the season, "The Wife, or my Father's Grave" was given for the benefit of Miss Riddle, who appeared in the leading *rôle* supported by Mr. Ludlow.

The company which played at Mr. Ludlow's theatre during the season of 1835 embraced the following: N. M. Ludlow, M. C. Field, Joseph Cowell, William Riddle, George Hernizen, J. E. Watson, N. Johnson, Spencer, Thompson, Barclay, Wolfe, Williams, Kelly, Morris, La Rue, Edgerton, occasionally Samuel Cowell, then a small boy, Miss Eliza Riddle, Mrs. Ludlow, Mrs. Cowell, Mrs. Watson, Mrs. Minnich, Miss Stannard, Mrs. Johnson, and Mrs. Milton. Mr. and Mrs. Watson left the company about the middle of the season, and Mr. Johnson and Mrs. Stannard withdrew a little later.

The theatrical season of 1836 in St. Louis was inaugurated on the 9th of June, 1836, under the joint management of Ludlow & Smith, who also conducted a theatre at Mobile. The first night's performance was "The Hunchback," with M. C. Field as *Master Walter*, and Miss E. Riddle as *Julia*, followed by a farce, Sol Smith assuming the leading part in the latter. Miss Riddle continued to be the principal attraction of the company for about two weeks. Mr. and Mrs. Lyons, of the New Orleans theatrical company, next appeared in "Douglas, the Noble Shepherd," and were followed by Mrs. Sol Smith as *Mrs. Haller* in "The Stranger." On the 27th of June, J. M. Field began an engagement as *Benedict* in "Much Ado about Nothing," which was followed by "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," and other plays. On the Fourth of July "The Soldier's Daughter" was given, and for the afterpiece "Tom Thumb," the part of *Tom Thumb* being performed by Marcus Smith, then about eight years old, who, as Mark Smith, afterwards became a famous comedian.[1]

At the close of Miss Riddle's engagement the managers re-engaged her for both the St. Louis and Mobile theatres. On the 7th of July, Miss Nelson began a star engagement, commencing in "Victorine." She also appeared as *Rosalind*, and in a number of other *rôles*. After Miss Nelson's engagement, Mrs. A. Drake, "the Siddons of the West," appeared July 28th as *Julia* in "The Hunchback," and closed an engagement of nine nights with "Tour de Nesle." She was followed by Miss Meadows in a round of juvenile characters, with which the "spring" season closed.

The theatre was reopened on Monday, August 29th, with Mrs. Pritchard as the star performer, the play being "The Italian Brigand," in which she assumed the *rôle* of *Alessandro Massaroni*. During her engagement, N. M. Ludlow appeared in the low comedy part of *Nipperkin* in "Sprigs of Laurel," in which he became very popular in the West. Miss Eliza Petrie, though engaged as a member of the stock company, followed Mrs. Pritchard as the "star," opening September 9th in "Perfection." On the 19th, 21st, and 24th of September, respectively, Mrs. Sol Smith, M. C. Field, and N. M. Ludlow were given benefits. On the evening of September 28th, Mrs. Ludlow made her second "last" appearance, but this time it was really the last, as she never returned to the stage. A number of other benefits followed, among them one

[1] Mark Smith was born at New Orleans, Jan. 7, 1829, and was the son of "Sol" Smith. He appeared at a very early age in children's parts, and sang between the acts. While still a lad he went to sea, but after a trip to Liverpool returned to New Orleans, and was apprenticed to the iron finishing business in St. Louis. He subsequently went to New York, and made his first appearance on the stage at the Bowery Theatre. After playing there for some time he returned to St. Louis, and became a member of Ludlow & Smith's company. He continued to reside in St. Louis until his death in August, 1874, and was an extremely popular and versatile comedian.

for Sol Smith, Sr., which occurred on the 1st of October. On the 3d, Mrs. Henry Lewis commenced an engagement, appearing as *Bianca* in "Fazio." Subsequently she assumed a number of male characters, Richard III., William Tell, Virginius, and others. She was followed by Mrs. Duff, a famous actress in her day, who played four nights, commencing October 13th with the tragedy of "Adelgitha." After Mrs. Duff came Miss Riddle for five nights, and her engagement closed the summer season of 1836.

Old St. Louis Theatre.—In February, 1837, the old Salt-House Theatre, together with such scenery as the company had left behind on its departure for the South, was destroyed by fire. Nearly two years before, however, Mr. Ludlow had set about the erection of a new theatre, and the enterprise was already well advanced. The old structure had always been unsuited to the purposes of a theatre, and had long since become too small to accommodate the theatre-goers of St. Louis. In the summer of 1835 a subscription for the erection of the new theatre was set on foot by Mr. Ludlow, who, assisted by Col. Meriwether Lewis Clark and Col. Charles Keemle, succeeded in obtaining subscriptions to the amount of thirty thousand dollars, Mr. Ludlow agreeing to pay ten per cent. per annum on the entire outlay for building and ground, and to put in the scenery at his own expense. A meeting of the stockholders was held, and a building committee appointed consisting of Col. Joseph C. Laveille, Col. M. L. Clark, and N. M. Ludlow. A lot at the southeast corner of Third and Olive Streets, where the post-office now stands, was selected by Col. Clark, whose choice was approved by the other members of the committee. The question having been raised whether the front on Third Street was sufficiently large, twenty additional feet adjoining the south side of the lot were purchased from Col. John O'Fallon, the dimensions of the whole lot being eighty by one hundred and fifty feet, running back to an alley. Col. Clark then proposed that the stockholders be requested to double their subscriptions, and his suggestion was adopted. In a short time the sum of sixty-five thousand dollars had been secured, Messrs. Ludlow and Smith agreeing to pay a yearly rental of ten per cent. of this amount. The corner-stone was laid May 24, 1836, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and the foundation of the building was laid in the fall of 1836. The walls were built up to an average height of ten or twelve feet before the work was interrupted by cold weather. During the winter the head carpenter, Alexander Crowl, assisted by John Gibson, John Varden, and others, was actively engaged on the "inside work," and the scenic artist, John R. Smith, was preparing the scenery. On the 10th of April, 1837, Mr. Ludlow arrived in St. Louis from Mobile, and found the prospect for the early opening of the theatre very discouraging. The roof had not as yet been placed on the building, but the timbers for the inside work were ready to be adjusted, and Mr. Ludlow came to the conclusion that he might be able to open the house to the public on the Fourth of July. The work was pressed forward with great rapidity, and on the 1st of July the Ludlow and Smith Company arrived from Mobile. In the mean time the St. Louis Theatre Company had been incorporated by the Legislature, and had accepted its charter at a meeting in the town hall on Saturday, the 3d of March, 1837, at three P.M. The first board of directors were M. Lewis Clark, Joseph C. Laveille, William Hempstead, Edward Beebe, Charles Keemle; committee on subscriptions, which were received at the town hall, M. Lewis Clark, Joseph C. Laveille, and William Hempstead. The building committee at this time consisted of M. Lewis Clark, Joseph C. Laveille, William Hempstead, Edward H. Beebe, and Charles Keemle.

Although the Fourth of July had been fixed for the opening of the theatre, Mr. Ludlow subsequently determined to open it on the 3d, which happened to be his birthday and Monday, the first play-day of the week. Ludlow and Smith had offered a premium of one hundred dollars for a poetic address to the public on the opening of the new theatre, and seventeen or eighteen were handed in to the committee of selection, who awarded the prize to Edward Johnson, of Greensburg, Pa. Mr. Johnson happened to be in St. Louis on the opening night, and went to the theatre without being aware of the choice of the committee. He was pleasantly surprised on hearing the address, which was delivered by Joseph M. Field, to find that it was his own composition. The address was followed by Tobin's comedy of "The Honeymoon," with the following cast:

Duke Aranza, J. M. Field; *Count Montallin*, Mr. Barker; *Rolando*, M. C. Field; *Balthazar*, Mr. Hubbard; *Lampedo*, Sol Smith; *Jacques*, Thomas Placide; *Lopez*, Mr. Kelly; *Campello*, Thomas Pearson; *Servants*, Missos West, Chambers, etc.; *Juliana*, Miss E. Riddle; *Volante*, Miss Petrie; *Zamora*, Mrs. Hubbard; *Hostess*, Mrs. Salzman; *Mrs. Lopez*, Mrs. Voght.

After the comedy Mr. and Mrs. Bennie danced a tambour major jig, which was succeeded by the farce of "Simpson & Co.," with Mr. DeCamp as *Mr. Simpson*, M. C. Field as *Mr. Bromley*, Miss E. Riddle as *Mrs. Simpson*, and Miss Petrie as *Mrs. Bromley*.

The company at the time was composed of the following: N. M. Ludlow, Sol Smith, Sr., Joseph M. Field, Matthew C. Field, Vincent DeCamp, Thomas Placide, Messrs. Fremont, Anderson, Hubbard, Riley, Barker, Kelly, Jackson, Pearson, Thorpe, Newton, Sergeant, Jones, West, and Chambers, Miss Eliza Riddle, Miss Eliza Petrie, Mrs. Hubbard, Mrs. Salzman, Mrs. Kutz, Miss Voght, and Miss Henning, to which were added as dancers, Mr. and Mrs. Bennie; leader of the orchestra, Mr. Myers; scenic artist, John R. Smith.

The St. Louis Theatre was designed by George I. Barnett, and in its time was undoubtedly the finest theatre in the valley of the Mississippi, and one of the finest in the United States. Its dimensions were seventy-three by one hundred and sixty feet, and the general architectural style of the exterior was Ionic, that of the interior Corinthian. The front was taken from the temple of the Erectheum at Athens. The portico was supported by six columns, each thirty-five feet in height and about six feet in diameter at the base. In the rear of the columns and fronting the saloon windows was a veranda running the whole length of the portico. The front was surmounted by a figure of Shakespeare, in the act of being crowned by Fame, with the motto below, "He was not for an age, but for all time." The vestibule, in the Corinthian style, was from the octagonal tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes. There were two saloons, the first, or grand saloon, seventy by twenty-five feet, occupying the whole front of the theatre. On the south side of the building was a lesser, or ladies' saloon, on a level with the first tier of boxes. The auditorium was divided into a parquet and three tiers or galleries of seats. The dress circle would seat about three hundred, the family circle about three hundred and fifty, the gallery about four hundred and fifty, and the parquet about four hundred, in all fifteen hundred seats. The entrance to the first and second tiers and parquet was through a large vestibule, twenty feet in depth by forty in width, thence through three large doors into the lobby of the first tier. Through the centre of the first tier was the passage to the parquet, and on each side of the lobby a flight of stairs leading to the second tier. The entrance to the gallery was from the outside of the building to a flight of winding stairs, having no connection with the other entrances. The house being designed for a summer theatre, had a number of very large windows on each side.

The floor of the parquet was so constructed as to be easily removed, so as to convert the building into an amphitheatre for equestrian purposes. The dome was about fifty feet high from the floor of the parquet, and was richly decorated with paintings of figures representing Apollo and the Muses. The proscenium boxes were very handsome, and decorated in tasteful style. The stage was seventy-three by fifty-five feet in width, and in the rear on a level with the stage were the green-room, manager's room, and star's room. The prices of admission were, boxes and parquet, one dollar; private boxes, one dollar and fifty cents; all other parts of the house, fifty cents. The building continued to be used as a theatre by Ludlow and Smith until the 10th of July, 1851, when it was closed, the property having been purchased by the general government with a view to the erection of a custom-house. The building was demolished as far as the foundation walls, when work was suspended, and the walls were not finally removed until the winter of 1853. "Quite an excitement," we are told by a newspaper writer of the day, "attended the digging up of the old St. Louis Theatre's corner-stone" on the 21st of January, 1853.

The performance on the night following the opening (July 4, 1837), Noah's "Plains of Chippewa," was given with the following cast:

General Scott, Mr. Hubbard; *Lieutenant Lennox*, J. M. Field; *Jerry Mayflower*, T. Placide; *Hon. Captain Pendragon*, M. C. Field; *La Role*, Mr. DeCamp; *Christine*, Miss E. Riddle. During the play Miss Henning danced the "Jackson hornpipe," and the evening concluded with the "Review, or the Wag of Windsor," with Mr. DeCamp as *Caleb Quotem*, Mr. Riley as *Looney McTwalter*, and T. Placide as *John Lump*. Mr. Ludlow made his first appearance in the new theatre on Monday, July 17, as *Dr. Pangloss*. He was supported by J. M. and M. C. Field, Thomas Placide, Miss Riddle, and others. The juvenile Miss Meadows appeared in a round of characters about this time, and drew good houses. On the 12th of August the opera "Der Freischutz" was given, with J. M. Field as *Caspar*, M. C. Field as *Adolph*, and Thomas Placide as *Killian*. The performance was attended by a band of nine Sioux Indians, who were greatly astonished and delighted at what they saw. The opera had quite a run, being repeated many nights, and was followed by Mrs. Drake, and then by the boy actor, Joseph Burke, known to the public as "Master Burke," who played *Romeo* in "Romeo and Juliet," *Terry O'Rourke* in "The Irish Tutor," *Sir Abel Handy* (an old man's part) in "Speed the Plough," and other characters. Besides his wonderful dramatic abilities, Master Burke was a talented musician, and introduced solos on the violin and dances into his plays. On the 27th of August, Charles B. Parsons made his first appearance

as a "star" in the *rôle* of *Damon* in "Damon and Pythias." On the 31st of August, N. H. Bannister's prize tragedy, written for Mr. Parsons, entiled "Caius Silius, the Slave of Carthage," was produced, with Mr. Parsons in the title *rôle*. On Thursday, September 7th, Mr. Parsons appeared for the last time on the stage, and subsequently became a minister of the Methodist Church.

Signor Vivalla, the "wonder of the world," followed Mr. Parsons in tricks of legerdemain, and was succeeded by Mrs. Pritchard, who, from the frequency of her appearance at brief intervals, would seem to have been a great favorite in St. Louis. On the 22d of September, 1837, Sizer's circus began a series of exhibitions on a vacant lot, and on the same date a benefit was given Alexander Crowl, superintendent and master builder of the new theatre. The performers were N. M. Ludlow, Sol Smith, Sr., Miss Riddle, Mr. and Mrs. Bennie, and others. On the 21st of September, Sheridan Knowles' play, "The Wrecker's Daughter," was given for the first time in St. Louis. In the latter part of September, Mr. Plumer, an English vocalist, and Mrs. Bailey (formerly Miss Watson) arrived in St. Louis, and played a brief engagement. In October following the opera "Cinderella" was produced, and on the 18th of October, Mr. Ludlow had his benefit, which was followed by the usual series of benefits for other members of the company.

On the occasion of Miss Petrie's benefit that popular actress was addressed from a private box by James B. Bowlin, who, on behalf of the young men of the city, presented her with a gold watch and chain and a handsome set of diamond and pearl jewelry. On the 1st of November, for J. M. Field's benefit, a tragic play entitled "Aaron Burr, Emperor of Mexico," written by W. H. Smith, of Alabama, was produced but was not successful. The season closed November 4th, and a few days later Miss Eliza L. Riddle, the leading lady, and Joseph M. Field, one of the principal members of the company, were married at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Keemle.

The season of 1838 began on the 11th of January, and for this the first winter season, Messrs. Ludlow and Smith organized an entirely new company, consisting of the following: Field, acting manager; Messrs. Lyne, Brunton, Rice, Henry, Benden, Rogers, McBride, West, Rose, Miller, Gentsen, etc.; Mesdames Petrie, Henry, Brunton, Muller, Lyne, Foster, etc.; leader of orchestra, Mr. Muller; musicians, Messrs. Foster, Jones, Robyn, Braun, Lothian, Foster, Johnson, Schnell, etc. The house was opened with Sheridan Knowles' play of "William Tell, or the Hero of Switzerland," and the opera of "Cinderella" was repeated. On the 15th of April the famous Ellen Tree made her first appearance in St. Louis as *Julia* in the "Hunchback," and remained for two weeks, personating *Juliet*, *Marianna* in "The Wife," *Lady Teazle*, *Constance* in "The Love Chase," *Ion*, and other *rôles*. She returned to St. Louis in 1839, and played another highly successful engagement. Miss Tree was followed in 1838 by John Sefton, the English comedian, Mrs. Gibbs, an English singer, and the celebrated Ravel family of gymnasts and acrobats, commencing on the 11th of May, 1838. Their engagement closed the spring season of that year.

The fall season commenced early in June, Miss Clifton being the "star." During her engagement Bulwer's "Lady of Lyons" was produced for the first time in America, with Miss Clifton as *Pauline*. She was followed by John R. Scott, the tragedian, after whom came Mr. Hodges and Miss Nelson in "Cinderella," and then Mrs. Shaw in "The Wife, or a Tale of Mantua." The fall season ended with the engagement of Mr. Llewellyn and his trained horse Mazeppa, which commenced on the 9th of August, after which benefits were given for the prominent members of the company.

Madame Celeste was the first "star" for the season of 1839, but her engagement was not as successful as were some of the previous ones. In January of this year it was announced that W. S. McPherson had purchased the Museum, and had fitted it up in a handsome, comfortable style. On the 12th of April "the long-expected giraffe" arrived, and was exhibited for one week near the upper market. Dan Marble followed Madame Celeste, and was followed in turn by Miss Ellen Tree, on the occasion of whose benefit (April 30th) "as high as five dollars premium was offered and refused for boxes." After Miss Tree came C. Mason, who was so much discouraged by the smallness of his audiences that he forfeited his engagement and "took his leave of a St. Louis audience forever." He was followed, May 6th, by Edwin Forrest, who appeared in "Virginius," and on the following night as *Othello*. During his engagement, Mr. Forrest appeared in nearly all his famous characters, and on the occasion of his benefit, May 18th, played the two *rôles* of *Metamora* and *William Tell*. On the following Monday evening Madame Celeste reappeared in "The French Spy," which was succeeded by "The Wizard Skiff," "Wept of Wish Ton Wish," etc. At Madame Celeste's benefit the receipts amounted to one thousand one hundred and forty-nine dollars, an unprecedented sum for St. Louis. On the 3d of June Mr. Love, "the celebrated dramatic polyphonist," made his *début* in St. Louis, and on the 6th an exhi-

bition of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, "arranged as in Congress in 1776, and at the interesting time when the committee appointed to draft the declaration enters," was opened at 90 Second Street, between Vine and Locust. The figures, as large as life, were dressed in the costume of the period and "as on the occasion referred to, the immortal author, Jefferson, with scarlet waistcoat and breeches." A combination of which the principal attractions were George H. Barrett, John R. Scott, and Master Burke next played at the theatre, and on the 15th and 19th of June respectively Sol Smith and Master Burke were given benefits, and on the 22d the "School for Scandal" was rendered by the combination. Mr. and Mrs. Sloman followed, and the spring season closed on the Fourth of July.

On the 12th of August, the theatre, having been refitted, repainted, and decorated, was reopened. The season was a poor one, and the only incident worthy of note was the production of "The Jewess," founded on "Ivanhoe," with Mrs. Farren as Rebecca. The fall season closed on the 11th of December, in the latter part of which month Concert Hall, a building ninety by forty feet, and finished in plain but elegant style, was opened, with Mr. Wells as lessee. On the 9th of March, 1840, MacKenzie and Jefferson announced that they had fitted up a room in Concert Hall for dramatic representations. They produced that night "The Lady of Lyons," with the following cast: *Claude Melnotte*, Mr. Leicester; *Colonel Damas*, Mr. Jefferson; *Deschapples*, Mr. Sankey; *Madame Deschapples*, Mrs. Jefferson; *Pauline Deschapples*, Mrs. Ingersoll; *Dame Melnotte*, Mrs. MacKenzie. After the play Mr. Germon sang "The Lass of Gowrie," which was followed by a comic song by Master Jefferson, and a sailor's hornpipe by Mr. Burke, concluding with "An Affair of Honor," *Major Mimskey*, Mr. C. L. Green; *Martha*, Mrs. Germon.

The Concert Hall referred to was erected by Edward J. Xaupi. It was located on Market Street, between Second and Third, and was occupied by him as a dancing academy until 1855. It was subsequently used as a Mormon temple, a furniture-store, and again as a ball-room. M. Xaupi was the first dancing-master to introduce the masked ball, and "with such safeguards and restrictions that the first people of the city were regular in their attendance through the season." Every Friday night an assembly was given, at which were frequently present Miss Augustine Chouteau, the Sarpys, Renshaws, Deveaus, Carrs, Prattes, Von Phuls, Christys, Bogys, Bertholds, Berthouds, Pauls, Paschalls, Carr Lanes, Glasgows, Bowlins, Wrights, Cabannés, Papins, and others. In 1848, M. Xaupi was deputed to carry resolutions of congratulation, adopted by the citizens of St. Louis at a meeting held at the court-house, to Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, and Louis Blanc, leaders of the French revolution of that year.

In Paris he was entertained by the American consul, Peter Parley Goodrich, and on his return to St. Louis, in 1849, he introduced the redowa and Berlin galop, and in 1850 the Bavarian schottische, which became extremely popular. In 1851 he brought out the polka quadrille which bears his name, and in 1852 the Cellarius waltz. During the same year he introduced the Danish dance, and in 1853 the polka-mazourka and the polka-redowa. In 1855, Mr. Xaupi removed from the Concert Hall to Veranda (afterwards Armory) Hall, and in 1858 introduced the varsouvienne. A polka, arranged by him and known as Xaupi's polka, appeared in 1860. During the war he retired to a farm, but after the cessation of hostilities returned to St. Louis and resumed the teaching of dancing.

The spring season of 1840 at the theatre commenced on the 25th of March, the leading members of the stock company being Mr. and Mrs. George P. Farren, Thomas Placide, Mrs. W. H. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Cowell, Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Bateman. The "stars" were E. S. Connor, Mr. Llewellyn, with his trained horse, Madame La Compte, C. Eaton, Mr. Sinclair, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Barnes, George H. Barrett, A. A. Adams, and Dan Marble. During this season the price of admission was reduced from one dollar to seventy-five cents. The season closed July 4, 1840, and the fall season opened September 1st, with drama on the stage and equestrian performance in the parquet instead of a farce. This season closed about the end of October, and was not a profitable one for the managers.

The spring season of 1841 began on the 26th of April with "The Dramatist," in which Mr. Ludlow and the stock company appeared, Ben De Bar playing the *rôle* of *Dandie Dinmont* in "Guy Mannering" on the second night. After a few nights of good plays the horses were again introduced, and dramatic and equestrian performances given in conjunction. This did not continue for any length of time, and the equestrian troupe departed to act under canvas. Early in May, Hackett, the famous comedian, played a few times as *Falstaff* in "Henry IV.," and the *Falstaff* of the "Merry Wives of Windsor," *Nimrod Wildfire* in the "Lion of the West," *Monsieur Morbleu*, and *Solomon Swap* in Coleman's "Who Wants a Guinea?" Following Mr. Hackett came Mrs. Fitz-

william and J. B. Buckstone, the great English actor, who played for two weeks.

The season closed about the middle of June, and during the vacation the prices of admission were reduced from seventy-five cents to fifty for dress circle and parquet, and from fifty to thirty cents for the family circle. The price of admission to the gallery remained at twenty-five cents. On the 3d of July, 1841, the menagerie and circus of Raymond, Weeks & Co. gave an exhibition, occupying a square of inclosed ground immediately east of the new or North Market. Mr. Hackett returned to St. Louis in October, and commenced his engagement on the 25th with *Falstaff*, following it with "On His Last Legs," "Monsieur Tonson," and other plays. The stockholders of the St. Louis Theatre Company held a meeting Jan. 3, 1841, and elected the following directors for the ensuing year: Joseph C. Laveille, John Ford, Albert G. Edwards, David B. Hill. On the 1st of February following, Mr. Stickney, proprietor of the Planters' House, gave the third of a series of assemblies. The spring season of 1842 at the St. Louis Theatre began early in May, with the engagement of Mrs. William Sefton and E. S. Connor, and closed in the latter part of June. On the 22d of that month ex-President Van Buren and suite visited the theatre. The fall season commenced about September 1st, but did not prove remunerative. It ended about the last of November, at which time Miss Eliza Petrie and James Thorne left the company.

In April, 1843, the St. Louis Theatre was sold, under a deed of trust, for twenty thousand dollars, that sum having been borrowed in 1837. The property, which had cost the stockholders seventy-eight thousand dollars, was purchased by George Collier, who proposed to Ludlow and Smith (who had lost seven thousand dollars by the sale) that a stock company be formed, with twenty thousand dollars capital, with the understanding that the members become personally bound to him for the amount of their subscription, of which they were to pay ten per cent. annually. They were also to keep the property insured, and pay ten per cent. interest on the twenty thousand dollars, and Ludlow and Smith were to pay a rental of three thousand dollars. The scheme fell through, owing to the fact that only three thousand dollars was subscribed, the subscribers being Gen. Bernard Pratte, Sr., James Clemens, Jr., and Ludlow and Smith. The theatre was then rented by Mr. Collier to Ludlow and Smith for three thousand dollars a year.

The spring season of 1843 commenced on the 20th of May with "The Honeymoon" and the "Actress of All Work," Miss Caroline Chapman appearing as the *Actress*. Miss Chapman played as a star for about two weeks, and was followed by Ben De Bar and William Chapman in "Robert Macaire," etc. On the 8th of June, Dr. Lardner commenced a series of lectures on astronomy, and on the 10th Mr. De Bar had a benefit. During the same month Otto Motty gave exhibitions of "chariot racing" and "Olympic games." On the 21st of July, Miss Emma Ince, the *danseuse*, who had been playing a brief engagement, had a benefit, and on the following evening Mrs. Brougham, wife of the famous John Brougham, made her first appearance in St. Louis in the "School for Scandal." She returned in October, and played in "As You Like It." Following Mrs. Brougham the Seguin Opera Troupe commenced an engagement (July 24th) with "La Sonnambula."

The fall season of 1843 commenced on the 2d of September with the melodrama "The Wandering Boys," followed by a farce, and on the 21st of September Joshua Silsbee made his first appearance in St. Louis, and played on alternate nights with Dan Marble, both of them being representatives of Yankee characters. On the 22d of September, during their engagement, Marshal Bertrand, one of the generals of the first Napoleon, attended the theatre. A new drama, "Redwood," was produced on the 25th, with Silsbee and Marble both in the cast, but it was not successful. The fall season closed with the month of October, and no dramatic performances appear to have been given at the St. Louis Theatre until the following spring. On the 22d of February, 1844, William S. Allen, formerly editor of the *Gazette*, lectured before the Lyceum. Sol Smith, together with the other members of the Ludlow & Smith company, arrived from New Orleans on the 3d of April. The "star" was the famous English tragedian Macready, who began his engagement in St. Louis on the 9th. The opening play was "Hamlet," with Mr. Macready in the title *rôle*, supported by Mr. Ryder as the *Ghost*, J. M. Field as *Laertes*, Mr. Eddy as the *King*, Mr. Farren as *Polonius*, Sol Smith as the *Grave-digger*, Mrs. Farren as the *Queen*, and Mrs. J. M. Field as *Ophelia*. In addition to "Hamlet," the farce "Artful Dodger" was given, with J. M. Field and Mrs. Farren in the principal *rôles*. During the remainder of his engagement Mr. Macready appeared as *Richelieu*, *Othello*, *Werner*, *Iago*, and *Macbeth*. About this time Vieuxtemps, the French violinist, and his sister gave a concert at the Planters' House. On the 20th, Hackett, the comedian, began a brief engagement, appearing as *Falstaff*, and in other characters. On the 17th of May a benefit was given to Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Field, who then retired from the stage for several years, Mr. Field

having associated himself with his brother, M. C. Field, and Col. Charles Keemle in establishing the *Reveille*, a daily newspaper, in St. Louis. Edwin Forrest, between whom and Macready there was a pronounced and bitter rivalry, followed the English actor two months later, appearing at the St. Louis Theatre as *Richelieu* on the 10th of June, to which succeeded *Metamora*, *Spartacus*, *Othello*, *Richard III.*, *Jack Cade*, etc. Herr Alexander, a German magician, who had given a series of four entertainments at the theatre immediately after Mr. Hackett's engagement, appears to have remained in St. Louis some weeks, for on the 22d he announced an exhibition at the Concert Hall. On the 24th Henry Placide began an engagement, appearing in his famous character of *Grandfather Whitehead*. On the Fourth of July the first day performance was given, and Mr. Ludlow, in his "Dramatic Life as I Found It," records that, "Matinées being then a new thing in the West, some of the company refused to play on this occasion." The spring season closed with the performance that night, and the fall season began on the 26th of August with "She Stoops to Conquer."

During the summer two benefits for charitable objects were given, one on the 21st of June, in aid of the sufferers by a great fire in New Orleans, and the other July 6th, for the benefit of the sufferers by the flood at St. Louis. Shortly after the opening of the theatre for the fall season, Mr. Ludlow went to Cincinnati to take the place of his partner, Mr. Smith, who was ill, and left the St. Louis Theatre in charge of J. M. Weston, stage manager, George Stanley, prompter, and A. B. Cook, treasurer. In October a new play, "Mary Tudor," translated and adapted from the French by Edmund Flagg, of St. Louis, was produced with success, and was followed by "The Bride of Abydos." On the 31st of October a new lease of the theatre for three years from the proprietor, George Collier, was effected by Messrs. Ludlow and Smith, who agreed to pay him two thousand dollars per annum. On the following evening (November 1st) Miss Sylvia, who afterwards became leading lady at the theatre, made her *début* as *Ernestine* in the "Loan of a Lover." The season closed on the 2d with the benefit of N. M. Ludlow.

The season of 1845 commenced April 26th. It was not a profitable one, owing, perhaps, to the financial condition of the country. The only "stars" which proved attractive were J. R. Anderson and the Seguin Opera Troupe. The theatre was closed from July 4th to September 1st, and the fall season closed in October.

The "Olympic Arena" and New York Circus, conducted by Howes & Mabie, arrived in St. Louis about September 25th, and gave equestrian performances. In the following November, M. Korpony, a dancing-master, appeared in St. Louis, and on the 22d of that month announced that he was prepared to teach the polka, which he claimed to have introduced into this country, and other dances. He added that, "if adequately encouraged," he would make St. Louis his permanent residence, and proposed that if four hundred families or young gentlemen subscribed by the year he would undertake to teach them two lessons a week throughout the year, charging for such instruction to each family or subscriber twelve dollars, and reserving to himself a "brief time in each year to visit the Eastern cities to avail himself of any improvements in his art." He seems to have met with "adequate encouragement," for in October of the following year we find that he had rented Odd-Fellows' Hall for a series of years and fitted it up for dancing assemblies. On the 25th of November (1845) a *soirée musicale* was given at the Planters' House by the Orphean Family, who among other airs sang "The Pilgrim Fathers," as given by them at the Astor House festival of the New England Pilgrim Society. At this time there was another theatre in St. Louis, the Vaudeville Theatre, No. 24 Main Street, between Market and Walnut, where, under the management of Madame Louise Thieleman, Miss Young had a benefit on the 26th of November. On the 10th of December following it was announced that "an enterprising gentleman" had leased the hall of the Mechanics' Institute and Lyceum, at the southeast corner of Third and Pine Streets, for the purpose of giving theatrical exhibitions, and on the 15th the hall was opened under the name of "The National Theatre." Howes & Mabie returned with their circus in March, and on the 26th of that month announced that they would give a day performance on the following Saturday at the Olympic Arms, at the corner of Fourth and Locust Streets.

The summer season of 1846 commenced on the 25th of April, with Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean in the "Gamester." On the following Monday they appeared in "Much Ado About Nothing," which was succeeded by "Macbeth," the "Merchant of Venice," "As You Like It," "The Stranger," "Hamlet," "The Iron Chest," "Lady of Lyons," "Romeo and Juliet," "Ion," and other plays. Mr. and Mrs. Kean were followed by the Nun Acrobat Company, and on the 18th of May, Miss Mowatt's comedy "Fashion" was presented for the first time in St. Louis, and on the following night a benefit was given

for the fund of the Firemen's Association. On this occasion Mr. Farren delivered a "fireman's address," and N. M. Ludlow appeared as *Nipperken* in the "Rival Soldiers." The Swiss Bell-Ringers gave three concerts on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of June, and James E. Murdoch commenced on the 1st an engagement at the St. Louis Theatre, in the course of which he appeared in "Hamlet," "Venice Preserved," "Othello," "Macbeth," "Lady of Lyons," "School for Scandal," "Pizarro," "Money," "Romeo and Juliet," and a number of other plays. James Silsbee, the delineator of Yankee characters, commenced an engagement on the 13th of June, appearing in "Yankee Land" and the "Forest Rose," and subsequently as the Yankee peddler, *Sam Slick*, and other kindred *rôles*. The famous tragedian, J. B. Booth, played his first engagement in St. Louis in June, 1846, arriving on the evening of the 17th. He appeared on the opening night in "The Iron Chest," and subsequently in "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," "Richard III.," "The Apostate," "Bertram," and for his benefit in John Howard Payne's tragedy of "Brutus, or the Fall of Tarquin." The theatre, contrary to the usual custom, was kept open during August, the performances being given by the stock company until the 27th, when Dan Marble commenced a series of Yankee delineations. He was followed on the 8th of September by a company of Sable Harmonists, who appeared three nights, the entertainment being preceded by a play rendered by the stock company. On the 14th of September, E. S. Connor appeared as *Richelieu*, and subsequently in a number of other *rôles*. He was succeeded, September 30th, by Miss Julia Turnbull, the dancer. On the 8th of October Richard F. Russell had a benefit, and on this occasion J. M. Field, who had retired from the stage, appeared and acted on this and subsequent nights. On the 13th a benefit was given to the new orphan asylum, on which occasion the tragedy of "George Barnwell," and a drama, "The Orphan," were performed. On the following night Mr. Murdoch commenced another engagement, appearing in "Hamlet," and subsequently in a new drama, "Witchcraft," and in other plays. He was followed on the 22d by a company of gymnasts, known as "Bedouin Arabs." Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Wallack opened on the 27th with "Pizarro," to which succeeded "The Hunchback," "Love's Sacrifice," etc. On the 7th of November, the last night of the season, Sol Smith had a benefit, on which occasion "The King of the Commons" and the "Poor Soldier" were produced.

Signor Blitz, the famous magician, arrived in St. Louis in March, 1847, and gave the first of a series of entertainments on the 22d. The summer season of 1847 commenced April 19th. John Collins was the first "star," and began with "The Irish Ambassador" and "Born to Good Luck." The next "star" was the danseuse Madame Augusta, who appeared on Monday, May 3d, in the pantomime "La Geselle," assisted by Monsieur Fredericks, Charles Parsloe, and others. On the 17th of May, Camillo Livori, the great Italian violinist, gave a concert, which was repeated on the second night. Two nights later Mr. Ludlow appeared for the first time that season, playing *Young Wilding* in the "Liar." Dan Marble commenced an engagement of four nights on the 31st, and was followed June 4th by James R. Anderson, who played a number of tragic *rôles*, and on the 14th by Mrs. Anna Cora Mowatt, who appeared as *Pauline* in the "Lady of Lyons," supported by E. L. Davenport as *Claude Melnotte*. Mrs. Mowatt's engagement lasted for twelve nights, during which she played *Juliet*, *Julia* in "The Hunchback," *Beatrice* in "Much Ado About Nothing," *Mrs. Haller*, *Ion*, *Rosalind*, and other standard characters. On the 29th of June, Miss Mary Taylor and W. H. Chippendale appeared in the comedy "Naval Engagements," and subsequently in "London Assurance," "A Roland for an Oliver," and other plays. Miss Julia Dean followed on the 19th of July as *Julia* in "The Hunchback," and played an engagement of ten nights, appearing as *Evadne*, *Ion*, *Margaret Elmore* in "Love's Sacrifice," the *Countess* in "Love," *Mrs. Oakley* in "The Jealous Wife," *Bianca* in "Fazio," *Marianna* in "The Wife," and, on the occasion of her benefit, as *Juliet*. N. B. Clarke, a member of the stock company, had a benefit on the 30th of July, and appeared for the last time on the St. Louis stage. Madame Ciocca, a dancer, assisted by Signor Murra, began an engagement on the 16th of August, and was followed (August 26th) by Mrs. Henry Lewis and her husband and daughter, "La Petite Bertha," who played a brief engagement. During the absence of the regular company in the South the theatre was leased (August 27th) by the owner and manager of the Cincinnati Athenæum, for the purpose of giving equestrian performances. Miss Dean returned to St. Louis in September, appearing on the 3d as *Evadne*, and afterwards in a series of characters with which her name had become identified. Her benefit occurred on the 10th, when she appeared as *Mrs. Haller* in "The Stranger," and as *Widow Cheerly* in "The Soldier's Daughter." Mrs. Louisa Hunt commenced an engagement of thirteen nights on Monday evening, Sept. 13, 1847, appearing as *Constance* in "The Love Chase," and as *Joseph*

in "The Young Scamp." On the subsequent nights she played *Ion*, *Rosalind*, the *Widow Brady*, *Donna Olivia*, *Isabella*, *Fortunio*, and other parts. On her last and benefit night she played *Pauline* in "The Lady of Lyons." Dan Marble followed Mrs. Hunt, and played eleven nights. Among the benefits given to different members of the company about this time was that of Mrs. Russell, Sr. (October 4th), who was then very popular in St. Louis. On the 14th, A. Singer made his *début* as an actor in the *rôle* of *Carwin* in John Howard Payne's "Thérèse, the Orphan of Geneva." A week later (October 20th) Mlle. Dimier, a French dancer, assisted by Mlle. Fanny Mautin, Monsieur Schmidt, Mr. Charles, and Miss Kennerly, began an engagement which lasted eight nights, after which J. H. Hackett returned and appeared in his familiar impersonation of *Falstaff* and in other *rôles*. The most prominent event of the season was the remarkable success of the Viennese children, under the direction of Madame Josephine Weiss. The children, forty-eight in number, were very graceful dancers, and played ten nights in St. Louis to large audiences, commencing November 5th and concluding November 16th, their last performance terminating the summer season at the St. Louis Theatre.

The season of 1848 did not commence until the second week in April, and during the interval the Orphean family (about the 1st of March) gave three concerts. Dan Rice & Co.'s circus exhibited in St. Louis, giving the last performance on the 27th of May, and Madame Anna Bishop arrived on the 6th of June, accompanied by her early tutor, Monsieur Boschea, who was a performer on the harp, and gave a concert at the Planters' House. At the St. Louis Theatre the season was inaugurated early in April by the Viennese children, who were followed by Miss Julia Dean, Mrs. Farren, Mr. Winchell, Mrs. Louisa Hunt, George W. Jameson, John R. Scott, George Hill, Charles Dibdin Pitt, J. B. Booth, who played an engagement about the middle of October, and Madame Augusta, whose engagement closed the season November 11th. In the spring of 1849, Dan Marble played his last engagement in St. Louis, and soon after died of cholera in Louisville.

For the season of 1850 the first persons announced as "stars" were C. A. Logan and his daughter Eliza, who were followed by Mr. Hudson, James E. Murdoch, the Manvers Opera Troupe, C. D. Pitt, Ben De Bar, Mrs. Farren, Julia Dean, Charles Burke, and the Bateman children. On the 10th of October, Mrs. Chapman had a benefit. Lectures appear to have been a popular form of entertainment in St. Louis about this time. On the 21st of November the Rev. W. G. Elliot delivered the second of a series of lectures in Wyman's Hall, before the Mercantile Library Association, "Rome" being the subject. A few evenings before the first lecture had been delivered by Col. Benton. The ninth and last lecture was delivered on the 22d of December, at the same place, by Rev. Father Smarius, a professor in the St. Louis University.

Bates' Theatre.—On the 9th of January, 1851, a new theatre, known as Bates' Theatre, situated on Pine Street near Fourth, was opened by John Bates, the play being the "Honeymoon," with the Raymonds, Mr. Fleming, Miss Maywood, and others in the cast. Before the play Mr. Fleming delivered the opening address, which was written by Edmund Flagg, of St. Louis. The movement for the erection of the theatre began about May, 1848, and was prosecuted vigorously by Mr. Bates, who already owned a theatre in Cincinnati. The building, which was eighty-four by one hundred and thirty-one feet, was erected on the north side of Pine Street, about midway between Third and Fourth Streets. The manager was Mr. Bates' son, James W. Bates, and the stage manager, R. Malone Raymond. J. W. Bates continued to manage the theatre until his death on the 11th of February, 1853, from the effects of an accidental fall on the pavement. Mr. Bates, who was about thirty-five years of age, was his father's only son, and had assisted his father in the management of theatres at Cincinnati and Louisville. Shortly after his death his father relinquished the management of the theatre in St. Louis, which he finally sold. Among the actors who appeared at the theatre were Charlotte Cushman, J. Wilkes Booth, Maggie Mitchell, who made her first appearance as *Fanchon* there; J. K. Emmet, Thomas Connor, Ristori, James Anderson, the English tragedian; Charles Matthews, Edwin Adams, James E. Murdoch, Charles Kean and Ellen Tree, Madame Celeste, James Wallack, Rogers and Shelly, G. V. Brooks and his wife, Avonia Jones, daughter of the eccentric Count Johannes; James Wallack, Jr., E. L. Davenport, the Raven family, and many others.

Among the vocalists who sang at the theatre were Madame Nilsson, Pauline Lucca, Parepa Rosa, and Louisa Pyne. Miss Blanche De Bar made her *début* there as *Miss Hardcastle* in "She Stoops to Conquer," and Ben De Bar and Mark Smith often appeared on the stage together. It was on the same stage that William J. Florence and Barney Williams secured their first successes in the West, and Lotta her first "hit" east of the Pacific Slope. What came very nea

being a terrible catastrophe occurred in Bates' Theatre in 1853, while the famous Ravel family were playing an engagement. After the theatre was closed and locked up the ceiling fell with a terrible crash. Had there been an audience present many lives would have been lost.

Ben De Bar became manager of the theatre in 1856, having purchased it from Mr. Bates for fifty-six thousand dollars, and its name was changed to the St. Louis Theatre, and in 1860 to "De Bar's Theatre." Adah Isaacs Menken made her last appearance in *Mazeppa* in St. Louis at De Bar's. The theatre was the scene of two murders,—the killing of Mabel Hall, a ballet-dancer, by Edgar Moore, and the murder committed by William Wieners. About 1874 the property was leased to William Mitchell, who changed the name to "Theatre Comique." Ben De Bar died in the summer of 1877, leaving the property as a part of his estate, and appointed John G. Priest as executor of his will. Some time prior to his death Mr. De Bar gave a deed of trust on the property, and under this deed of trust it was sold to George Fales and Alfred G. Baker, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Mitchell leased the theatre for six years, and during the latter portion of that period the manager was William H. Smith. The building was destroyed by fire on the 9th of December, 1880.

On the 2d of March, 1851, a number of gentlemen signed a letter to P. T. Barnum, requesting him to deliver a temperance lecture. Following are the names of the signers: L. M. Kennett, Louis A. Labeaume, Alexander J. P. Garesche, J. B. Colt, N. J. Eaton, W. M. McPherson, George Maguire, Thomas Harney, F. A. Dick, Benjamin Farrar, R. J. Adams, Samuel Copp, Jr., John Hogan, J. B. Crockett, Charles A. Drake, J. H. Alexander, Wayman Crow, John Simonds, H. D. Bacon, Robert K. Woods, J. E. Woodruff, and R. M. Henning. Mr. Barnum accepted the invitation, and Messrs. Ludlow & Smith having tendered him the use of their theatre for the occasion, the lecture was delivered there. An admission fee of ten cents was charged, and the proceeds given to the orphan asylum.

Mr. Barnum was the agent for the famous singer, Jenny Lind, who arrived in St. Louis in March, 1851, and gave her first concert at Wyman's Hall on the 18th of that month. The conductor was Julius Benedict, and the orchestra was led by Joseph Burke.

The price of admission was fixed at five dollars to all parts of the hall, and the seats were sold at auction. Ten cents for admission to the auction-rooms being charged, the sum realized from auction-room admissions was handed to the mayor to be applied to charitable purposes. The second concert took place March 20th, and "Casta Diva," gems from "Norma," and the "Bird Song" were among the selections rendered. She was assisted by Signor Belletti, baritone. On the following day P. T. Barnum delivered another temperance lecture at the theatre, and on the 22d, Mlle. Jenny Lind gave a third concert.

The streets in the vicinity of the hall were thronged with people, and many persons gathered at open windows and even on the roofs of houses to catch the dulcet strains of the singer's voice. Miss Lind was presented on the 24th of March with a certificate of membership in the Polyhymnian Society. Mr. Haven, president of the society, presented the certificate, which was enveloped in two small and beautiful satin flags, the one American and the other Swedish. Miss Lind thanked them for their serenade of the previous evening, and solicited from them a concert in order that she might hear their full orchestra. The society complied with her request, and gave a concert at which Miss Lind was present, accompanied by Messrs. Benedict and Belletti. Two days later Gen. Tom Thumb arrived in St. Louis, and prepared to hold "levees" at Wyman's Hall. On the night of March 26th, Jenny Lind gave her last concert, and on the morning of the 27th, Hon. L. M. Kennett, mayor of the city, received through L. C. Stuart the sum of $2000 from Miss Lind and Mr. Barnum, for the following charitable purposes: Orphans' Home, $250; Protestant Orphan Asylum, $250; Catholic Male Orphan Asylum, $250; German Ladies' Benevolent Association, $250; and for the relief of distressed emigrants of every nationality, $1000.

On the 27th of May, 1851, Elliott R. Graham, who was to have filled an engagement at Bates' Theatre, died at the American Hotel. About this time Miss Charlotte Cushman played at Bates' Theatre, for the first time in St. Louis, and on the 2d of June, Miss Davenport commenced an engagement at the St. Louis Theatre, appearing as *Julia* in the "Hunchback." The summer season of 1851 was the last season under the management of Ludlow & Smith at the St. Louis Theatre. It commenced early in May, and embraced the following attractions: Mlle. Frank ballet troupe, the Bateman children, C. Burke, Mr. Collins, Mrs. Farren, Miss Davenport, and Messrs. Macallister and De Bar. The season terminated in July, and soon after the property was sold by its owner, George Collier, to the United States government, and a custom-house and post-office were erected on the site. On the 10th of July the members of the stock company tendered Messrs. Ludlow

& Smith a complimentary benefit prior to their retirement from the business in St. Louis.

"Female pedestrianism" was not unknown at the West even at this relatively early day, for in October, 1851, we find that a Miss Cushman had undertaken the feat of walking five hundred miles in five hundred consecutive hours. She was described as being "a graceful as well as a rapid walker," and while on duty was dressed in full "Bloomer" costume, consisting of pink silk dress, pink trousers, and bonnet trimmed with cherry-colored ribbon. Large crowds, we are told, were attracted "by this novel spectacle."

Grand Opera-House.—On the 15th of September, 1851, the old St. Louis Theatre was reopened for a brief period by J. M. Field, with a company from the Varieties Theatre, New Orleans, then under the management of Thomas Placide, which included W. H. Chippendale, George Holland, Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Field, and others. As the St. Louis Theatre was about to be torn down, Mr. Field had already determined to procure the erection of another theatre, and on the 2d of May, 1851, had published an announcement of his scheme, in which he proposed that the theatre be built by subscription, and that certain privileges be extended to the stockholders, among them being a free admission to the theatre, "the accommodation of a reserved portion of the front of the house, box, or parquet," the use of "an elegant saloon or club-room," and the right to sell their stock should they desire to do so. Mr. Field also proposed to repay the amount of the capital stock to the holders in ten annual installments, with the understanding that the annual payments should constitute a fund with interest accumulating for ten years, which fund should stand as an insurance upon the building, to be drawn upon in case of fire, in which event a renewal of the ten years' contract was to be permitted.

At the end of the ten years the capital stock, with the accumulated interest, was to be divided among the subscribers, and the property was to belong to Mr. Field. It was proposed, also, to so construct the theatre as to permit its conversion, by raising the flooring of the parquet to a level with the stage, into a ball-room, the stockholders to have the right to avail themselves of its use for dancing assemblies once in every month. The project was taken up by the Varieties Dramatic Association, an organization that had its beginning in a social club. The first formal meeting of the Varieties Dramatic Association was held June 10, 1851, at the Planters' House. There were present Messrs. C. P. Chouteau, Sanford J. Smith, B. W. Alexander, Peter Brooks, and J. M. Field. Mr. Chouteau was elected president of the association, Mr. Smith vice-president, and Mr. Anderson secretary and treasurer. The erection of the theatre having previously been agreed upon, a building committee was appointed, to consist of Messrs. Chouteau, Field, and Alexander, and resolutions were adopted appointing George I. Barnett the architect of the new theatre and calling for the payment of subscriptions as follows: Twenty per cent. on August 15th of that year, twenty per cent. on September 15th, twenty per cent. on October 15th, twenty per cent. on Jan. 1, 1852, and twenty per cent. on March 1, 1852. C. P. Chouteau was chairman of the Planters' House meeting, and J. M. Field secretary. Treasurer Anderson at once issued orders for the payment of one hundred dollars on each subscription on the dates designated, which showed that the amount of a single subscription was five hundred dollars. The articles of the association adopted by these gentlemen set forth that the stock of the association was to be twenty-five thousand dollars, in shares of five hundred dollars each.

A lot on the south side of Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, was leased from T. S. Rutherford for thirty years, as the site of the new theatre, which was to be known as the "Varieties Theatre." The lot had a frontage of seventy-two and a half feet, and a depth of one hundred and thirty-eight feet, and on it was erected a handsome building, "with many novel and important improvements adopted from the designs of Barthelemy's Theatre, lately erected in Paris and now attracting wide attention in Europe." The corner-stone was laid on the 18th of August, 1851, by Sol Smith, "the oldest man of the theatrical profession in St. Louis," the orator of the occasion being Uriel Wright. The following articles were deposited in the corner-stone:

A copy of several morning city papers, both English and German.

A full account, from the *Missouri Republican*, of the Pacific Railroad celebration.

A memoir of the association concerned in the theatre enterprise, with the names of the subscribers, officers, and architect, and the city officers.

Daguerreotype likenesses of Uriel Wright, orator of the day, and J. M. Field, manager.

Lithograph of the St. Charles Theatre, New Orleans, with portraits of its managers, Sol Smith and N. M. Ludlow.

A proof copy of Mr. Wright's speech, and the various American coins of the year 1851.

The theatre, which was known as the Varieties Theatre, opened with a performance by a good stock company, under the management of J. M. Field, on the 10th of May, 1852. The first piece on this occasion was a prelude entitled "You Can't Open," written by Edward W. Shands, of St. Louis, which was followed by the comedy "When There's a Will

There's a Way," in which Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Field played the leading parts, assisted by C. L. Stone and Miss M. A. Hill. After the comedy Madame Ciocca, Mlle. Baron, Mons. Espinosa, and others executed a number of dances, and the entertainment concluded with the farce "The Good for Nothing," with Annie Lonsdale (her first appearance in St. Louis) as *Nan the Good for Nothing*, supported by W. H. Chippendale. Mr. Field offered seventy-five dollars for the first and fifty dollars for the second best poem to be delivered as the opening address, which "must be written by a citizen of St. Louis and presented by the 30th instant;" but whether a prize was awarded to any other competitor than Mr. Shands does not appear. The new theatre was a handsome building, finely decorated and furnished, but Mr. Ludlow tells us[1] "not so large and comfortable for a summer theatre as the St. Louis Theatre." The season, which terminated on the 13th of June, 1852, was not remunerative to Mr. Field, who retired a year later.

The theatre remained closed for two years, after which Dr. Henry Boernstein, a prominent journalist of St. Louis, opened it with a German theatre company. He failed after a brief season, and it was again closed.[2]

For a time the building was used as a club-house, and in 1865, Messrs. George Deagle and George D. Martin took the house and restored its name, Varieties Theatre. After several successful seasons under their management, it fell into the hands of A. B. Wakefield and Stilson Hutchins. The name was then changed to Wakefield's Opera-House. The theatre was remodeled, and the opening performance was given in the fall of 1872. A year later Ben De Bar took possession, and it was thereafter known as De Bar's Opera-House.[3]

In 1875, John W. Norton became business manager for De Bar, and since the comedian's death has been the sole manager. The new Grand Opera-House was built by Pierre Chouteau. The last per-

[1] "Dramatic Life as I Found It," by N. M. Ludlow, p. 717.

[2] Alexander Pfeiffer, the German tragedian, died in St. Louis on the 13th of September, 1866, at the age of sixty-one years. He was an actor of extensive reputation and high rank in Germany, but a difference with the manager of the theatre at Mannheim, Baden, growing out of the expression of liberal political views by Mr. Pfeiffer, determined him to emigrate to this country, which he did in 1851. At Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis he played very successful engagements, appearing as *Hamlet*, *William Tell*, *Don Carlos*, *Charles de Moor*, *Narcisse*, *Faust*, *King Lear*, and other characters. He made St. Louis his home, and during the remainder of his life was a prominent and useful member of the community.

[3] Benedict, or, as he was generally known, Ben De Bar, was born in Chancery Lane, London, on the 5th of November, 1812, and died on the 28th of August, 1877. His father was at that time a book-keeper in the Bank of England, but afterwards became business manager and agent for an Irish nobleman, whose estates lay in County Down, Ireland. The family removed to a little town named Hillsboro', in that county, where, in 1826, the elder De Bar died, leaving the family, consisting of the widow and two children, ill provided for. Ben remained at school until his twelfth year, a few months after his father's death, when he was placed in a grocery-store in order to learn the business. The occupation proved very distasteful to him, and he soon after ran away and joined a theatrical company. He subsequently entered an attorney's office, with the view of becoming a lawyer, but finally, his mother realizing that his inclination for the stage was as strong as ever, determined to permit him to become an actor. Ben thereupon proceeded to London, and obtained a situation as a ballet-dancer in a minor theatre, where he made the acquaintance of Mr. Corri, who became noted in after-years as a ballet-master, and was treasurer for Mr. De Bar at Bates', then known as the St. Louis Theatre.

In 1832, Ben De Bar made his first appearance as a player at the Theatre Royal, Margate, Kent, England, under the management of Faucet Saville, taking the part of the page in the farce of "The Page and the Purse." His first engagement was as "general utility," and afterwards "walking gentleman." A year later he was called on unexpectedly to take the part of leading man, and acquitted himself so satisfactorily that his salary was increased from $3.25 to $3.75 a week. From the Theatre Royal he went to the Victoria Theatre, then managed by Henry Wallack, where he remained until the spring of 1835. In that year James H. Caldwell had finished building the St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans, and accompanied his agent, Kennet, to England to secure actors for the opening on November 30th of that year. Among those he engaged was Ben De Bar, who was to receive a salary of fifteen dollars per week, which was a large advance on what he was then getting. Ben accordingly came to America, bringing with him his mother and his sister, who afterwards married Junius Brutus Booth, Jr., and became the mother of Blanche De Bar Booth, but who is known on the stage as Blanche De Bar.

On board the vessel in which Caldwell and De Bar crossed the ocean were a number of theatrical celebrities, among them Miss Charlotte Cushman, Mrs. Cowell, Mrs. Maeder (formerly Miss Clara Fisher), the Madeira prodigy, who was the first to play protean parts; Mr. Latham, the celebrated singer, and Mr. Finn.

On the opening night of the St. Charles Theatre, Ben De Bar appeared as *Sir Benjamin Backbite* in the "School for Scandal." As his agreement with Mr. Caldwell was that he should play anything that he was cast for, he had fitted himself for a great variety of *rôles*. At that time he was a good-looking young man "with a healthy English face," slim and lithe, and expert at broadsword exercise. As *Strapado*, a drunken corporal, in "The Dumb Girl of Genoa," he made a great hit, the principal feature of the *rôle* being a sword combat with two antagonists. In 1837 he appeared in New York, at the old National Theatre, on Leonard and Church Streets, as *Frank Frisky*. Here he made the acquaintance of Mrs. Maria Conduit, an English opera-singer, who was then a widow, and in a short time was married to her. During the following year (1838) he played at the old St. Louis Theatre, being "second comedy man" in the company of Ludlow & Smith. From St. Louis he went to Louisville, Cincinnati, and Nashville. At the end of his Nashville engagement he procured a flat-boat for the transportation of himself and company, which was propelled by rowing down the Cumberland River, a distance of several

formance was given at the old opera-house on the night of April 11, 1881, when the Rankins closed with the "Danites." During the last performance the workmen began tearing down the house, and when the audience came out they found the entire front torn away, and within twenty-four hours every vestige of the theatre, excepting the four walls, had been removed. The house was remodeled and refurnished, and is in every respect a magnificent theatre. The building was reopened to the public on the 29th of August, 1881, on which occasion Mayor William L. Ewing delivered the dedicatory address. At the close of the mayor's remarks the curtain fell for a moment, and rose upon a drop with the figures of the Muses painted on it. Miss Emma Stockman then appeared, attired in Greek costume, and recited a prologue entitled "The Mask of the Muses."

The curtain then rose on "Fritz in Ireland," with J. K. Emmett in the title *rôle*. The first audience was a brilliant and fashionable one, and ever since the opening the opera-house has enjoyed undiminished popularity. It is one of the most complete and best-equipped theatres in the country, and the manager spares no pains to secure the leading attractions of the day.

St. Louis seems to have been a rather doubtful city for theatrical enterprises about 1852. "The new theatre on Pine Street," we are told by a writer in the *St. Louis Republican*, "now the Comique, continued to grow in the favor of the people. The company, in nearly all positions and business, was immeasurably superior to the old company of Ludlow & Smith, while the scenery, by Leslie, and the wardrobe and properties were such as had never been seen here.

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hundred miles, to a point where they were enabled to take the steamer for New Orleans. In the latter city Mrs. De Bar died shortly after their arrival, leaving an infant daughter, who afterwards became Mrs. Dexter. In 1840 he went to London, introducing his specialty of *Mose* at the Standard Theatre, but returned to New York during the same year and obtained an engagement with Hamblin at the old Bowery Theatre. Up to this time he had acted only tragic or serio-comic characters, but the low comedian of the Bowery dying suddenly, he was cast for a low comedy *rôle*, much to his disgust. It turned out, however, that it was a fortunate thing for him, as that line of characters proved to be his forte.

His next engagement was at the Olympic, New York, of which Mr. Mitchell was the proprietor. He remained in New York several years, and in 1843 married his second wife, Miss Henrietta Emma Adelaide Vallee, a ballet-dancer, who was born in Philadelphia in 1828. She made her *début* as a danseuse at the Walnut Street Theatre in that city in 1839, traveled afterwards with Fanny Ellsler, and in 1848 made a hit in the *French Spy*. She retired from the stage in New Orleans in 1857.

Mr. De Bar became proprietor of the Chatham Theatre, Chatham Square, New York, in 1849, and frequently appeared as an actor. He retained the theatre for three years, and then commenced a starring tour which lasted for four years, appearing in the principal cities of the United States. He then revisited England, where he remained one year, appearing as *Mose* to large houses in London. On his return to New York he started on another starring tour, and in 1850 became stage manager at the St. Charles Theatre, New Orleans, then under the control of Ludlow & Smith. In 1853 the latter firm offered to sell him for ten thousand dollars their franchises, wardrobe, books, scenery, and properties. The building had been erected by Ludlow & Smith, but they had sold it to the Gas Bank, taking a lease for five years, of which two years were unexpired. Mr. De Bar had but two thousand five hundred dollars at the time, and five thousand dollars was required to be paid down, and the balance in one year. But Mr. De Bar being the especial favorite of a host of the prominent young men of the place, they came to his assistance and bought enough season tickets at fifty dollars each to make up the amount of the first payment. The purchase was made and the season proved so profitable that Mr. De Bar realized a profit of thirty thousand dollars. He afterwards purchased the building and owned it until his death. In 1855 he purchased the St. Louis Theatre, which had been built on Pine Street by John Bates, of Cincinnati, and conducted this theatre successfully until 1873, when he leased it to Mr. Mitchell, having purchased a commanding interest in the Wakefield or Grand Opera-House, which he continued to manage until his death. As an actor, Mr. De Bar was extremely popular, his favorite and most successful characters being the *Drunken Corporal* in the "Dumb Girl of Genoa," *Tom Tape, Dick Swiveller*, the *Artful Dodger, Roaring Ralph Stackpole, Blueskin, Robert Macaire, Toodles*, the *Mock Duke, Tony Lumpkin, Mark Meddle*, the *Stage-Struck Tailor*, and the Shakesperian *rôles* of *Falstaff, Touchstone*, and the *Grave-Digger* in "Hamlet." His *Falstaff* was one of the famous characterizations of his day, and in it he rivaled Hackett. During the later years of his life he starred in *Falstaff*, and everywhere received the commendations of the public and the critics. Mr. De Bar cherished the hope of appearing in the character in his native country, in the same theatre at which he appeared as a ballet-dancer, but died before carrying this project into execution.

His humor was unctuous and genuine, and his personal character was that of a genial, warm-hearted man. As a manager, he introduced to the St. Louis boards at various times the most distinguished operatic and dramatic talent, with a few exceptions, to be procured in the United States or England. When "stars" appeared at his theatre he frequently assumed the comedy *rôles*, thus greatly enhancing the value of the entertainment. He was particularly kind to Lotta, who was a favorite with him, and when he appeared with her the contrast of his size and build with her diminutive proportions never failed to produce a ludicrous effect. Mr. De Bar was identified with the St. Louis stage as actor and manager for a period of thirty years, and made a deep and permanent impression upon the community, not only by his worth as an actor and tact and enterprise as a manager, but also by the joviality of his temperament and his activity in furthering laudable enterprises. The immediate cause of his death was softening of the brain, supervening on paralysis. Mr. De Bar was a Mason, and a member for nearly twenty-one years of Missouri Lodge, No. 1. His remains were conveyed to Masonic Hall, and lay in state for twenty hours, after which the funeral took place from his residence, No. 1111 Chestnut Street, according to the ritual of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which he was a member. The body was interred at Bellefontaine Cemetery.

Still, unless the management put out strong attractions, a beggarly account of empty boxes was the inevitable result. At that time St. Louis was notoriously a bad theatrical town."

Madame Bishop, the singer, returned to St. Louis in January, 1852, and gave a series of "lyric entertainments." About this time a museum in the second and third stories of the post-office building was opened to the public. The exhibition comprised "a forest of animals, a large variety of birds, in which every clime is represented by several specimens, almost every species of reptiles and insects, and nearly four hundred ancient coins." The exhibition occupied some six or seven large rooms. Among the historical objects were numbers of the *Boston News-Letter*, "published by authority," from Monday, April 18th, to Thursday, April 21, 1720, a money-chest said to have belonged to William Penn, and the hilt and part of a sword said to have been dropped by an officer at Braddock's defeat at Fort Du Quesne. In addition to these were shown "two of the largest mosaic specimens in the country," a number of paintings, cosmoramic views, specimens of Chinese handicraft, minerals, etc.

The American Hippodrome announced, Aug. 7, 1852, that it would exhibit on the "floating palace" at the foot of Market Street. The "floating palace" had seven thousand five hundred square feet of space in the dress circle, and nearly four thousand feet in the gallery.

Ole Bull, the violinist, appeared in St. Louis early in December, 1852, and gave several concerts.

People's Theatre.—In the fall of 1852, Dr. George T. Collins determined to erect a new theatre, to be known as the People's Theatre, and on the 21st of August it was announced that the site of Stokes' Amphitheatre on the south side of Olive Street, between Third and Fourth, had been secured, and that a building, sixty-seven by one hundred and twenty-eight feet, with a capacity for seating from two thousand to two thousand five hundred persons, would be erected. The rates of admission were to be reduced from those previously charged in St. Louis to thirty-five, twenty-five, and fifteen cents to the various parts of the house. The architect was George I. Barnett, and the builders, Joseph Hodgman and William B. Mawzy, who, in connection with Otis Haven, were the proprietors.

The ornamental work and decorations were executed by J. B. Laidlaw and Thomas Noxon. The theatre was opened on the 9th of December, 1852, by Hodgman, Mawzy & Haven, under the management of G. T. Collins, who wrote the opening address, which was recited by Mr. Perry. The address was followed by the comedy "Wild Oats," and a number of songs and dances, the entertainment closing with a farce. Dr. John R. Atkinson subsequently became the manager, and among the actors in the company were Brooke, in low comedy; Huntley, in old men's parts; Perry, in genteel comedy and tragedy; Mrs. Reeves, in "singing" *rôles;* Allen, in general work; and Mlle. Oceana, in dances. The orchestra was under the direction of J. Bernard. Dr. Atkinson did not retain the management long, and was succeeded by Miss Julia Bennett. About this time Sir William Don, the English actor, played an engagement at the People's. On the 6th of March, 1854, George Wood became manager, opening with a stock company which included Mr. and Mrs. Brunton, Sallie St. Clair, and others. Mr. Wood leased a store on Fourth Street, adjoining the building, and constructed a new entrance to the theatre, which was reopened by the Kellers, who played to large houses. Subsequently J. H. McVicker, of Chicago, became Mr. Wood's stage manager, and played in "Yankee" pieces. The scenic artist of the theatre was a Mr. Laidlaw, who was afterwards murdered. Among the actors who appeared at the People's Theatre from time to time were Peter Richings, Henry I. Bateman, Henry Perry, John Mortimer, James Wallack, Sr., and Edwin Booth. The sensational plays "Pirates of the Mississippi" and "Wizard of the Wave" were produced during Mr. McVicker's management, and in 1857 or 1858 William E. Burton played an engagement of several weeks' duration. The People's Theatre was afterwards transformed into a large bowling saloon conducted by Mr. Lupe.

The new People's Theatre, situated on the southwest corner of Sixth and Walnut Streets, was erected by Mitchell & Robertson, the present owners, in 1881, and was opened to the public September 10th of the same year, under the management of W. H. Smith. The building is three stories high, well constructed, and is a first-class theatre in every particular. Since the opening none but the best attractions have been engaged. The building cost nearly one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

Mr. and Mrs. Barney Williams played an engagement in St. Louis in March, 1853, during which Barney Williams appeared in the character of *Mose*. Spalding & Rogers' Circus and Great European and American Show exhibited in St. Louis during the same year. On the 24th of March, 1853, James P. Bailey, who had been treasurer for Ludlow & Smith for a number of years, died in St. Louis.

Early in December, 1853, the Ravel family commenced an engagement at Bates' Theatre, and in the

latter part of December, 1853, Miss Stone delivered a series of lectures at the Mercantile Library Hall, the subject of her lecture on the 21st being "The Legal and Political Disabilities of Women."

The German Theatrical Association commenced a series of performances for charitable objects at the Varieties Theatre on the 17th of January, 1853.

Matilda Heron first appeared in the *rôle* of *Camille*, in which she afterwards acquired such an extensive reputation, before a St. Louis audience early in January, 1856. The engagement was originally for six nights, but such was her success that Miss Heron prolonged her stay in St. Louis to four weeks, during which she nightly "crowded the theatre with the most enthusiastic and discriminating audiences." At a benefit given to Miss Heron the house is said to have been the largest that had ever assembled at any theatre in St. Louis. On this occasion Miss Heron delivered an "address."

On the 19th of January, 1857, Edwin Booth, the famous tragedian, made his first appearance in St. Louis, personating *Richard III.*

In the latter part of April, 1862, J. Wilkes Booth, who afterwards assassinated President Lincoln, appeared at the St. Louis Theatre, playing *Charles De Moor* in "The Robbers" on the opening night of his engagement.

Academy of Music.—During the winter of 1863 the Legislature of Missouri incorporated the "Academy of Music Association," with Truman Woodruff, William McKee, O. H. Platt, Edwin Ticknor, and James D. Leonard as incorporators. These gentlemen were empowered to form an association, whose object should be "to erect a spacious hall and other buildings to accommodate public assemblies for different objects, and to furnish an adequate number of rooms to accommodate private as well as public assemblies." The capital, in shares of one hundred dollars, was to be one hundred thousand dollars, with the privilege of increasing it to two hundred thousand dollars. At a meeting held on the 24th of June, 1864, the Philharmonic Society was invited to co-operate in the enterprise, and the following persons were appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions: J. H. Lucas, Francis Whittaker, D. A. January, J. M. Krum, S. H. Laflin, George I. Barnett, Charles Balmer, H. C. Marston, George W. Parker, C. B. Lord, Benjamin Stickney, G. B. Allen, O. D. Filley, John Whittaker, L. C. Garnier, John How, Henry L. Patterson, Charles Taussig, William D'Oench, Edward Chase, W. A. Hargadine, George Knapp, Dabney Carr, G. L. Stansberry, W. L. Ewing, B. M. Runyan, J. T. Swearingen, W. H. Benton.

The project seems to have lain dormant until the winter of 1865, when another charter was granted by the Legislature, with the following as incorporators: Adolphus Meier, E. A. Fellerer, James H. Lucas, Charles Speck, Edgar Ames, John M. Krum, M. L. Linton, Charles Balmer, Edward Chase, Charles Taussig, William H. Benton, Nicholas Schaeffer, Charles B. Lord, Benjamin Stickney, William Robyn, Gerard B. Allen, William D'Oench, George W. Parker, Charles F. Meyer, George P. Plant, Henry A. Homyer, Henry Shaw, Felix Coste, John R. Shepley, and John H. Fisse. The capital stock was fixed at one hundred thousand dollars, with the privilege of increasing it to three hundred thousand dollars, each holder of at least five shares of stock to be allotted one reserved seat for all dramatic and operatic performances; but no stockholder to have more than five such seats, and the directors to have the option of canceling such allotment, after paying the owner the price of the stock. The holders of the seats, moreover, were to have no share in the profits or income of the corporation. Charles Balmer, Edward Chase, and George W. Parker were appointed commissioners to open books for the subscription to the capital stock.

On the 5th of October, 1865, the building known as the Bowery Theatre, situated on Broadway, between Cherry and Wash Streets, was destroyed by fire, the only property saved being about one thousand dollars' worth of jewelry "which was in a drawer in the bar-room" and a few boxes of cigars. Mr. Esher, the manager, estimated his loss at ten thousand dollars, for half of which amount he was insured. The building belonged to the Rankin estate, and was valued at fifteen thousand dollars.

Another structure, subsequently known as the Broadway Museum, was erected on the site, and this too was damaged by fire in September, 1867. At that time "the long hall in the upper story" was occupied by a Mr. Hutchins, who conducted a waxworks exhibition.

Olympic Theatre.—During the autumn of 1865, Moses Flannigan, of St. Louis, and G. H. Metcalfe, of the "Champs Elysées Circus" in New York, determined to erect a "Hippotheatron" for circus performances, and on the 6th of December it was announced that plans had been prepared by George I. Barnett, architect, for a building to be situated on a lot sixty by one hundred and twenty feet, on Fifth Street opposite the Southern Hotel. The building was to be constructed after the pattern of a regular theatre, with a capacity for seating fifteen hundred people, and was to be adapted to both theatrical and circus performances, with a "complete ring and stage;"

the entrance to the stage representing a "palace with a gateway in the centre." The estimated cost of the building and its appointments was seventy-five thousand dollars. Associated with Messrs. Flannigan and Metcalfe were Charles Ellers, Charles Maurice, and Col. Klopper. The building was completed and opened under the management of Edwin Dean on the 23d of April, 1866, on which occasion the address was delivered by L. M. Shreve. The performance, given by Levi & North's company, was such as is usually seen in the ring of a circus, beginning with a "grand equestrian *entrée*," and embracing "single acts of equitation, fancy and comic," etc. It continued under this management for a short time, when Mr. Flannigan became involved, and borrowed thirty thousand dollars on the property from Dr. Gilbert R. Spaulding and David Bidwell, who were then managing theatres in Memphis, New Orleans, and Mobile. At the close of the season in 1867, Messrs. Spaulding and Bidwell found themselves in possession of the Olympic. The building was remodeled by Mr. Charles Spaulding, who in 1867 opened it under the management of Spaulding & Bidwell as a variety theatre. At the close of the season they entered into a contract with John W. Albaugh, who assumed the management during the season of 1868–69. In the spring of 1869 they purchased Albaugh's interest, and abolished the variety business. On the first Monday in September, 1869, the Olympic opened its doors for the first time as a legitimate theatre, under the management of Spaulding, Bidwell, and Charles B. McDonough. The actor who appeared on the following night was Dominick Murray.



OLYMPIC THEATRE,
Fifth Street, St. Louis, Mo.

At the opening of the season of 1871 the management changed to Spaulding & Pope, Messrs. Bidwell and McDonough disposing of their interest to Charles R. Pope, the actor. It continued under the management of Spaulding & Pope for five seasons, when Mr. Pope sold out his interest to Mr. Spaulding, who has continued the management alone ever since. The old Olympic was demolished on the 1st of April, 1882, and the present building, which is one of the most complete and magnificent theatres in the West, was erected on the old site, on Fifth Street near Walnut. The structure was completed Aug. 12, 1882. It is of Indiana cut stone, elaborately carved and ornamented, with galvanized iron cornice, and has a frontage of one hundred and fifteen feet on Fifth Street, with a handsome entrance twenty-eight feet wide.

St. Louis Opera-House.—Early in 1866 it was determined to erect a theatre, to be known as the "St. Louis Opera-House," on Fifth Street, on "the site of the old Gothic Church" of the Christian denomination, afterwards converted into a livery-stable, between Franklin Avenue and Wash Streets, and on the 25th of February the names of the following persons were announced as stockholders:

D. A. January, S. C. Sharpe, Lamb & Quinlin, S. G. Sears, Dr. J. R. Washington, R. B. Lee, Porter & Wolf, C. O. Dutcher, B. F. Hitchcock, Fogg, Miles & Co., J. E. Blythe, John Edwards, Erastus Wells, Froube & Co., A. H. Smith, W. P. Shryock, John O. Mellin, James Spore, A. B. Morean, James Gormley, H. C. Yeager, O. Hart, Weston Bascome, T. A. Buckland, James O. Broadhead, J. A. Moodie, John J. Outley, John O. Codding, O. W. Heyer, W. H. Collins, D. Miller, S. Withington, Faulknor & Lamb, Gustave Hohenthal, E. Sternberg, James H. Blood, C. A. Montross, and others.

The building was completed during the year, and in the latter part of September an informal gathering of the stockholders and their friends was held for the inspection of the new structure. The officers of the corporation at that time were R. F. Lamb, president; George F. Parker, vice-president; B. F. Hitchcock, secretary and treasurer; and H. Dunstor, director of amusements. The structure was opened to the public on the 1st of October, the stage manager, Mr. Fenno, delivering the opening address, after which the drama "Crime in the Metropolis" was presented. At first the building was used as a theatre and museum combined, but failing to prove remunerative was sold, the principal purchasers being A. K. Northrup, Mr. Lamb, of the firm of Lamb & Guinian, and others. In the spring of 1867 it was leased by J. & C. Esher, who reopened it as a theatre. Early in July the "Naiad Queen" was produced, but on the 12th the theatre was destroyed by fire. The loss was estimated to be two hundred thousand dollars.

Deagle's Varieties, subsequently known as the Adelphi Theatre, was originally a school-house, situated on the east side of Sixth Street, between Locust and St. Charles, but was leased from the school board by George Deagle, and transformed into a variety theatre. Its name was afterwards changed to the Adelphi, and Mrs. Deagle became the manager, but did not conduct it as a theatre longer than a few weeks. Early in 1877 the building was leased to George E. Finch & Co. for a livery-stable.

Pope's Theatre occupies the site and contains part of the four walls which inclosed the old Unitarian Church on the northwest corner of Olive and Ninth Streets. The church property was purchased by Charles R. Pope, who transformed the edifice into a handsome theatre. The church was built in 1851, and occupied as a place of worship regularly until 1879. The valedictory sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. John Snyder, Rev. Dr. W. G. Elliot assisting



POPE'S THEATRE.

in the services, July 8, 1879, only a few days before the work of demolishing the church was begun. In just seventy-two days after the workmen began, a magnificent theatre was completed. The building is of brick, with four-feet walls all round the outside, and will seat two thousand and eighty-seven persons. The cost of the theatre with an additional improvement in the summer of 1881, was one hundred and ten thousand dollars.

The theatre was opened Sept. 22, 1879. The usual address and prologue were delivered, after which a fine dramatic performance was given, with Lawrence Barrett, the tragedian, as *Hamlet*. The theatre is still managed by Mr. Pope, whose liberality and enterprise have made it one of the most attractive and popular places of amusement that St. Louis has ever known, and one of the most successful theatres in the country. When the theatre was erected an

opinion prevailed among superstitious people to a great extent that the transformation of a church into a place of amusement would be attended by failure, but in this case the enterprise has been favored, and Pope's Theatre continues to be one of the most flourishing institutions of St. Louis. Mr. Pope's aim from the beginning has been to maintain the highest standard of dramatic art, and to provide the most superior attractions to be obtained. In this respect he has met with very gratifying success. The Union Square Theatre Company of New York has frequently appeared at his house, where also the Madison Square Theatre plays are regularly domiciled. All the attractions from the Boston Theatre and the spectacular plays of Kiralfy Brothers have been produced at Pope's, besides the performances of many other first-rate companies. Its advantageous location opposite the custom-house has much to do with the popularity of the theatre, which is being continually extended and strengthened by the energy and business tact of the manager.

Charles R. Pope was born in 1832 at Orlishausen, a small village near Weimar, Saxony, celebrated as the home of Goethe and Schiller. His father's name was Roehr, and his mother's was Papst, or Pope, and on entering upon his career as an actor he decided upon taking the latter's family name (Pope) as being more euphonic. His father was an architect, and a gentleman of fine literary attainments. He enjoyed the friendship of Goethe, and was closely associated with all the men of prominence in Thuringia, a land well known to literature and art as the "Saxon Switzerland." He was an advanced thinker, and his republican impulses led him, in 1840, to emigrate to America. He settled at Rochester, N. Y., where may yet be seen many monuments of his taste and skill in the churches and public buildings of that beautiful city.

The son enjoyed superior educational advantages, and for nearly two years was under the tutelage of a Jesuit priest, from whom he obtained a knowledge of several languages. At the age of fourteen he entered a printing-office in Rochester, where he remained for three years, and soon learned to contribute to the columns of the paper he was serving as an apprentice-boy. During the last year of this engagement he visited a theatre, and from that moment he resolved to go on the stage. The actor who so greatly impressed him was A. A. Adams, a contemporary of Forrest, and a dangerous rival of that great actor, but who died before his genius had reached its full fruition. Young Pope became a member of the stock theatre where Adams was acting, and took the humblest parts, but he had a good voice, and was a careful student; consequently he made rapid progress. In a few months he left Rochester for Washington, and thence removed to New York, where for years he was connected with the Bowery Theatre as utility actor. He quickly advanced to the leading position in that now historic theatre, playing such parts as *Mercutio*, *Sir Thomas Clifford*, *Ludovico*, *Matthew Elmore*, etc. He played two great engagements as support to Edwin Forrest.

In 1854 he engaged with Ben De Bar as leading actor and stock star for the St. Charles Theatre, New Orleans. He first appeared as *Rolla*, and his impersonation was highly praised by both press and public. In the spring of the next year (1855) he arrived in St. Louis with Mr. De Bar, and played *Charles De Moor*, making a decidedly favorable impression. At the close of the season he returned to New Orleans, but came back to St. Louis in the following spring. He went on a tour to California with the well-known actress Julia Dean-Hayne, whose schoolmate he had been in Rochester. When not playing with her he starred as *Claude Melnotte*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Ingomar*, etc., and was well received. This trip consumed about a year, at the end of which he returned to "the States" by steamer, and settled, with his widowed mother, at Buffalo, N. Y., where he spent several prosperous years. In 1858 he returned to St. Louis and engaged with Mr. De Bar as a stock star, playing up and down the river until the war, and performing acceptably all the leading *rôles* of the legitimate drama.

In 1861 he again visited California, and spent three years on the Pacific slope, starring in California, Washington Territory, Nevada, etc. In 1862 he essayed in San Francisco for the first time the part of *Charles De Moor* in German, and made a brilliant success. In 1863 he became interested in mining in Nevada, and for several months retired from his profession in the hope of becoming a millionaire, but the expectation was not realized.

In the fall of 1864 he returned to New York and played a star engagement at Niblo's Theatre, after which he made a tour of the country in legitimate characters.

In the spring of 1865 he appeared at the Stadt Theatre in the character of *Othello* in German, meeting with his usual success, and subsequently played the *rôle* in all the towns where there was a leading German theatre.

In 1867 he was married to Miss Margaret E. Macaulay, sister of the well-known actor B. Macaulay, of John T. Macaulay, the present manager of Macaulay's Theatre, Louisville, Ky., and of Gen. Daniel Macaulay, then the mayor of Indianapolis.

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Charles R. Porter

In 1868, Mr. Pope, yielding to domestic considerations, became manager of the theatre at Indianapolis, and in 1869–70 associated himself with Ben De Bar, and for two years managed the St. Charles Theatre, New Orleans. In 1870–71 he managed the new Opera-House, Kansas City, and from thence removed to St. Louis at the solicitation of Dr. Gilbert R. Spaulding, and entered into partnership with him, becoming manager of the Olympic Theatre. As a manager, Mr. Pope was as successful as he had been as an actor. He always made money, even where others failed. His administration of the Olympic's affairs was efficient and prosperous, and owing to his exertions the people of St. Louis had the pleasure of seeing such stars as Sothern, Miss Neilson, the Florences, etc.

In 1874, having seen Salvini in "Samson," "The Gladiator," etc., and being strongly impressed with the wonderful genius of that great actor, Mr. Pope conceived the idea of appearing in some of his *rôles;* and Salvini, having been informed of Mr. Pope's abilities as an actor, and his physical fitness for the character of *Samson*, presented him with a copy of that play, which he was himself acting at the time with marked success. Mr. Pope engaged W. D. Howells, the novelist, to make a translation, and then played the leading *rôle* in all the prominent cities of the United States and Canada. He was everywhere received with signal expressions of approval. In 1874 he paid another visit to California, which was succeeded by a starring tour, in the course of which he played in the leading cities, meeting with great success as *Samson*, *Macbeth*, *Richelieu*, *Hamlet*, and other legitimate characters. In 1876 he severed his connection with the Olympic Theatre, and became manager of the Varieties Theatre, New Orleans, where he also played the usual legitimate *répertoire*.

In 1877 he visited Australia, and opened at the Theatre Royal, Melbourne, with *Richard III.*, giving a strong and vigorous interpretation of the character, which resulted in a long and interesting newspaper discussion, in which Mr. Pope's conception of the crook-backed tyrant was perfectly justified and his merits as an actor fully conceded. A round of "heavy" characters followed, and were thought to be the finest produced in that country since the tragic death of the great and justly-esteemed favorite Gustavus Brooke. He visited Sydney, Tasmania, etc., playing before the leading public men of the country, whose friendship he enjoyed. In 1878 he returned to the United States *via* the Sandwich Islands, stopping there a month, and playing before King Kalakaua, whom he had met during that monarch's visit to St. Louis some years before. Thence he proceeded to San Francisco, playing at the California Theatre, and then to Indianapolis.

A starring engagement throughout the country followed, and in the spring of 1879, having a family growing up which it was desirable to settle, he came to St. Louis, and reaching the conclusion that the city was in need of a first-class theatre, he determined to build one. The result is seen in the elegant "Pope's Theatre," at Ninth and Olive Streets, the success of which has been one of the theatrical marvels of the country. It at once secured the favor of the public and the profession, and among the attractions which have appeared there may be mentioned Salvini, Rossi, the Florences, John T. Raymond, Her Majesty's Italian Opera Company, Ideal Opera Company, Madison Square Theatre Company, Union Square Theatre Company, Daly's Company, Geistinger, Gallmeyer, Carlotta and Adelina Patti, etc. That its erection gave an impetus to theatre-building in St. Louis cannot be denied, as is evidenced by the beautiful structures that have since been constructed.

Among Mr. Pope's characteristics as an actor are a fine stage presence and an elegant carriage. Tall, muscular, and sinewy, he was chosen by Salvini as a fit representative of *Samson*, the Bible hero of superhuman strength. He possesses a rich, well-trained voice, and as a reader combines both melody and strength. A man of research and culture, he forms an intelligent and scholarly comprehension of the part to be studied, and presents it with superior grace and dignity. Of late years his talents as an actor have been subordinated to the cares and duties of management. In the latter capacity, as in the former, his efforts have been strenuously directed towards the elevation of the stage and of the theatrical profession. His position in the dramatic firmament is fixed, and his friends do not fear a comparison with the foremost actors of the American stage.

The Pickwick Theatre, on the northwest corner of Washington and Jefferson Avenues, was built in 1879–80, by J. R. Jennings, who first contemplated erecting a music-hall on the ground, but afterwards resolved to build a theatre, with a large hall on the first floor, and a summer-garden attached. The enterprise was completed May 13, 1880, when the theatre was opened with Nathal's English Opera Company. The theatre, including the garden, has a frontage of one hundred and eighty-three feet on Washington Avenue. It is built in the Renaissance style, of brick and stone, a spacious balcony extending along the east side capable of seating several hundred persons. A. A. Phillips supervised the construction of the building, and became the manager. In the spring of

1882 the garden attached was fitted up as an *al fresco* theatre, where entertainments are given during the summer season. This is beautifully illuminated during the performance, and presents a very attractive appearance. The seating capacity of the theatre proper is one thousand. During the summer season the *al fresco* theatre is leased to managers who furnish first-class attractions. The spacious hall is used for dancing, lectures, and other entertainments during the winter season the theatre is the hea ters for amateur theatricals. Many amateu have made their *début* here are now successful J. R. Jennings, of New York, formerly a resi St. Louis, is the owner and manager. The the theatre, including recent improvements, w hundred thousand dollars.

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